POLITICAL SCIENCE

CLASS- 12

BOARD OF SECONDARY EDUCATION, RAJASTHAN
AJMER

Text Book Translation

POLITICAL SCIENCE

Class - XII

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POLITICAL SCIENCE

Class - XII

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FOREWORD

This updated edition, which is divided in two parts; is intended to be a comprehensive text book for the English medium students of class 12th Political Science of Rajasthan Board of Secondary Education, Ajmer. This book is written in accordance with the new syllabus and includes in it major principles, concepts and ideologies of Political Science. To understand the various practical aspects of the subject of Political Science, it is necessary for the concerned students to have sufficient knowledge of the different concepts, theories and ideologies. The scope of Political Science is very broad and always changes with the change in political events and situations in the country and the world. The objective of writing this book is to keep the students abreast with the latest developments of the complex politics of the world today. In section-A of the book, prevalent concepts, ideologies and principles are analyzed in context to the present political perspective. The section B covers various political aspects of Indian Government and Democracy at play. New and radical topics such as the globalization, terrorism and conventional subject such as religion have also been analysed in its various forms and extent. The abridged form of book is a translated version of existing Hindi version but not an exact literal transliteration and all possible efforts have been made to keep the letter and the spirit of the book alive.

The content of this book is based on the latest facts, information and figures. The book is further divided in units, chapters, titles and sub-titles as per the latest syllabus to make it more convenient and grasping to the students. I am highly indebted to various thinkers, writers, publishers, scholars, and men of letters for using their original thoughts, quotations and statements. I have tried my level best to make this book lucid, easy to understand and comprehensible. I am grateful to all those who have rendered direct and indirect help in making of this book. I am especially thankful to the Rajasthan Board of Secondary Education, Ajmer for providing me an opportunity to write and also translate this book. The comments and suggestions are solicited from the students, teachers and general readers to assimilate the same when it is revised next time.

Dr. Bhanwar Singh Rathore
Convener and Author

SYLLABUS

POLITICAL SCIENCE

Class-XII

Time- 3.15 hours **Max. Marks-80**

MAJOR CONCEPTS OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

SECTION-A

MAJOR CONCEPTS — Marks- 10

1. Justice
2. Power, Authority and Legitimacy
3. Religion
4. Liberty and Equality

MODERN POLITICAL CONCEPTS — Marks- 10

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2. Political Culture
3. Political Participation

POLITICAL IDEOLOGIES — Marks- 10

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2. Socialism
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3. India & Globalization
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2. Fundamental Rights; Directive Principles & Fundamental Duties
3. Main Elements of Indian Federal System

GOVERNANCE IN INDIA — Marks- 10

1. Parliament, Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha
2. Union Executive, Election and Powers of President and Position and Function of Prime Minister
3. Judiciary-Composition of Supreme Court, Functions and Judicial Review
4. State Administration & Local Self Government- Present Perspective with Reference to 73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendments

CHALLENGES BEFORE INDIAN DEMOCRACY — Marks- 08

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2. Regionalism & Lingualism
3. Terrorism, Criminalization of Politics and Corruption
4. Politics of Coalition

FOREIGN POLICY OF INDIA & UN — Marks- 12

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3. India's Relations with Its Neighbours (Pakistan, China & Nepal)
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SECTION-A

MAJOR CONCEPTS OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

Unit-1

Major Concepts

1. Justice

The concept of justice has been an important subject of political thought since ancient times. The Greek conception of justice was the virtue of the soul and action. To both Plato and Aristotle, justice meant goodness as well as willingness to obey laws. Western concept of justice was based on virtues. The Virtuous man was nucleus of this concept. To Plato, "justice was one of the highest of virtues". In individual, those virtues were searched which persuaded him towards justice. It connoted correspondence of rights and duties. Justice to the Greeks was the spirit which animated men in the proper discharge of their duties. The promotion of balance and harmony in thought and action was pre-eminently social in character. Justice was the ideal of perfection in human relationships. In the Indian tradition, the importance is given on *Dharma* or the path of righteousness in the life of an individual. Both ideologies have emphasized the dutifulness of man. Justice means doing ones' own duty and not interfering in others' work. However, the definition of justice has changed in modern times. Different thinkers have defined it in their own ways. An early theory of justice was set out by the Ancient Greek philosopher and political thinker Plato in his work *The Republic*. Plato's definition of justice is that justice is the having and doing of what is one's own. A just man is a man in just the right place, doing his best and giving the precise equivalent of what he has received. Plato also regarded justice as the true principle of social life. Plato considered justice to be a virtue of a person's soul. Plato held that the soul is in essence rational and immortal. According to Plato, justice is the virtue which motivates an individual to seek its good in good of others. Plato and every thinker till the date have considered justice an important moral and political concept. Justice is not only an essential personal moral attribute of an individual but it is also a desirable social and moral attribute of the society. Justice is an important factor that influences moral, political and social aspects of decision making. Medieval Christian thinkers Augustine and Aquinas have explained justice in their own style. Modern thinkers Hobbes, Hume, Karl Marx, Kant and Mill have also given justice an important place in their respective thoughts. Among the contemporary thinkers, John Rawls has discussed the concept of justice in a new perspective.

1.1 Plato's Concept of Justice-

According to Plato justice is the having and doing of what is one's own. A just man is a man in just the right place, doing his best and giving the precise equivalent of what he has received. Aristotle says that in justice is contained everything that is legal and just. Like Augustine, Plato also considers justice to be a cardinal. To Plato, "justice was one of the highest of virtues". Justice is prerequisite for peace and harmony in the society. Justice is a principle of non-interference, which keeps within proper bounds the various classes of society, various individuals of each class and various elements in an individual's soul. It is a principle of functional specialization, which moves everyone to make a

specialized contribution to society. Specialization leads to efficiency. Justice is architectonic and keeps other virtues in harmonious relationship with each other. It permeates and integrates the other virtues of wisdom, courage and self-control and keeps them within proper bounds. As such, justice is the bond that holds the society together. To Plato, "Justice, like the ideal state, therefore, it demands division of society into three classes representing the elements of reason, spirit and appetite, one man, one work, on the basis of functional specialization, a state-regulated scheme of education, the rule of philosopher rulers and their emancipation from domestic and economic worries by a system of communism, and emancipation of women and their equality with men. Plato's concept of justice is based on the submergence of the individual in the society. It refers to the whole duty of man and not merely his legal duties".

Ebenstein, while making an assessment of Plato's justice says that "In the discussion of justice all elements of Plato's political philosophy are contained."

In book II, III and IV the Republic Plato tries to analyse justice in a very interesting manner. He first of all, attempts to distinguish individual justice from the social or political justice. He considers two forms of justice. One form is related to one's own self and the other form is concerned with the state or the society. Plato thought that in soul of every individual were found three elements of reason, spirit and appetite. On the analogy of the tripartite division of the soul, society is stratified into three classes, the rulers or the guardians, the soldiers and the producers or the auxiliaries. Each class having its own specific virtue: the rulers' wisdom, the soldiers' valour, and the producer or auxiliaries the self-restraint and willing obedience. Accordingly, he also gives an outline of what he regards as the Ideal state. It is a form of intellectual aristocracy. The state is the individual writ large. These three classes, working in proper correlation, will insure the maximum of well-being throughout the state. Every member of the community must be assigned to the class for which he proves himself best fitted. Thus, a perfect harmony and unity will characterize both the state and every person in it. Plato while laying down the foundation of the state stresses upon the fact that one man should practice one thing only, the thing to which his nature was best adapted.

In his theory of Ethics, Plato held that the soul is in essence rational and immortal. The world of true beings, the world of ideas, is the source of all its goodness. The body is material and is the ground of all-evil. It is only a temporary prison house. Release from the body and contemplation of the beautiful ream of ideas, is the ultimate goal of life. The embodied soul is wise if reason rules all its impulses. It is brave if its spirited part aids and obeys the rational part, temperate, if both spirit and appetite obey the dictates of reason, and just. All the three parts must perform their respective functions in unison. The idea of this life is achieved when a man is wise, brave, temperate, and just. The highest good of life is the harmony of the soul which is attained by the exercise of all the four virtues, wisdom, courage, temperance, and justice, under the guidance of reason. The greatest happiness attends the life that achieves the highest good and contemplates the highest ideas. For Plato, justice is the fundamental virtue, mother of the virtues belonging to each of the three souls. For the intelligence it consists in the correctness of thought; for the will, in courage for the sensibility, in temperance. Wisdom is the justice of the mind; courage, the justice of the heart; temperance, the justice of the senses. Piety is justice in our relation with the Deity; it is synonymous with justice in general. Man must be educated in order to reach justice and through it to become like God. Justice is realized only in the collective man or in the state. In order that the collective man or the state may form a real unity or an individual on the large scale, particular interests must be merged in the general interest, the family must be absorbed in the state, and the individual must cease to be a proprietor. Henceforth, the children belong to the state only, which forms one large family. The state is the father of the children; the state also educates them. Plato thought that every individual should work according to his abilities and capacities and should refrain from interference in the field of others. He considered interference harmful for both the individual and the state. Justice, to Plato, has a moral rather than legal content. It has its individual

and social aspects. So in Plato's theory individual justice is a prerequisite of social justice and only that society can legitimately be called "just" in which wisdom reigns supreme. Or in other words justice can prevail only in that society which is ruled over by the King Philosopher. Therefore, justice according to Plato is:

1. Doing one's own job which one has been assigned
2. Justice is harmony

1.2 Aristotle's Concept of Justice-

Aristotle, the greatest of Plato's disciples believed that justice was related to regulating the human behaviour in the scheme of the state. Aristotle believed that justice is the very essence of the state, and that no polity can endure for a long time unless it is founded on a right scheme of justice. Justice is relative to persons, and a distributory justice is one in which the relative values of the things given correspond to those of the persons receiving. In the Aristotle's political philosophy, essential criterion of justice is treating equals equally and un-equals unequally but also in proportion to their relevant differences. Aristotle discusses "Distributive justice in accordance with geometrical proportion instead of arithmetical proportion." According to Aristotle, justice in individual is the harmony in the human soul, and in the society is equality and proportion in the enjoyment of values. All men think justice to be a sort of equality; for they admit that justice is a thing having relation to persons, and that equals ought to have equality. Justice, to Aristotle is virtue in action. Justice means that every member of a community should fulfill his moral obligation towards the fellow-members of his community. Justice means that each individual does not get equal share but gets his share according to his merit and contribution to the society. Therefore, man's rights, duties and rewards should correspond to his merit and social contribution. Aristotle has described two forms of Justice or divisions:

1. Distributive Justice

Distributive justice consists in proper allocation to each person according to his worth or merits. Distributive justice assigns to every man his due according to his contributions to the society. This type of justice relates primarily but not exclusively to political privileges. From this point of view, each type of political organization has its own standard of worth and, therefore, of distributive justice. Distributive justice assigns to every man his due according to his contributions to the society. Aristotelian distributive justice is, thus, the other name of proportionate equality i.e., a man's rights, duties and rewards should correspond to his merit and social contribution.

2. Corrective Justice

By corrective justice Aristotle mean that it prohibits violation of rights of other individuals and ensure protection of their individual rights by the state. It is primary duty and responsibility of the state to ensure protection of life, property, honour and freedom of its citizens. Aristotle opined that corrective justice relates to voluntary and commercial activities such as hire, sale and furnishing security. These actions involve aggression on life, property, honor and freedom. In brief, this justice aims at virtue and moral excellence of character and it is for this reason, it is called corrective justice. Thus, according to Aristotle; to protect the rights of individuals received in the scheme of distributive justice the state provides corrective justice.

1.3 The Concept of Justice in Medieval Period-

1. Augustine's Concept of Justice:

In propounding his theory of "The City of God," Augustine considered justice as an essential element of the state. In his book The City of God he writes ***"Set justice aside them and what are kingdoms but fair thievish purchases",*** The Augustinian notion of justice includes what by his day was a well-established definition of justice of "giving every man his due." "Justice," says Augustine, "is love serving God only, and therefore ruling well all else." Accordingly, justice becomes the crucial distinction between ideal political states (none of which actually exist on earth) and non-ideal political states the status of every political state on earth. No earthly state can claim to possess true justice, but only some relative justice by which one state is more just than another. Augustine defines justice in context to family, the earthy state and the

city of the god. He considered obedience of an individual to the divine rule of city of the god justice.

2. Aquinas's Concept of Justice:

According to Aquinas, the virtue of justice, governs individual's relationships with others and therefore has legal bearing. Specifically, it denotes a sustained or constant willingness to extend to each person what he or she deserves. Justice seeks to preserve equality between persons by giving to each person what is due. Justice is certain rectitude of mind whereby a man does what he ought to do in the circumstances confronting him. For Aquinas, justice is principally about man's relations to others, and so he thinks that "all the virtues that are directed to another person may by reason of this common aspect be annexed to justice". Justice directs a man in his relations with another. That may be either with another in his individual aspect or with another in general, inasmuch as he who serves a community serves all the human beings who are comprised in that community. To Aquinas, ***"Justice lies in abiding in a systematic and disciplined life and adhering to duty."*** For Aquinas, justice is the highest of all moral virtues.

1.4 The Concept of Justice in Modern Period-

Hume (1711-76) opines that justice consists in adhering to rules as the past experiences have led human beings to accept that the rules are the basis of common interest of all and therefore interests of all or public utility should be the main sources of justice. Hume's central idea is that the development of the rules of justice responds to a sense of common interest that progressively tames the destructiveness of natural self-love and expands the action of natural moral sentiments. Hume discusses the morality of justice by using a revolutionary method that displays the foundation of justice in social utility and the progression of mankind. He offers his theory in order to explain a spontaneous process of evolution to a cooperative and mutually advantageous society. For Hume, "virtuous actions derive their merit only from virtuous motives, and are considered merely as signs of those motives". Hume distinguishes virtuous from vicious motives by the pleasure and pain each respectively produces upon its "mere view and contemplation."

The profounder of Utilitarianism **Jeremy Bentham** emphasizes the terms such as natural law etc. makes the real values opaque. He advocates that distribution of various articles and services should be made on the basis of ***utility*** keeping in view the ultimate goal of ***"maximum happiness of maximum numbers"*** Utilitarianism as a theory of justice is based on a principle of utility, approving every action that increases human happiness (by increasing pleasure and/or decreasing pain, those being the two "sovereign masters" of man) and disapproving every action that diminishes it.

JS Mill considered justice one of the most essential elements for the social utility. He said that every individual desires his protection and so he readily accepts moral principles which helps others feeling in similar way. Mill lays out five dimensions of justice as we use the term: (1) respecting others' "*legal rights*" is considered just, while violating them is unjust; (2) respecting the "*moral right*" someone has to something is just, while violating it is unjust; (3) it is considered just to give a person what "he *deserves*" and unjust to deny it; (4) it is thought unjust to "*break faith*" with another, while keeping faith with others is just; and (5) in some circumstances, it is deemed unjust "to be *partial*" in one's judgments and just to be impartial. People commonly associate all of these with justice, and they do seem to represent legitimate aspects of the virtue. Utility the basic mantra of justice.

In modern times the theory of justice based on mere natural law or the utility is not substantially believed by many and stress is being given on research to find a new theory of justice which is more relevant socially, morally, economically and politically. In nutshell it can be said that we have yet to find a universally accepted and recognized definition of justice. A new theory of justice is only desirable if it seeks to address the current social, economic and political issues of the society.

1.5 Rawls' Concept of Justice-

John Rawls in his book ***"A Theory of Justice"*** assumes that society is a more or less self sufficient association of persons, who in their mutual relations recognise as binding certain rules of conduct specifying a system of co-operation. Principles of social justice are necessary for making a rational

choice between various available systems. The way in which a concept of justice specifies basic rights and duties will affect problems of efficiency, coordination and stability. This is why it is necessary to have a rational conception of justice. Practical rationality has three aspects, namely value, right and moral worth. John Rawls analyzed law on the basis that a rational person will pay for those things wanted badly enough. His theory rejects utilitarianism, which was based on maximizing happiness and constructs a social contract aimed at establishing principles of justice. Free and rational persons concerned to further their own interests adopt principles of justice, which define the basis of their association.

His analysis is purely hypothetical. It holds that the concept of the rational choice as one that could help our understanding of what justice might require. In practice, all human beings are born into a particular society with no option.

In making the hypothetical choice, Rawls insisted that the individual should operate behind a ***"Veil of Ignorance"*** where they do not know their sex, class, religion or social position or whether they are strong, clever or stupid, the state or period in history in which they exist. Rawls then predicted that any such society would exhibit two essential features.

1. People in the original position would agree that each person should have an equal right to certain basic liberties, such as freedom of person, freedom of speech and thought, freedom to participate in government, and freedom to possess property, to the greatest extent compatible with the enjoyment of the same basic liberties by others.
2. Social and economic inequalities, and differences of treatment, would be acceptable only in so far as they were available in principle to anyone, and were for the benefit of the least well off members of the society. Rawls suggests that you imagine yourself in an original position behind a **veil of ignorance**. Behind this **veil**, you know nothing of yourself and your natural abilities, or your position in society. You know nothing of your sex, race, nationality, or individual tastes.

Thus, for example people would agree that doctors should be paid higher than average incomes, because this would encourage able people to qualify as doctors and so benefit everyone in the long run.

On 'lifting the veil', anyone could be at the bottom of the social hierarchy. Rawls considers that there are two principles of justice namely; liberty and equality, and they would select liberty over equality. Liberty (ensures an equal right to basic liberties). Equality (economic and social inequalities arranged for the benefit of the least advantaged, and equality of opportunity).

Rawls is criticized for not explaining why liberty would be selected before equality or why natural talents to be treated as collective assets.

1.6 Justice in Indian Political Thought-

The concept of justice as found in ancient Indian political and social thought has close resemblance to Plato's theory of justice. The ancient Indian concept of *Dharma* gives emphasis on individual's assigned place in the society and his duties towards it. The justice was essential element for establishing harmony in the society and polity. A sense of self-righteousness (Swadharma) makes a man realize his duties. The discussion about the concept of justice will not be complete without reference to the ideas of philosophers of ancient India such as Manu, Kautilya,Vrihaspati, Shukra, Bhardwaj, Vidur and Somdev. All of them have given importance to justice in the political system. Whereas Plato's justice was limited to political and social order, Indian concept of justice accepted its legal aspect too. Manu and Kautilya both considered the justice and impartiality as the fundamental tendencies of the polity. Both of them were in favour of protection of social order in accordance with the system of *Varna* and *Dharma*.

1.7 Different Types of Justice-

Traditionally there had been two important theories of justice in vogue-moral justice and the legal justice. But, in present times two more theories namely social justice and economic justice have emerged as eminent theories.

1. Moral Justice-

The fundamental principles of justice are founded on the concept of morality.

It contains in it, some universal; non-

transferable and perpetual natural laws which govern the mutual relations of human beings in wider scheme of mankind. When the behavior of the individuals in a society is virtuous, the society also becomes moral and virtuous. Moral justice seeks to accomplish highest good in a society and the polity. When the conduct of ruler and the ruled is beyond the accepted moral norms of society, it is called immoral and hence: undesirable for seeking the highest good.

2. Legal Justice-

In a political system, the legal system is also known as *jurisprudence*. Legal Justice must be supported by law. Legal justice implies justice given according to law which again implies equality before law. It functions on two premises-first; all laws formulated by government must be lawful and second; all such laws must be implemented honestly, impartially and justifiably. It means no one can be above the law and everybody should be equally punished for equal crimes. Barker says that law ought to have both validity and value. Validity stands for sanction of law and law draws its value from justice. The courts of law can give legal justice. Thus the fundamentals of modern justice are the codes of civil and criminal law, law of evidence, property and contract law, procedure of trial, provisions for appeal to higher courts etc. All those were evolved from the medieval concept of rude and crude justice based on the mood and mercy of the ruler or similar self-styled despot.

3. Political Justice-

Political justice must be based on equality and equity. Political justice prevails in a society where everyone has a share in the political process. The state should establish political justice by creating conditions under which all including the minorities find scope for exercising their political rights in pursuance of a system of Universal Adult Suffrage, rule of law, achievement values as opposed to ascriptive values. The essence of political justice as enshrined in the Constitution of India is the opportunity to all for taking part in the government of the state. The makers of the Indian Constitution say that political justice involves Universal Adult Franchise and no distinction on the grounds of religions, sex, caste, colour and the like in matters of recruitment of public services. It also ensures reasonable reservations and safeguards for the betterment of the minorities and other weaker sections of the society.

4. Social Justice-

Social justice may be regarded as an important factor of social transformation. Social justice implies the absence of discrimination on the basis of caste, colour, religion etc. It also prohibits forces creating artificial social barriers like those of untouchability. Social justice demands equality along with liberty. Besides these, protection and improvement of the weaker and downtrodden sections of the people, equitable distribution of the necessities of life etc. constitute social justice. Social justice, in a wider sense; demands harmony and co-operation between labour and capital, a substantial minimum wage according to the capacity of each industry and other incidental benefits that improve the standard of living of the general people of the country. John Rawls and a few other thinkers have given special emphasis on social justice.

5. Economic Justice-

To Karl Marx, economic inequality is the root cause of strife between the haves and haves 'not. Continuous economic disparity may lead to situation of class struggle in the society. The concept of economic justice is very wide. Economic justice is nothing but a corollary of social justice. It evolves equal economic values, opportunity and right for all and prohibition of economic discrimination between man and woman in economic matters. No other form of justice is realisable without being associated with economic justice. The very concept of economic justice involves the idea of a socialistic pattern of society. The ideal of Indian constitution is to establish a welfare state. Therefore, economic justice has been accepted as one of the basic principles of our Constitution. The economic justice will lead us to the real freedom. The Constitution makers' desire about the social welfare activities to be undertaken by the government is reflected through the principles of economic justice enshrined in the Preamble and the Directive Principles.

Conclusion:

Justice is a moral concept that has been

construed in many different ways. Although, the fundamental perspective of justice has changed in the course of its long journey from ancient times of Plato to present times of modern political thinkers like John Rawls but its goals and objectives remain the same. Aristotle's and Plato's justice, in fact, both were complementary to each other, but they also differed in many fundamental respects from each other. The goal of justice in a just polity is to distribute profits and responsibilities equally and reasonably among all segments of society without any discrimination whatsoever. There are many competing conceptions of justice: libertarian, contractarian, egalitarian, and so on. Each of these theories purports to give an account of the features that determine whether an action, character-trait, social structure, and so on, is just. If these theories are genuine competitors, they must understand the concept of justice in the same way and offer different conceptions (or grounds) of justice. The aim of justice is to find out a principle of capacity through which unity, harmony, virtue and happiness can be established in the society. The purpose of justice is to give every citizen his due in accordance with his capacity or nature. The discussion of justice is relevant to such societies where there is lack of basic necessities, opportunities and amenities necessary for proper growth of personality of an individual as an essential ingredient of society. In such societies there should be enough freedom to its citizens to discuss, criticize and reject the existing laws, rights, property relationships, the moral rules and codes that govern the society. In dictatorial and tyrannical societies there is little scope for seeking new means and methods for equitable distribution because their parameters are predetermined and fixed. In competitive systems of market economies, the complete distribution is determined and carried out by the inter-activities of market oriented powers and hence new measures for distribution are not recognized by them. In utopian communist societies everyone shall get as per his necessities and therefore there is no room for justice in such societies because when necessities of everyone are fulfilled, the injustice will automatically wither away from the society and polity.

Important Points

- In western political thought, the justice was first of all, explained by the Greek philosopher Plato.
- In ancient Indian political thought the *'Dharma'* has been used in similar terms to '*Justice*'.
- Plato considers justice to be an attribute of soul of a man.
- To Plato, justice is doing one's assigned duties and not interfering in others' duties.
- To Aristotle, justice is concerned with the regulation of human relations.
- The traditional justice was concerned with the character of an individual; the modern perspective of justice is more concerned to social justice.
- Plato and Aristotle are the main profounder of traditional justice.
- Plato described theory of justice in his book 'Republic'.
- Plato considers two forms of justice 1.Individual justice 2.Justice concerning the state.
- Aristotle described two types of justice.1 .Distributory justice 2.Corrective justice.
- In medieval period Saint Augustine considered justice to be an essential element of "City of God".
- Thomas Aquinas considered equality as a fundamental element of justice.
- John Rawls described his views on justice in his book 'A Theory of Justice'.
- John Rawls propounded the principle of 'Veil of Ignorance'.
- Various types of Justice
  1. Moral Justice
  2. Legal Justice
  3. Political Justice
  4. Social Justice
  5. Economic justice
- To David Hume, adhering to rules is justice.
- To Jeremy Bentham, "Maximum happiness of maximum numbers" is the fundamental source of the justice.
- To John Stuart Mill, justice was the most important factor of social utility.

Exercise

Multiple Choice Questions-

1. Who was the first thinker to describe the theory of justice in Western Political Thought?
   (A) Saint Augustine (B) Aristotle
   (C) Plato (D) Aquinas ( )
2. Who is the profounder of Distributory theory of Justice?
   (A) Plato (B) Aristotle
   (C) Aquinas (D)John Rawls ( )
3. "Set justice aside them and what are kingdoms but fair thievish purchases", was said by whom?
   (A) Saint Augustine (B) Kautilya
   (C) Aristotle (D)Aquinas ( )
4. Who considered impartiality in justice as a fundamental tendency of political system?
   (A) Vrihaspat (B) Manu and Kautilya
   (C) Plato
   (D) Acharya Narendra Dev ( )
5. 'On violation of laws, punishment is given' is an example of which type of justice?
   (A) Moral justice (B) Political justice
   (C) Economic justice (D) Legal justice ( )

Very Short Answer Type Questions-

1. Who are the Indian profounder of justice?
2. In which book Plato has described his theory concerning the justice?
3. In how many classes have Plato classified the society?
4. Who is the author of book 'Republic'?
5. How many kinds of justice are described by Aristotle?
6. On what does the distributory justice of Aristotle give more emphasis?
7. What is the aim of corrective justice of of Aristotle?
8. Who are the two main profounder of justice in medieval period?
9. Which thinker has spoken of economic disparity?
10. Who has propounded the principle of 'Veil of Ignorance'?
11. Which principle has been propounded by John Rawls to establish social justice?

Short Answer Type Questions-

1. What do you understand by Plato's theory of justice?
2. Make a comment on Aristotle's views concerning the justice.
3. Do compare between the traditional and modern perspectives of justice.
4. What is the relevance of universal virtues of justice in present times?
5. How is the theory of justice of utilitarian thinkers different from the traditional justice?
6. Write John Rawls' theory of justice in brief.
7. Make a comment on universal and perpetual elements of justice.
8. In absence of the economic justice, the social and political justice are meaningless. Explain.
9. "Justice is fundamentally a moral concept, but by different thinkers it has been treated differently". Explain.

Essay Type Questions-

1. What do you understand by justice? Explain traditional theory of justice.
2. Evaluate Plato and Aristotle's views on justice.
3. In your view, what are the differences and similarities between Indian and western concepts of justice? Describe.
4. Describe the various types of justice.

Answers to Multiple Choice Questions-

1. A 2. B 3. A 4. B 5. D

2. Power, Authority and Legitimacy

POWER

POWER has been the basic concept of political science because politics is the area of our society, where rules are made for all, decisions are made for everyone and rights and duties are allocated. To do all these tasks requires power. But what is the nature of power? What is the tendency? What is the source of power in society? There is lack of uniformity on these elements. While the military power was considered the most important factor in ancient times, in present times special emphasis is placed on the political power. In ancient Indian thought, Manu, Kautilya and Shukra etc. have highlighted various elements of power (Shakti). In the modern age Machiavelli, Hobbes, Treitschke and Nietzsche have emphasised the importance of power. In the European or the Western political thought Machiavelli is considered the first political thinker to define the concept of power in modern perspective. He wrote elaborately about power in his book-"The Prince". After that, Thomas Hobbes of England also underlined the importance of power in the field of politics in his book -'Leviathan' in 1651 AD. But special emphasis on power as a political concept is a feature of modern political science. Charles Merriam, the chief strategist of modern political science, explained the various aspects of power in his book - Political Power: Its Composition and Incidence. Many other scholars have also played an important role in explaining the concept of power, such as Catlin, Lass well, Kaplan, Morgenthau. **Harold Lasswell** analyzed various aspects of the concept of power in his book- ***"Politics: who gets what, when, how"***. Catlin defines "Political science as the science of power" and said that politics is an area of competition wherein continuous struggle between individuals continues to gain power. Lasswell, like Catlin, also believes that the scope of political science is inevitably linked to power. Hans Morgenthau's Politics Among Nations, originally published in 1948, is the bible of the realist school of international relations. ... In Politics Among Nations, Morgenthau defined international politics as "the struggle for power" and "power politics." **MacIver** defines power in his book ***"The Web of the Government "***: "It is such a capacity under any relation in which any work is taken from others or obeyed." MacIver is of the view that everything that is happening around us is in some way or the other concerned with power. It is power which vests the state with order and peace.

In words of **Organski**, "power is the ability to influence the behavior of another according to its goals."

According to **Robert Bierstadt** "power is the ability to use the force, not the actual use of force." In politics, power is the ability to influence or outright control the behaviour of people. The term "authority" is often used for power perceived as legitimate by the social structure. Power can be seen as evil or unjust, but the exercise of power is accepted as endemic to humans as social beings. The definition of power indicates that those who have the power can adapt their actions, behaviors and ideas to others. On the other hand, the meaning of power in contemporary social thought is considered - the power of doing something, that is, when a

person does some work for himself or for the society, then he uses power in that sense. It should be noted at the outset that there is no unanimity among the political scientists regarding the definition of power. Like other people, political scientists use a variety of terms: power, influence, authority, control, persuasion, might, force and coercion to convey the same meaning.

2.1 Difference between Power and Force and Power and Influence

Generally power and force are considered to be the same, but in reality there is a difference between the two. Power is the power of the desired force and force is power. Power is an undisclosed element but the force is a visible element, like - the police have the power to punish the culprit, when it actually punishes it, which can be anything from financial penalties to corporal punishment then that becomes the force. The teacher has the power to take the student out of the classroom and when he actually does so, his power changes in force. Similarly, power and influence also have many similarities and dissimilarities. Both of them provide strength to each other. Both are effective only after they become justified. Influence generates power and the power generates influence. But there are differences in both. Strength is oppressive and behind it harsh physical force is used, while the influence is psychological. The power can be used against someone against his will, but the influence is relational, and the basis of its success depends on the person's consent. Apart from this, power is an anti-democratic element, whereas the influence is completely democratic. The power is so much that it requires influence for stability but the influence does not require the use of force for its existence. Just like the British used to follow their orders through the power of the Indian people, while Mahatma Gandhi used the influence.

2.2 Various Kinds of Power

There is a very wide spectrum of power in political science, which we can call different dimensions of power. Broadly speaking, there are three types of power which can be identified as political power, economic power and ideological power.

1. Political power - Political power means the allocation of various social groups such as post, prestige, tax, award, punishment etc. to the society. Generally, political power is used by different types of government administrators, executive, judiciary, whom we call the formal organ of power. Apart from these various pressure groups, political parties and influential people also have the ability to influence public policies. So we call them the informal organ of power. Power is the ability to influence and direct the behaviour of other people and guide the course and outcome of events. Authority means that an individual or group has the right to use power by making decisions, giving orders, and demanding obedience. Legitimacy refers to citizens' belief that their leaders have the right to exercise power and authority; it is the acceptance of the government by the governed. Sovereignty is the highest exercise of political power; it is supreme and ultimate authority that cannot be overruled by a higher power.

2. Economic power - Economic power means ownership of means of production and wealth. Economic power affects political power in many ways. It is believed that those who are financially powerful are also politically powerful. But there is a difference between economic and political power, and there is a difference between liberalism and Marxism. According to liberalism, the society that determines the political power has many elements, which have interdependence among themselves and the sole economic element does not determine the political power. On the other hand, Marxism believes that all kind of power rests on the foundation of economic power and economic power determines political power in society. Although the former Soviet Union, in spite of stopping private ownership of private property and production in a communist state, a new political class, a new powerful force remained in existence which establishes the very fact economic notion of Marxism is not true.

3. Ideological power- Ideology means the group of ideas on the basis of which our approach develops. It influences the thinking and understanding of people. This ideology justifies a

governance system in the eyes of the people, so it gives legitimacy. Different types of social, economic, political systems are prevalent in different countries and ideologies such as liberalism, communism, socialism, egalitarianism etc. are used to justify them. But an idea is born in a particular social situation. The circumstances and the situations changes with change in times. An ideology also gets old and outdated accordingly. But some people want to keep that ideology alive and thriving, because their interests are associated with it. This class also uses violence to protect it. In the name of Marxism and communism, thousands of millions of people were killed in the erstwhile Soviet Union and Cambodia, etc. In the name of the Cultural Revolution in Maoist China, millions of people have been wiped out. In India, Maoists-Naxalites are inspired by this ideology and engage in violent action. Even in democratic countries, some people engage in violence proceedings to maintain their ideology. The Marxist activists in the Indian state of Kerala engage in violent actions against their ideological opponents. Similarly, there are also people and groups who outwardly take help of religious ideologies in propagating and accomplishing their political cause. Terrorist organizations such as ISIS, Al-Qaeda and Taliban are openly professing to be guided and governed by Islamic doctrines.

2.3 Structure of power

In conventional sense, power is the ability to influence or outright control the behaviour of people. Can we identify groups in the society who regularly use power on others? Mainly, there are four important theories in vogue about this.

Principle of class dominance

The principle of class dominance is the basis of Marxism. This believes that the society is divided into two opposing classes on the economic basis - financially powerful bourgeois class and economically feeble - the proletariat. There is constant conflict between the two opposing classes in the society. Therefore, they believe that "History has been hitherto a history of class struggle." According to Marxism, every work of a person is done with an economic interest. The logical consequence of this thesis (Marxism) may lead us to believe that, the mother's parenting or child's service to her parents is oriented by economic interests. This really does not hold good morally and rationally. Is this view not imperfect and unilateral?

Specific class principles - According to the specific class principles, according to the principle of society, is divided into two sections - special category which is powerful and the general category on which power is used. But according to this principle, this class division, not only on economic basis, has its many capabilities like skill, organization capacity, intelligence, management capacity, leadership capacity etc. On the basis of these abilities, a small class of society emerges in every country and every type of governance, which is powerful and uses its power over the general body. Like - the country's politicians, administrators, industrialists, lawyers, professors, doctors, etc. together create a class that is always powerful. These elements remain powerful in the formal government which may belong to any party. In books **"the Minds and Society"** by **Wilfred Pareto** of Italy, in **"the Ruling Class"** of **Gaetano Mosca**and in **"Political Parties"** of **Robert Michels** of Germany this concept is elaborately enunciated.

Feminist theory

Feminist theory believes that the basis of division of power in the society is sexual. All the power of the society is with the men who use their power over women. Therefore, on this basis, the movement of women's liberation in Europe started, who wanted to end male domination. But Indian tradition towards women is different from the West. There was a long struggle for women to get the status of franchise and equal status in the west, while Indian women were getting high positions in the concept of Indian philosophy and ideal society. Indian traditions and culture are based on the theme- 'Where women are worshiped, there the gods dwell'. In reality, India also gave women the right to vote and to get elected as early as its getting independent from British colonial rule in 1947. Therefore, the

Indian concept not merely a demand liberation of women, it fully supports the cause of women at par with men.

Pluralist theories- Forth theory of power division is the pluralist theory, which is different from the above three. Class dominance, specific classism and feminism claim that the use of power divides society into two classes - powerful and powerless. But according to pluralistic theories all the power in society is not in the hands of any one class but is divided into several groups. Continuous bargaining between these groups continues in the liberal democratic system. Hence, society does not have exploitation system on the basis of power. This is an Indian concept which is not based on exploitation or the class struggle. It is based on the sense of responsibility and the belief that "the powerful will use its power for public interest". In this, emphasis has been laid on establishing a harmonious society by making powerless empowered.

AUTHORITY

As the power was an important concept in ancient and medieval monarchical systems. In same way the concept of authority is far more important in the modern democratic system. Power is not always just or right; many times we accept it as a forced compulsion due to the fear of power. Those in power do not merely possess the ability to make us comply, but are also thought to have the right to do so. This is a really important distinction, and is the difference between power and authority. Therefore, power is the ability to make us do something, whereas the authority is the right to make us do something. The authority is such a virtue of a person, organization, rule or order, due to which its instructions are voluntarily followed. It seeks obedience by voluntary following. When we comply with the orders of a Hooligan, then the basis of obedience to him is power, whereas when we stop at traffic at the behest of a police constable, then it is a symbol of authority. In this way, when the validity joins with power, then it is called authority. In other words, legitimate power is authority. Authority is always legitimate and backed by the power of law and common consent. Legitimate power or influence is generally called authority.

Robert Bierstadt defines ***"authority is the use of power as an institutional right."***

According to **Henry Fayol, Authority has the power to order and to get the order obeyed."**

2.4 Bases of Authority

One important question on authority is- why it is followed by the people? The main bases of following of authority are mainly -

Faith- The most important element of governance is the trust of the ruled in the rulers. The deeper the faith will be, the command of the ruler will be obeyed willingly as an easy order. In such authority the need for the use of power is minimal.

Homogeneity- The uniformity of ideas and ideals is also an important basis for power. Ideal homogeneity automatically creates obedience status. For this reason, the states support the ideals of liberalism, socialism, etc.

Public welfare- Public welfare is also an important basis of power. We do not comply with most of the laws of the state under pressure of power, but because they promote public interest, such as - taxing, compliance with traffic rules etc.

Pressure - Sometimes the pressure and power also have to be used for getting the authority followed. There are some people in every system, which are less influenced by other bases of authority .Such elements are made to follow the authority by exercising pressure over them.

2.5 Kinds of Authority

Famous sociologist Max Weber has given the following three forms of power:

1. Traditional Authority - This Authority is based on the traditions and history. It is believed that a person or a family the use the authority according to the prevalent tradition, the authority should always remain with them. This authority lacks logic and intelligence. The authority of elderly people in the house is an example of traditional authority.

2. Charismatic Authority - This authority is based on a person's personal qualities and wonders. In it the public is ready to make any stake at the

behest of that person. People are prepared to make any sacrifice at the gestures of their leadership. It has the power base of emotions. Leaders such as Hitler, Mahatma Gandhi, Pt Nehru, Indira Gandhi, AtalBihariVajpaye and NarendraModi etc. are examples of charismatic power.

3. Legal and Rational Authority- It is based on rank and not the personality. The authority is vested in the person who holds that post. By virtue of his powers inherent with his post and position he uses his authority. Such authority is vested in the teacher, the Collector and also in the prime minister etc. If the person, who is using legal authority, is also endowed with remarkable personality, then his authority can be unlimited. In the post of the prime minister of India, equal authority was provided by law to all those who have held that position but it is the personality which makes all the difference. Use of authority largely depends on quality of the person who is holding that post at a particular moment. Max Weber admitted that none of these types of authority is found in pure form. Authority, being legitimate is based on consent and thus commands more respect than the illegal force. In this way civil society cannot be imagined without authority, but every society determines certain limitations on authority, so that it cannot be used arbitrarily. Authority has to work according to constitutional laws of the country and its culture, values, traditions and moral concepts etc. Therefore, authority is not itself power, rather it is the embodiment of reason. In simpler words, and we can say that we obey the authority because it is reasonable.

LEGITIMACY

The word legitimacy originated from the Latin word ***'lēgitimātus'*** (past participle of *lēgitimāre* to make lawful)', which means conformity to the law or to rules. It is an ability to be defended with logic or justification; validity. There is a long history of legitimacy or justification. Plato tried to prove the legitimacy of the ruler by his theory of justice and Aristotle by his concept of constitutional rule. In ancient Indian political philosophy we find indirect description of legitimacy. In ***Manu Smiriti*** and Kautilya's ***Arthashastra,*** we find that the king or *Swami* was assigned powers with certain conditions of specific duties towards the people and the state. The welfare of the people or subjects was one of the binding and primary duties of the king. In the medieval period, the principle of the king's divine origin was considered the basis of the state's legitimacy. Hobbs, Lack, and Rousseau made people's consent the basis of the legitimacy. Public participation in modern democratic governance is considered to be the proof of the legality of the state. In fact, the legitimacy points to that reason, due to which we accept any power or the authority. It means that the consent of the people is given to the political system. If a political system does not receive such acceptance of people, then that system cannot exist for a long time. Voting, public opinion, means of communication, nationalism etc. are the means through which legitimacy is achieved. Legitimacy validates this statement of **Green** that ***"Will, not force, is the basis of the state."***

Legitimacy is actually the link between power and authority. Any ruler can control the person on the basis of power; but on the basis of legitimacy he can rule the hearts of the people. The difference between democracy and the dictatorship is that the powers prime character of democracy is based on legitimacy, while the supremacy of the dictatorship is primarily based on power or force use. Every political system has to try to maintain the legitimacy because there are continuous changes in political, social, economic and cultural conditions. If the political system does not make itself compatible with these changes then it affects its legitimacy. In ancient times, there was primarily a monarchy system; the era of democratic elements emerged in the long run. The legitimacy of the political systems which adopted themselves in accordance with democratic elements remained legitimate but those who did not adapt to the changes had to face bloody revolutions. The communist system could not reform and change to the tune of time and has failed miserably in the former USSR and also elsewhere. It has lost the amount of legitimacy it used to have in the past. Likewise, sometimes the traditional states and groups also do not accept and adapt to new changes as by doing so they are likely to end their existence. In such a situation, it challenges the new system with full force. Similarly entry into the new

groups' politics also affects the legitimacy. If their admission is accepted by the old guards then the legitimacy will remain intact but if obstacles are created to bar their entry then legitimacy will be affected. Apart from this, excessive aspirations from political systems also influence legitimacy. When political arrangements were unable to meet these hopes of the public, then people would get ready for revolution and coup against them. Such coup has been taking place in many Asian-African countries. In such a situation, the political systems try to keep themselves in tune with the new system, protect the traditions and face the crisis of legitimacy on the basis of personal qualities.

In this way the concepts of power, authority and legitimacy are closely related to each other. Without power, peace, order, justice and prosperity cannot be established in society. But the role of power proves to be the most effective in the legitimate systems, where it is not only the means of use of force but also part of the legitimacy. In order to maintain order in society, legitimacy and power play a role in complementing each other. If we compare power with a bare sword, the power is a sharpened sword in its sheath, which is carried out only when it is needed. In fact, when the power of the ruler takes the form of authority then it becomes his right and since the legitimacy is connected in power, obedience to the citizens becomes their duty. So we can conclude by saying that the Authority will be transformed into power if it is not legitimatized. Therefore, the Authority has to be legitimate under all circumstances.

Important Points

- Power is the central concept of political science.
- Various forms of power - political, economic and ideological power
- Four theories of structure of power - The principle of class dominance, the special classical theory, The Feminist theory and the pluralist theory.
- The bases of the following of Authority are - Faith, Homogeneity, Public welfare and the Pressure.
- Legitimacy is a link between the Power and Authority.
- There are three forms of Authority - Traditional Authority, Charismatic Authority and Legal and Rational Authority.

Exercise

Multiple Choice Questions :

1. The author of the book “Politics : Who Gets What, When, How" is -
   (A) Catlin (B) Lasswell
   (C) MacIver (D) Laski ( )
2. "Power is the ability to influence the behavior of another according to its goals.” Who said this statement?
   (A) Organski (B) Lasswell
   (C) Bierstadt (D) Thomas Hobbs ( )
3. "Authority has the power to order and to get the order obeyed."Who said this?
   (A) Pareto (B) Mosca
   (C) Henry Fayol (D) Macaulay ( )
4. Which of the following is not a form of power?
   (A) Traditional power
   (B) charismatic power
   (C) Legal and rational power
   (D) military power ( )
5. The Latin word 'lēgitimātus' means -
   (A) Lawful (B) Harmful
   (C) Authority (D) Powerful ( )

Very Short Type Questions

1. Write name of the famous book of Thomas Hobbes.
2. Which scholar believes that the science of political science is the science of power?
3. Write any two forms of power.

4. Write two popular bases of acceptance or adherence to Authority.
5. What are the two means of attaining legitimacy?

Short Type Questions

1. What do you understand by the concept of Ideological power?
2. What is the 'feminist theory' in terms of power?
3. Explain the public interest oriented authority.
4. How many forms of power have been described by Max Weber? Explain.

Essay Type of Questions

1. Write an essay on the concept of power.
2. What is authority? Explain its various forms and analyze the reasons of why we follow it.
3. Evaluate the relationship among the Power, Authority and legitimacy.

Answers to Multiple Choice Questions:

1. B 2. A 3. C 4. D 5. A

3. Religion

Swami Vivekananda, while separating spiritual and external formalism, has said that ***"Religion is the extension of divinity and spirituality already prevalent in man".*** All the religious teachers and the scholars have defined religion and spirituality in terms of teachings and principles of their respective faith and belief systems. Confucius, Moses, Pythagoras, Buddha, Mahavir Swami, Mohammed, Martin Luther, Calvin, Guru Nanak have all stressed upon the element of " divinity " in humans. Historically, different religions originated and developed in different parts of the world in different periods, places and culture. Changes in time, place and cultural and spiritual conditions also led to changes in religions. Externally, all religions basically talk about the fundamental facts and values of unity. The current problem is to establish unity among different religions and opinions. **Dr. Sarvepalli Radha-krishnan** has considered spirituality as the centre of religion, according to him -

"The essence of religion lies in the fact that it should emphasize the spiritual side to upgrade the soul. And forward the life towards secularism."

3.1 The Meaning of Religion

As far as the definition of religion is concerned, it is used in different meanings in different cultures and nations. In India, it is recognized in terms of **duty** ***(kratavya***), **non-violence**, **justice, morality** and **virtue**. Generally we can define religion as a system of ***"beliefs and practices"*** through which a group of people explain what is sacred and rightous for them. Virtually there is a seeker in advancement and welfare of a religion. The person's high growth is to know 'Self'. When he learns about the 'Self', then only he gets involved in pursuing the highest good (***Paramartha***). In English, the paralleling term of ***'Dharma'*** is ***Religion,*** which means - Faith, belief or the opinion. It implies in the belief in and worship of a superhuman controlling power, especially a personal God or gods. But English word religion does not explain ***'Dharma'*** in the true sense. In fact, religion is not the name of any worship system, ritual, worship method or in narrow sense having ***Tilak*** (a mark on the forehead) and keeping a ***Shikha*** (braids),wearing a beard-cap, or ***Gandda-Tabeez*** (amulet, talisman) . All the sections of society and all the people have to follow their own deeds, namely, to perform their duty strictly according to their religious beliefs. This is possible only when human beings abandon their selfishness, arrogance, pride and desire to rule over others. Religion is universally held sacred, but religious holiness is relative. One who believes that a religion is sacred, it is possible to see it in other religions with hatred. Indeed, humans only determine what is sacred for them, or not. ***Dharma*** can also be defined as an integrated system that connects a community-specific to ethics with its practices and beliefs.

3.2 Religion and Secularism -

In Indian perspective, secularism is different from western religion. India is a nation of polytheism, in which followers of many religions and religions reside. Non-secularism means that there is no discrimination against any religion, and all religions should be viewed in a similar way. Secularism is a constitutional status in India and it is

universally acceptable. It is the fundamental identity of Indian culture because there are many opinions and differences in India. This is not just a book or pilgrim. In India, there are people who believe in God and there also other people who reject the power or the authority of God. In India, for religious reasons, neither anyone was crucified, nor was he got rid of from the world by pelting stones on him. Religious tolerance and dissent is in the soil of this nation.

3.3 Religion and Morality -

The basic goal of religion is to serve the human beings. Religion emphasizes good conduct, compassion, devotion and non-violence. Basically, in all religions this principle is rooted. Religion teaches us to stay away from evil and walk on the path of good and virtues. The basic form of religion is spiritual and without any hypocrisy in it. The work of religion is to do good and praise it. The judicious meeting of religion and politics is good for the human welfare. Many scholars of Indian ideology hesitate to accept the word religion as the synonyms of the word ***"Dharma***" because ***"Dharma"*** is a more elaborate and ethical ideology than "Religion". In***" Dharma"***, not only the inherent ethical behaviour of human beings is contemplated it also undertakes to study human relations with the animals, moral nature of physical properties, and the nature. However, such a wider perspective can be irrelevant in today's context. Even today, we can use abundant logical and moral force as explained in Indian philosophy in our daily life. If a religion in it, adopts the moral values as propagated by its spiritual men, then it is absolutely useful for humanity. Unfortunately, various religious beliefs and sects have started fighting each other to establish their personal superiority. This kind of mutual opposition, the tendency of quarrels, has created a situation of religious conflict in the world. Despite having the common belief and values, which are found in all religions, they are not ready to come to the common ground yet. The exchange of knowledge and values of different religions can be much more useful than science. A scientific truth becomes stronger when it is believed to be certified by research conducted in other countries. Just as there is no dejection in the field of science, there should be no communalism in the field of religion as well. Of course, there have also been many such reformers who have tried to synthesize and integrate the practical synthesis of all religions. If parallel experiences of common elements of all religions are stored as a treasure of knowledge and shared and used for the betterment of the mankind, then the status and prestige of religion can be equivalent to science and democracy. If a religion claims to establish the truth, then it will have to establish universal admissibility and applicability. A religion is useful only if it establishes unity with other visible religions. The religion that condemns, frightens and dislikes other religions, and sees their religious beliefs, practices and customs in a loathing manner is not a true and universal one. Religious beliefs and views cannot be experimented in any laboratories. The religions which strive for the welfare of human beings and are morally measured on the scale of ethics are relatively considered superior to others. Beliefs and religious views can vary in different countries, but the truth and ethical values remain the same. They cannot be divided into the period of time and area. Ethical truth gives the message of love, compassion and kindness in all religions. It is possible to establish a superior state in the world by synthesizing best values of all religions in it. Adhering to the principles of ethics is the symbol of religion.

3.4 Religion and Politics-

Since ancient times, there has been deep connection with "religion and politics" or "politics and religion". Whenever there is a negative **contagion** of religion and politics, then politics has misused religion. Scholars such as Bertrand Russell and E.M. Foster have criticized the religion for the fact that there have been many bloody clashes in the world in the name of religion in the past and it

continues even to this day. Even today, fanatics are ready to die in all religions. After the Second World War several such groups of power and cadres have been created. Initially, religion became the founder of governance and good policies, but later many rulers declared religion as their state religion and in order to increase dominance and the number of followers, they fought in the guise of religion. Some religious offshoots separated from Islam, Christianity, Judaism and Hinduism, expanded their religion by means of power. Empires were expanded under the guise of religion and there were mutual wars in many countries. History of the past two thousand years is witness of many such bloody wars fought in the name of religion. In the latter part of the twentieth century, religion-based wars between the nations seemed to have ceased. But there was a flood of terrorist activities under the guise of religion to prove religious superiority in parts of the world. Terrorists have begun making unsolicited prey of other religious leaders. India is its biggest victim. According to Ram Manohar Lohia, "the realities of religion and politics are different, but the roots of both are one. Religion is long-term politics, whereas politics is a short time religion. The work of religion is to do good and praise, whereas the goal of politics is to fight evil and condemn evil. Problems arise when politics only condemns instead of fighting the evil, it becomes banished .So there is a need to understand the fundamental elements of religion and politics. The judicious meeting of religion and politics is good for human welfare, while the unwise union of these two corrupts both. Such union is bad for humanity. This unwise and evil union creates communal fanaticism. The main motive for separating religion and politics is that both of them remain active only in their respective area and do not trespass in the domain of others. Both of them are forbidden to abuse each other for the fulfillment of their vested interests. In fact, there should always be limited contact between religion and politics, so that they can collaborate together each other. The pursuit of ethical religion and religious politics is indispensable for establishing world peace. If the politics negatively affect religion and the vice versa, then both are dangerous for the humanity. This creates a tendency of religious reactionism, fanaticism, communalism and slavery, which in turn affect important values like independence and equality. In today's world, the principle of secularism has been adopted in most democratic systems.

According to the Indian thinker Swami Vivekananda, ***"Awe-inspiring and dogmatic religion divides human beings, whereas religion developed by experience acts to reconcile humans."***

He also said that ***"Those who live for others are actually living but those who live for themselves are though living but are virtually dead."***

According to him, the mutual compatibility of the person and the society is possible in unity and the humanistic view of religion.

3.5 Religion and Non-violence-

There is an unbreakable relationship between religion and non-violence. Forgiveness, mercy, compassion, truth, devotion and honesty are fundamental elements of Non violence and religion both. All these elements have been accepted in all the religions of all the nations. In the absence of these values, the formation of any religion is not possible. The ethical doctrines such a***s "Golden Rule" and "Ethics of Reciprocity"*** which are much talked about today were already in vogue in ancient India. In **Sanatan Dharma** this doctrine was known as "धर्म सर्वस्वम्" ***"What is the essence of religion".***

3.6 Religion and Nationality-

Sometimes, groups with vested interests instigate the innocent people to follow divergent and pervasive religious views blindly. Development of such divisive tendencies helps in creating misconception, mistrust and misunderstanding in the minds of the effected persons and they took to anti national activities, which are harmful for both individual as well as the nation. We may follow different religions, sects and methods of our worship may also be different, but the country should always

be paramount for all of us. Nation and not the religion is supreme authority for a true law abiding citizen.

Our overall interests' lie in the unity and integrity of our country India i.e. ***Bharat***. Safety of the citizens and security of the nation should be primary duty of not only of the government alone but also the people. The development of the nation is of the utmost interest in its unity and progress. It is our religion to worship our nation over anything else. In whatever position we are we must perform our duty towards the nation honestly. No religion can obstruct our unshakable trust and faith towards our country. It is above everything else, even the god. It is here that we are born, do breathe, grow, marry and bear children and are finally buried or burnt.

The basic essence of religion is that while individually you are free to follow the religion, community, caste, ***ashram*** of your choice and be true to God and but as a citizen your country should be paramount for you.

3.7 The Concept of Religion in Indian Culture-

It is mentioned in the Sanskrit theology that -

- ***Yato Abhyudha Nishreyas Siddhi San Dharma***
- यतो अभ्युदय निःश्रेयस सिद्धी सः धर्म

The meaning of this couplet is as follows:

"That, which directs and leads to the attainment of abhyudaya in the world; that shows the pathway to cessation of griefs and pains in toto, and get the one to nihshreyasa thereafter, is Dharma."

The concept of religion in Indian tradition is far wide than as perceived by many. Religion in India is characterised by a diversity of religious beliefs and practices. Secularism in India means treatment of all religions equally by the state. India is a Secular State by the 42nd amendment act of Constitution in 1976. The Indian subcontinent is the birthplace of four of the world's major religions; namely Hinduism, Buddhism, Jainism and Sikhism. Throughout India's history, religion has been an important part of the country's culture. Religious diversity and religious tolerance are both established in the country by the law and custom; the Constitution of India has declared the right to freedom of religion to be a fundamental right. Hinduism or the Hindu religion is the major religion of Indian sub-continent. The word Hindu has geographical significance and was used originally for those people who lived beyond the river Sindhu or the region watered by the river Indus. Hinduism is also called "Sanatana Dharma, " meaning "Eternal Law."It was primarily known as a Vedic Religion and was the main concept of Indian culture and philosophy. Various definitions of religion and different meanings of religion can be presented on the basis of different opinions. But the exact interpretation and meaning of religion is mentioned in Sanatana texts. In Sanskrit, the word Dharma is made in the word "Dharanat" "धारणात". The word 'Dharma' is very difficult to find in any of the Western languages. In the Indian concept, 'Dharma' is not the temporal religion alone. In Indian context, there are various meanings of religion in which the main are - duty, non-violence, justice, virtue and good conduct etc. The Western concept of religion is very different from the Indian concept. Regarding religion, it is commonly said that it tells the way to live life. There is a different interpretation of this matter in all religions. Religion is not restricted to statute only, but religion helps to maintain a sense of unity in the human beings. In today's perspective, it is necessary that the religion of humanity be considered the best religion. The earliest foundations of religion are from the sacraments given to the children in the family.

"Ekam Sat, Viprah Bahudha Vadanti"

एकं सद्विप्राः बहुधा वदन्ति।

(There is only one truth, only men describe it in different ways).

It is said in Rig Veda that unique Brahman or truth is one; only intellectuals have given it different names. Brahma has been addressed in the Rig Veda

by the name of Indra, Agni, Mitra, Varun, Yama and Matarivwan etc. Actually God is the one who creates the creation by presenting his form in many manifestations.

अहिंसा सत्यमस्तेयं शौचमिन्द्रिय निग्रहः।

दानं दमो दया शान्तिः सर्वेषां धर्मसाधनम्।।

ahinsa satyamasteyan shauchamindriy nigrahah.

daanan damo daya shaantih sarveshaan dharmasaadhanam..

Yajnavalkya has described nine characteristics of religion.

ahinsa (Nonviolence), ***satya*** (truth), ***asteya*** (do not steal), ***Shauch*** (cleanliness) **Indriya - nigraha** (Subdue the senses) ***dan*** (charity),***Dam*** (breath), ***daya*** (compassion) ***shanti*** (peace)

The following traits of religion are mentioned in Manusmriti.

द्यृतिः क्षमा दमाडस्तेयं शौचमिन्द्रिय निग्रहः।

घीर्विद्या सत्यमक्रोधो दषकं धर्मलक्षणम्।।

dyrtih kshama damaasteyan shauchamindriy nigrahah.

gheervidya satyamakrodho dashakan dharmalakshanam

Patience, forgiveness, no accumulation and not stealing, sanitation, keeping the senses in control, wisdom, truth and no anger are the symptoms of these ten religions.

Thus all true values are reflected not only in the religions originating in India, but in other religions of the world, it is acceptable as basic living values.

In the Christianity and Buddhism also, there is a special emphasis on the person's ethics which restricts the behaviour of one person with the other person.

3.8 Concept of Religion in Christianity

Christianity is a monotheistic religion which was propounded by Jesus exactly 2018 years ago from today. Christianity originally developed as a part of Judaism. Christianity developed out of Second Temple Judaism in the 1st century CE. It is founded on the life, teachings, death, and resurrection of Jesus Christ, and those who follow him are called Christians. There are many offshoots and branches of Christianity such as Catholics, Protestants, Orthodox, Moronic, Evangelical and Anglican etc. Population wise Christianity is the world's largest religion, with about 2.1 billion followers worldwide. The principles and teachings of Christianity stress upon on non-violence. In Western Christian ideology, the parallel power of religion and politics is accepted. Christianity shares a number of beliefs and practices with other religions, particularly Judaism and Islam. Christianity, Islam and Judaism are often known as ***Abrahamic religions*** because of their common origin through Abraham. Jews and Muslims consider Ishmael (*Ismāʿīl*), to be the *"Father of the Arabs"* and Isaac (*Isāāq*) the *"Father of the Hebrews"*. Muslims commonly refer to Jews as *"People of the Book"*, people who follow the same general teachings in relation to the worship of the One God (*tawheed*) as known by Abraham. With Judaism and Islam, Christians believe in one God, who created the universe and all that is in it. All three religions, including Christianity, have been called "*ethical monotheism*".

3.9 The Concept of Religion in Islam

What is Islam?

The Arabic word Islam literally means "surrender" or "submission." Islam, as a faith, means total and sincere surrender to God so that one can live in peace and tranquillity. Peace (***Salam*** in Arabic, ***Shalom*** in Hebrew) is achieved through active obedience to the revealed commandments of God, for God is The Just, The Peace. ***Allah*** is an Arabic word, meaning "The One and Only True God," the proper name of The One who created the heavens and the earth. Arabic-speaking Jews and Christians also call God by the name Allah. For a Muslim, Allah is the greatest and most inclusive of names for God, denoting The One who is adored in worship, The One who created all that exists. The concept of monotheism (known as ***tawheed*** in Arabic) is the single most important concept in

Islam. There are three perspectives of Monotheism - the oneness of god (Omnipotence), devotion of all worship to the one god alone, the uniqueness and oneness of god in his Names and attributes. In Islam everything is built upon the oneness of God. Islam calls humanity away from the worship of any part of creation to the worship of The One and Only True God.

Origin, Historical Advent, expansion and present status of Islam -

Islam is one of the latest religions of the world. Today about 1.5 billion people of the world belong to the followers of Islam. The fifth part of the world's population is Muslim. Since the origin of Islam in 622 AD, followers of Islam are growing increasingly. Islam came in the form of a small community in the seventh century in Mecca and Medina. Mohammad laid the foundations of this religion with two of his followers. Within a few years of its emergence all the Arabs were united under the banner of Islam. Within the first two centuries, the effect of Islam spread to the global level. Through its continued conquest of Islam, Islam has taken the region of the entire Middle East, North Africa, Arabian Peninsula, Iranian Terrain, Central Asia and Indus Valley into its area of influence. This victory process continued uninterrupted and later Islam inherited the civilizations of ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia. From the geographical point of view, the central part of the world is dominated by Islam. Islam spread from east to west from ***Morocco*** to ***Mindanao***; it has also under its influence North American consumer nations and the deprived country of the south. It is located on the important strategic crossroads connecting America, Europe and Russia. Islam also dominates many countries of Africa, Indian sub-continent and China. Due to its crucial geographical position, Islam will play an important role in 21st Century politics. Islam is not a religion bound in the periphery of a national culture and national border, but is spread throughout the world in the form of a universal power. Islam, after accepting the philosophy and science of Greece, and reforming it according to its convenience, Islamized it. While learning arts of administration from Persian subjects, it adopted the logic of Jewish law, the methods of Christian religion and Dualism of Zoroastrianism. It also assimilated in it philosophy and science of Mahayana Buddhism and India in its eastern victory journey in Islam. The great metropolitan centres of Islam, Baghdad, Cairo, Cordoba, Damascus and Samarkand became such distillers, in which the energy of these cultural traditions started to be transformed into new religion and politics. Along with these major cities, the legacy of the Arab tribal tradition has been merged with newly released cultural trends in the newly established provincial capitals - Basra, Kufa, Aleppo, Kuravan, Phage, Rey (Tehran), Nishapura and Sara etc.Through religious change, whether it was fervent, formal, compelled or overwhelming, Islam united diverse cultural elements under its banner. By ethnic intervention, Islam has absorbed the diverse nations of the world. In this process, Islam has adopted all the weapons and methods. Islam does not distinguish between the spiritual and temporal, supernatural and practical, religious and secular religion. While Western-Christian political ideology has accepted the parallel power of both religion and politics, Islam does not distinguish between religion and politics. Religion and politics are confused with one another.

Conclusion

Religion is a belief and faith and it has a strong connection to Indian culture In Indian culture, the fundamental concept of cultural and social activities has been religion. Religion has great role in shaping the lives of its adherents and developing culture. Faith and belief of people has a strong connection to their culture and value system. Since ancient times, the ***Rishis*** of India have been curious to know the unknown power, and there has been a process of faith and research towards religion. Religion has been determining factor in making the difference between right and wrong in thought, behaviour and action to human beings. In every part of the world

God's imagination has been in vague in some form or another. In the era of change, the nature of religion has also changed. Today, in the materialistic era the religion has remained a personal and optional subject of the person. In modern times, due to scientific inventions and the effects that have arisen, social life is changing rapidly. Under the influence of western culture, literature and philosophy; the religious outlook and the social and cultural beliefs of people of India have also changed. The achievements of scientists have altered the attitude of human beings. The science has confronted the reality of religious intolerance, customs and horoscopes and made people aware of reality. In the modern era, religion became a means of livelihood and a profitable business. Ghosts, religious intolerance, worship of pirates in guise of pious people, religious places have become the basis of immoral acts. In the end of the 20th century, the negative role of religion has increased in the whole world due to the use of religion in politics. Religious fanaticism has created political evils like terrorism and virtually divided the world between two camps- those who harbour and sponsor religious fundamentalism and terrorism and those who are victims of it. But, contrary to their designs; the foundation of the secular nation is based on religious tolerance, religious harmony and ethics, and there is no acceptance for violence here.

Important Points

- Religion is the extension of divinity and spirituality already prevalent in human beings.
- In all political arrangements of the world, there is emphasis on secularism to be accepted as a policy.
- Many religions originated and developed in different parts of the world in different times, different places and different cultures.
- Changes in time, place, culture and the spiritual conditions also led to changes in religions.
- All religions basically talked about the fundamental facts and values of unity.
- The current dilemma is to establish unity among different religions and opinions.
- Religion emphasizes to upgrade the spiritual part of life and to orient it towards secularism.
- Religion has always been an important concept in Indian culture and philosophy.
- Religion first of all, originated in eastern cultures.
- Religion in India is recognized in terms of duty (***kratvya***), non-violence, justice and virtues.
- Religion is useful for advancement and welfare.
- In English, the paralleling term of ***Dharma*** is Religion, which means - Faith, belief and esteem or opinion.
- Religion is universally held sacred, but religious holiness is relative.
- Religious beliefs and cultures have started fighting each other to establish their personal superiority. This kind of mutual opposition, the tendency of quarrels, has created a situation of religious conflict.
- In today's perspective, the ***religion of humanity*** is considered to be the best religion.
- A religion is useful only when it establishes unity with other religions.
- By adhering to common values of all religions, state of the God can be established in the world.
- Whenever there is a negative connotation of religion and politics, then politics has misused religion.
- Secularism in Indian perspective is different from the western religious perspective.
- In the Indian concept, ***'Dharma***' is not the temporal religion alone.
- There is an unbreakable relationship between religion and non-violence.
- In India, religion is related to **Sadhana Paksha**(practice) and ***Achar Paksha*** (conduct) , whose goal is to elevate the soul.
- Yajnavalkya has numbered nine characteristics

of religion.

- Nation as religion is paramount
- Christianity is an egalitarian religion
- In the Christian political ideology, the parallel power of both religion and politics has been accepted.
- Islam is one of the latest religions of the world.
- Islam does not distinguish between the spiritual and temporal, supernatural and practical, religious and secular religion.
- Islam does not make any distinction between religion and politics, but believes that the two are intertwined and amalgamation of one another.

Exercise

Multiple Choice Questions

1. "Religion is the extension of divinity and spirituality already prevalent in man" - Who is this statement?
   (A) Confucius (B) Swami Vivekananda
   (C)Plato (D) Mahatma Gandhi ( )
2. Which heart is considered by Maithili Sharan Gupt as stone?
   (A) The heart without religiosity
   (B) The heart without love for one's country
   (C) The heart of open surgery
   (D) None of these ( )
3. What is considered to be against religion in the ***Manu Smiriti***?
   (A) Forgiveness (B) Patience
   (C) Accumulation (D) No anger ( )
4. The secular state means-
   (A) Religion less state
   (B) State recognizes one religion
   (C) State which views all religions as equal
   (D)Religious States ( )
5. The founder of Islam is -
   (A) Prophet Mohammad
   (B) Abu Bakker
   (C) Hassan and Hussein
   (D) Mohammed Bin Qasim ( )

Very Short Answer Type Questions-

1. Which scholar has considered ***spirituality*** as an essential part of religion?
2. Write an English translation of the word ***Dharma***.
3. In which year, Islamic religion was founded?
4. Who was the originator of Christianity?
5. Which religion was originated by Gautama Buddha?

Short Answer Type Questions-

1. What is religion? Explain.
2. Explain the concept of Secularism.
3. Explain the relationship between religion and ethics.
4. What is the religious concept in Christianity?
5. Write the names of the five nations, where Islam spread the most.

Essay Type Questions-

1. Explain the inter relationship between the religion and the politics.

2. Discuss the relationship between state and religion in Islam.

Answers to Multi Choice Questions

1. B 2. B 3. C 4. C 5. A

4. Liberty and Equality

Liberty

The word 'Liberty' means - the absence of restrictions or bonds. It is an exemption to work as one desired. It is the state of being free within society from oppressive restrictions imposed by authority on one's behaviour or political views. The term natural liberty is often used to connote complete freedom of the human mind, or freedom of thought. It is also used to mean freedom from the conventions of the society, and desire to do just as one likes. In broad sense, freedom is not a word but a movement. In the Indian National Movement, innumerable people sacrificed their lives for attaining independence. Freedom was also central theme in the American and the French Revolution. 'History of Parliament is also a history of struggle for independence. 'Freedom is the fundamental requirement of a decent state system and the concept of democracy. It is so important in human life.' Liberty is an expression of what is valuable about us as human beings.

Patrick Henry best illustrates the worth of freedom - ***' Give me freedom or death'.***

"Independence is my birthright and I shall take it." These words of Bal Gangadhar Tilak symbolize the constant struggle for independence.

According to the historian 'Richie', after the 'right to life', the 'right of freedom' is usually taken as primary and most necessary thing by many people. The search for man's independence is the central section of human history and the best aspiration of mankind; he always strives for its fulfillment. This is not only the means of achieving other accomplishments, but it is supreme in itself. To achieve this, he is willing to give the highest sacrifice of his life.

4.1 Meaning and Definition of Liberty

The word or movement around human civilization is so distraught, what is that? What is liberty, and why is it important? Why do we care about it? The first premise is that liberty is an expression of what is valuable about us as human beings. It is a natural law idea; that is to say, it is a moral imperative based on what is fundamental about our human nature. Liberty has different meanings when used in different contexts. If only the lack of bondage is freedom, then human beings will be destroyed by mutual struggles. Only empowered or competent will be free in such situation. Then what is liberty? Liberty is the ability of a man to work according to his wish and in doing so he must not curtail or pose any obstacle in the freedom of other people. In this way, there are two views of liberty. First - the absence of one's bondage. The second one's being put under reasonable bond. We need to look upon both these aspects.

The Meaning of Negative Liberty

This is the situation in which there is no fastening. The person is free to arbitrate according to what he his desires. Liberty, according to Hobbes, signifies "the absence of opposition" or "external impediments" to motion. Such Liberty applies not only to rational agents but also to "irrational and inanimate creatures." It is a complete lack of control and restraint over freedom. Hobbes's distinction between freedom (the absence of external

impediments) and power (the internal ability to do something) is frequently cited as an early formulation of negative freedom. For Hobbes, therefore, freedom consists of unimpeded power. In a social context, a free man "is he that in those things, which by his strength and wit he is able to do, is not hindered to do what he has a will to do." Hobbes employed the mechanistic concept, defining "freedom" as the absence of physical impediments; whereas Locke employed the social concept, defining "freedom" as the absence of coercion in human affairs. Rousseau was also influenced by this concept. Many other thinkers of individualism also supported this type of liberty.

J. S. Mill is one of such thinkers who thought on similar lines. 'In the field of conscience, thought, religion, publishing, business and relationships with others, the man should be left uninterrupted.' Mill further said that the state should not interfere in the personal functions of a person. The only freedom which deserves the name is that of pursuing our own good, in our own way, so long as we do not attempt to deprive others of theirs, or impede their efforts to obtain it.

The negative concept of liberty assumes that

1. Lack of restrictions is freedom.
2. Increasing the scope of the state limits the freedom of the person.
3. The government that governs the least is the best one.
4. The principle of open competition is beneficial for human development.
5. The government-backed protection is not good in personal interest.

In the present civilized era of globalization, where human beings are mutually dependent, above concept of liberty is not tenable. While living in a society, man has to follow many limitations and put under legal restrictions to safeguard the liberty of his fellow beings. He cannot enjoy arbitrary and unlimited freedom.

The Meaning of Positive Liberty-

Positive liberty is the possession of the capacity to act upon one's free will, as opposed to negative liberty, which is freedom from external restraint on one's actions. A concept of positive liberty may also include freedom from internal constraints. Man helps create such circumstances such conditions which are necessary for his development as well as fellow citizens.

According to Herbert Spencer " If every man has freedom to do all that he wills, provided he infringes not the equal freedom of any other man, then he is free to drop connection with the state-to relinquish its protection, and to refuse paying toward its support".

In the words of Paine, 'freedom' is the right to do those things, which is not against the rights of others. He further said that -"It has been thought a considerable advance towards establishing the principles of Freedom, to say, that government is a compact between those who govern and those that are governed: but this cannot be true, because it is putting the effect before the cause; for as man must have existed before governments existed, there necessarily was a time when governments did not exist, and consequently there could originally exist no governors to form such a compact with. The fact therefore must be, that the individuals themselves, each in his own personal and sovereign right, entered into a compact with each other to produce a government: and this is the only mode in which governments have a right to arise,and the only principle on which they have a right to exist."

To Mahatma Gandhi Individual liberty and interdependence are both essential for life in society. He sees liberty not mere lack of control over man, but as an essential necessity for the development of his personality. In this sense, freedom means the circumstances which can lead a person to live a free, fair and secure life. He should get the opportunity to raise resources for living; he can reveal his thoughts and manifest the all-round development of personality. Freedom is positively in favour of that

1. The reasonable restrictions on freedom are necessary.
2. The interest of the society and the person is mutually dependent.
3. The true liberty is vested in obedience to the laws of the state.
4. The value of political and civil liberties is meaningless without economic liberty.
5. It is necessary to recognize the freedom of others to accept the existence of liberty.

4.2 Various Kinds of Liberty-

1. Natural Liberty - This form of freedom is not obtained from human or any human institution but it is given by nature. It is enunciated by nature in the person's personality right from him birth. It is supposed that nature has implanted certain instincts in man, and man should be free to pursue the urges that are instinctive. Natural liberty, in that sense, amounts to license. It is subversive of social and other forms of organization. Besides, life, property, and the pursuit of happiness, are regarded as the rights inherent in human nature, and therefore are natural rights. The concepts of natural law and natural rights went together. The person himself cannot even transfer it. This freedom is a condition even prior to the state came into existence. It is believed that this liberty gradually became extinct with the establishment of the state. The Rousseau has said - "Man is born free, but he is in chains everywhere". The Social contract thinkers were supporters of this liberty.

2. Personal / Individual Liberty- It is freedom of the person in going and coming, equality before the courts, security of private property, freedom of opinion and its expression, and freedom of conscience subject to the rights of others and of the public. Humans must have freedom in the work of their personal lives. Restrictions can be imposed only in the interests of society. The personal liberty of citizens is very important in democratic countries as it enables them to live life according to their likes, views, expressions and values. Personal enunciates that the person should have full independence in the areas such as dressing, eating, living, family and religion etc. Having personal freedom does not mean that we can behave without consideration for others.

3. Civil Liberty- The term civil liberty means the Rule of Law. The powers of government are defined by the constitution of the state, and the laws of the constitution guarantee certain freedoms to the individual. These freedoms are enjoyed by all alike. Thus civil liberty is a gift of the state to the citizen. Civil liberties are freedoms due to every individual, just based on the fact that they are human beings. It is based on the belief that all men are endowed with certain inalienable rights, such as life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Civil liberties are not gifted by governmental action, as they are rights of birth. The government cannot take away or change these rights by making or doing away with legislation. Civil liberties or personal freedoms are personal guarantees and freedoms that the government cannot abridge, either by law or by judicial interpretation, without due process.

4. Political Liberty- It is share of an individual in the affairs of the state and the political system. This is the freedom in which every citizen has the right to vote, to participate in elections and to get public posts. Political liberty means that the people are free to determine how they are to be governed. It really signifies constitutional government, that is, a government, based on constitution which the people, in their free will, have created and adopted for themselves. Gilchrist calls it the second name of democracy.

5. Economic Liberty- Economic freedom or economic liberty is the ability of members of a society to undertake economic actions. It is the freedom to prosper within a country without intervention from a government or economic authority. Individuals are free to secure and protect his/her human resources, labour and private property. It is economic freedom that helps in a viable economic level of the person enabling him to

provide not only for himself but also for his family. He can lead a life with self-esteem and there are no financial challenges to cope up with. It's also economic security. It also includes attempts to reduce inequalities on the economic basis, in which the scope of exploitation is minimal, the person is not in the state of economic slavery, everyone has the same opportunity as economic advancement, choosing business and freedom of employment, through which he could lead a dignified life.

6. Religious Liberty - It is related to inner conscience. It gives a person the freedom to obey, believe and practice any religion. It enunciates freedom of religion, method of customs worship, the formation of institutions and the promotion of religion. Disobeying the law system or forcing a change of religion upon others in the name of religion is not part of religious liberty. Freedom of religion is a principle that supports the freedom of an individual or community, in public or private, to manifest religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship, and observance. It also includes the freedom to change one's religion or belief.

7. Moral Liberty- It is s related with a person's character, conduct, ethics and justifiable behavior. Being influenced by interdependence and moral qualities, when a person acts, it is moral independence. Individuals working under the influence of character deficiencies such as selfishness, greed, anger, hatred, maladies come in the category of moral imperfection. Moral freedom is not the right to do what you want it is the strength to do what is right. Moral freedom is not the absence of restraint, but rather it is a resolve to abide by the truth and lead an honest and virtuous life. Moral freedom is liberty that comes from knowing the truth and living in harmony with that truth.

8. Social Liberty- It is considered as the mother of social freedom, social equality and justice. It is not be discriminated against and treated equally with the people on the basis of race, class, color, gender, religion, race etc. The right to equality in our constitution has been given to strengthen this independence. It emphasizes on social equality and equal legal protection should be attained before law. Social liberty is the synthesis of individual independence and communal autonomy from overarching government or state control. Social liberty is the rejection of the concentration of decision-making authority into distant, oligarchic, centralized bureaucracies - federal or monolithic - and the embrace of diffusion and localization of that decision-making authority. Social liberty exists in a political, social, and economic environment which allows voluntary accession to associations, but also permits a person to choose to remain free of restraint by society, except in cases in which an individual's claim of freedom interferes with another individual's right to be free from unwarranted, aggressive coercion or harm. An economic system of social liberty regards free-market capitalism and democratic, communalistic socialism as equally conducive means towards the ends of generalistic liberation from tyranny.

9. National Liberty- National liberty simply means national independence, that is, freedom from control exercised by one people over another. The term signifies a free country with sovereignty of the people established therein. When we talk of liberty as a concept of political science in relation to the individual we mean civil liberty. The first thing that we have to remember in this connection is that the state is the only source of civil liberty. The state guarantees liberty to every individual by means of its sovereign power exercised through a system of laws. Other liberties of the person without national liberty are secondary.

10. Constitutional Liberty- It is provided by the Constitution to the citizens. The Constitution guarantees protection of such freedoms. Such freedom as is enjoyed by the citizens of a country or state under the protection of its constitution; the aggregate of those personal, civil, and political rights of the individual which are guaranteed by the constitution and secured against invasion by the government or any of its agencies. As Prof. Laski puts it- “liberty is the atmosphere

created by constitutional rights." Article 32 of Indian Constitution gives citizens the right to constitutional remedies.

4.3 Essential Conditions for Liberty-

Some natural conditions are necessary in society for the maintenance of human freedom. In absence of these conditions, the existence of liberty may get endangered. These conditions can be summed up as under.

1. Persistent awareness towards the individual's liberty.
2. Fearlessness and courage of the citizens.
3. Democratic sentiment must flourish in the society.
4. Liberty can flourish only in democratic rule.
5. One should not have special privileges.
6. Financial equity oriented society.
7. Rule of non-partisan law.
8. Freedom of press.
9. Fair Opinion
10. An atmosphere of peace and security in society.
11. Independent judiciary
12. Constitutionalism

4.4 Hurdles in the way of Liberty-

1. Lack of awareness about freedom.
2. Lack of education
3. Poverty and lack of resources
4. Executive interference in the functions of the judiciary
5. Lack of respect for the Constitution and the laws
6. An atmosphere of chaos.
7. Autistic conduct of the executive.
8. Anti-national elements and terrorism.

Equality-

The concept of equality originated in response to the prevalent practice of privilege. Nature has created all humans equal from birth and inequality is created due to man-made conditions and circumstances. In the Human Rights Declaration, it has been said that "Human beings are born free and equal, and they are also free and equal in respect to their rights". America's Independence Declaration 1776 also states that we believe this truth as axiomatic that Nature has created all humans equal.

4.5 Meaning of Equality

Equality is the name of that circumstance, due to which all persons can get equal opportunities for the development of their existence. Also, inequalities arising due to social inequality can be eliminated. The concept of making all people equal in the society is not possible. Nature has not given equal rights to all people physically and mentally. According to Laski, "equality does not mean that every person should be treated equally or each person should be given equal pay." If the salary of a laborer is equal to the famous scientist or mathematician, then the objective of the society will be destroyed, hence the meaning of parallelism is that 'there is no class of privileged people and everyone should get equal opportunities for progress'.

4.6 Basic Elements of Equality -

1. Equality is similar behavior with people with similarities.
2. All people get equal opportunities for development.
3. The state and the society must behave equally with all the people.
4. Human dignity and rights get equal protection.
5. No discrimination towards any person in the society on the basis of race, creed, religion, language, class, character, sex, place of residence, property, nationality etc.
6. Every person should be given equal importance in society.

4.7 Kinds of Equality-

Various kinds of equality as given by political

thinkers can be expressed in a consolidated form as under-

1. Civil Equality - All citizens of the state get civil rights and the state does not discriminate with its citizens, so that the spirit of confidence in the state can be ensured in the minds of the citizens. Civil equality can be established by establishing the rule of law. Under Article 14 of the Indian Constitution, under the fundamental rights, all citizens are given equal rights before the law and also equal protection of the law. Civil equality implies equality before law.

2. Political Equality- Political equality refers to the equality of each citizen's individual rights and liberty. In a politically equal society, citizens who are unequal socially or financially still possess identical voting rights and have the right to expect equitable treatment under the law. All citizens of the state have the similarity and equal rights to participate in the work of state without any discrimination. All the citizens who meet other qualifications have the right to vote in an equal suffrage; to be a candidate for election and also to receive public posts. Political equality is the pillar of democracy.

3. Social Equality- Social equality or equal society implies that everyone enjoys the same rights. Everyone is bound by the same laws, has access to the same health care and education, and equal opportunity to employment. Given the diversity in race, social status and economic status in our society .All persons are equal in social view; nobody gets privilege. The tendency of all in society to get equal opportunities and participation in development will ultimately help in attainment of the social justice.

4. Natural Equality - The exponents of this concept believe that nature have made all humans equal. They have the same body and intelligence. The difference that we see is the result of the differentiation of social situations in the long course of history. The concept of natural equality is most contradictory. Nature does not create equality at all, nor does all human beings are by nature equal in qualities, abilities, capabilities, power, images, ideas etc. Aristotle contends that individuals are naturally unequal. It seems odd for us to be able to speak of political equality in any sense. For men act in many ways contrary to their habituation and their nature through reason, if they are persuaded that some other condition is better.

5. Economic Equality- This equality is the basis of all other equalities. In the absence of economic equality, political, civil and social equality is meaningless. It implies to a more equal distribution of goods and services to citizens and is also known as economic equity. Equal distribution of wealth or giving equal salary is not economic equality. Economic equality is a commonality of opportunity, that is, to provide equal opportunities for all people to work.

6. Cultural Equality- Cultural equality embodies the values, policies, and practices that ensure that all people including but not limited to those who have been historically under represented based on race/ethnicity, age, disability, sexual orientation, gender, gender identity, socioeconomic status, geography, citizenship status, or religion. Treating the majority and minority sections of the society by the state on equal terms comes in this category. They are provided with appropriate opportunities for preservation of their language, script, culture and social conception. Our Constitution provides fundamental right to cultural equality. The Constitution provides that every community has full freedom to run its own institution to preserve its own language and culture. The Indian constitution guarantees Cultural and Educational Rights under Articles 29 and 30.

7. Legal Equality- In the democratic states, dissimilarities can be removed only by establishing legal equality and the rule of law. It implies equality before the law and equal protection of laws. The doctrine emphasises that all persons, regardless of wealth, social status, or the political power wielded by them, are to be treated the same before the law.

Equality before the law, also known as: equality under the law, equality in the eyes of the law, or legal equality, is the principle that each independent human being must be treated equally by the law (principle of isonomy) and that all people are subject to the same laws of justice (due process) without any discrimination whatsoever. Right to equality given under article 14 of Indian law. It is one of the fundamental rights. It ensures the guarantees to every person the right to equality before law & equal protection of the laws. It is not only right of Indian citizens but also right of non-citizens. Article 14 says that "no one is above the law. All are equal in eye of law.

8. Equality of Opportunity- It implies that the state gives equal opportunities to all its citizens for their fullest growth. . The state provides equality of opportunity to all its citizens without any discrimination on the basis of caste, creed, religion, class, gender and race etc. When equality of opportunity prevails, the assignment of individuals to places in the social hierarchy is determined by some form of competitive process, and all members of society are eligible to compete on equal terms. Different conceptions of equality of opportunity construe this idea of competing on equal terms variously. Article 16 gives the guarantee of equality of opportunity in matters of public employment. Article 16(1) & 16(2) have laid down a general rule that there shall be equal opportunity for all citizens and thus emphasizes on universality of Indian Citizenship. However, further section of Article 16 provides the exceptions. Article 16(3) reads as follows:

Nothing in this article shall prevent Parliament from making any law prescribing, in regard to a class or classes of employment or appointment to an office [under the Government of, or any local or other authority within, a State or Union territory, any requirement as to residence within that State or Union territory] prior to such employment or appointment.

9. Equality of Education- Educational equity, also referred to as equity in education, is a measure of achievement, fairness, and opportunity in education. Equality of opportunity means to give equal chance to every individual for the development of his capacity. The state provides for educational opportunities to all citizens of the country without any discrimination between persons on grounds of their religion, caste, race, sex or place of birth.

4.8 Relationship between Liberty and Equality

Liberty is moral freedom, and equality is essential to it, for without equality, the price of liberty for might be the denial of liberty. Liberty and equality both go together in claims to fundamental rights. But the two have not always and everywhere been claimed with equal fervor. We need to consider the mutual relationship of liberty and equality. Both of these concepts have deeply influences life of an individual. But there is no consensus among scholars on this relationship. Some considers them to be conflicting of each other, while other thinks them to be supplementary of each other. Those who consider liberty and equality are contradictory of each other believe that there is no equilibrium in them. Liberty and equality are opposed to each other. There is a view point that both liberty and equality are opposed to each other and they cannot go side-by-side. The main advocates of this view point are De Tocqueville and Lord Acton. According to **Lord Acton**, ***"The passion for equality has made vain the hope for liberty."*** They believe that - Inequality exists in nature itself. There is no justification for establishing equality between qualified and inefficient and neither can survive **Rousseau** says - ***"Without equality, liberty cannot survive."*** **Pollard** writes,***"The only solution to the problem of liberty lies in equality"***. Both are essential for the development of a person. It is also imperative that both the concepts remain in their limits. This idea of **Mahatma Gandhi** is elusive that ***- 'Freedom does not mean the absence of control but the condition of development of personality'***. Without political equality, liberty will become meaningless. A large group of citizens will be

deprived of the participation of the government. At the same time, there will be no opportunities to enjoy freedom in the absence of civil equality. In the absence of social equality on the other hand, freedom will remain the privilege of a few people. In the absence of economic equality, the rest of society will live on the mercy of capitalists. **Herbert Dean** describes the relationship of both in these words- ***"there is no conflict between freedom and equality, nor are they different from one another, but there are two facts of the same ideal."***

Important Points

- The word 'Liberty' means - the absence of restrictions or bonds.
- During Indian freedom movement BalGangadharTilak said 'Freedom is my birthright, and I shall have it.'
- There are two views of Liberty - lack of bonds and lack of reasonable constraints.
- Nature has created all humans free and equal.
- Political Liberty is the soul of democracy.
- Other liberties without economic liberty are meaningless.
- National liberty is the second name of sovereignty.
- State's sovereignty does not impose restrictions on the person's liberty. In fact, humans can enjoy real liberty as part of the state.
- Economic inequality, control of judiciary, lack of education, lack of rule of law, terrorism etc. are the obstacles of liberty.
- Liberty and equality complement each other.
- There are various forms of equality Civil, political, social, natural, economic, cultural, and legal equality and also equality of opportunities and education.
- The plant of freedom flourishes in the courtyard of equality.

Exercise

Multiple Choice Questions-

1. Freedom means -
   (A) Lack of restrictions
   (B) Exempt to do any work
   (C) The power to do any work
   (D) Facilities available for the overall development of the citizens ( )
2. Which of these / statements are appropriate, select the correct pair -
   (i) There is no justification for equality without political liberty;
   (ii) Political equality is possible in the rule of law.
   (iii) There should be equal distribution of wealth among all citizens of the society.
   (iv) Without national sovereignty, liberty is just an imagination.
   (A) i,ii,iii (B)i,ii,iii
   (C) i,ii,iv (D)i,ii,iii,iv ( )
3. The statement which correctly clarifies the social equality is?
   (i) Equal Opportunities of Development;
   (ii) Legal protection without any discrimination;
   (iii) Equal income of all citizens of the society
   (iv) End of discrimination on a religious basis;
   (A) i,iii,iv (B) i,ii,iii
   (C) i,ii,iv (D) i,iii,iv ( )
4. Which idea is considered the Mantra of liberty?
   (A) The rule of law (B) The law of chaos
   (C) Arbitrariness of the executive
   (D) Illiteracy ( )

5. The citizens of which country are provided equality as the fundamental rights -

(A)India (B) Afghanistan

(C) Pakistan (D) Sri Lanka ( )

Very Short Answer Type Questions-

1. What are two views of liberty?
2. Write Tilak's slogan regarding liberty?
3. Which liberty is the soul of democracy?
4. What does the equality of opportunity mean?
5. Which liberty are the capitalist countries lacking in?

Short Answer Type Questions-

1. Write any five types of liberty?
2. What is political liberty?
3. Write the views of Laski on the concept of equality.
4. Explain the concept of 'Rule of Law'?
5. Comment briefly on 'Equality of opportunities'.

Essay Type Questions-

1. "Give me liberty or death" Patrick Henry. Write elaborately on the concept of liberty in terms of this statement.
2. Seamless liberty is not possible today. Do you agree with this statement? Illustrate the hurdles in the path of liberty.
3. The complete equality is like a dream. Explain this concept in the context of the meaning of equality, the basics and the interpretation of the types.
4. Explain the implications of liberty and equality.

Answers to Multiple Choice Questions-

1. D 2. B 3.C 4. A 5.A

Unit-II

Modern Political Concepts

1. Political Socialization

After World War II, many new concepts developed in the comparative politics for the study of newly independent Asian, African and Latin American states. The behavioral revolution gave more emphasis on the inter-disciplinary approach and various new and innovative concepts were also included in the study of Political Science. As a result of the increasing involvement of Sociology in political science, many sociological concepts were also incorporated in Political Science. Political culture, political participation, political development and political socialization were major concepts which became part of the study of Political Science. In this way Political Socialization is basically inspired by the Sociological concept of Socialization. Socialization is a continuous process in society, through which a person adopts the customs, traditions, values and beliefs of that society. He becomes an active member of the culture of that particular society. Every society teaches child ways and mannerism to speak, to greet, to eat, to dress and to worship according to its own peculiar culture. The process by following which a child becomes a member of that particular society is socialization. Similarly, for the political life also, there is a process of learning and teaching, through which a person develops his political understanding, his attitude towards a political life and also the political system. The process by which one acquires knowledge of politics is called political socialization. In other words, political socialization can be said to be a means of transferring political culture from one generation to the next generation. In fact, it has an important role in the smooth operation of the political system. There are certain ideals in every political system, like India's ideals are democratic system and independent society; hence political socialization in India will be an attempt to make citizens loyal to democracy and also to independent society. Unlike India, communist China's ideals are communist system and closed society and hence its citizens have to undergo through a peculiar process of political socialization to become part of that system. People are inducted into the political culture of their nation through the political socialization process. Political learning is a broad concept that encompasses both the active and passive and the formal and informal ways in which people mature politically. Individuals develop a political self, a sense of personal identification with the political world. Developing a political self begins when children start to feel that they are part of a political community. They acquire the knowledge, beliefs, and values that help them comprehend government and politics. The sense of being an Indian includes, feeling that one belongs to a unique nation; in which people share a belief in democratic ideals, is conveyed through the political learning process. Among the first political scientists to explain political socialization was Herbert H. Hyman, in his book-Political Socialization: A Study in the Psychology of Political Behaviour, explained

various aspects of political socialization. According to Almond and Powell "Political socialization is the process by which political cultures are maintained and changed". In the words of Kavanagh, "Political socialization is the word that describes the process through which a person receives his knowledge related to politics". Essence of above definitions is that political socialization aims to politically educate and orient people towards their political system to enable them to meaningfully contribute for its effective functioning. It is process by which one acquires political orientation and pattern of behaviour.

1.1 Tools of Political Socialization-

The agents of political socialization are the institutions, organizations and individuals which assist in process of political socialization. People develop their political values, beliefs, and orientations through interactions with agents of socialization. Agents include parents, teachers, friends, co-workers, military colleagues, religious associates, club members, sports-team competitors, and media. There are many institutions in the society that develop a political understanding of a person. Family, educational, political and social institutions, government processes, and means of mass communication etc. come in this category. Some of these institutions help in informal socialization whereas there are many others which carry out the process of socialization in a formal way. Informal processes often play an important role in political socialization in open and democratic societies such as India and the USA, whereas in the radical states such as China and Pakistan, forcible siphoning of political culture is carried out through deliberate governmental mechanisms in a formal manner. It will be useful to look at how the above mentioned institutions or agents actually work. The political socialization process in India is mostly haphazard, informal, and random. There is no standard set of practices for parents or teachers to follow when passing on the rites of politics to future generations. Moreover, caste factor play a significant role in political conditioning and also in process of socialization.

1.2 Family

Family is considered as first school, through which the child learns customs and traditions; he accepts the command of his parents, thereby establishing an understanding of power. Apart from this, by working together with everyone, in the family, and also through exerting pressure for fulfilling his demands, he develops the ability of political action. Generally, electoral experience shows that if the leader of the family is a supporter of a particular political party or the leader, other family members also follow him. Thus, the initial understanding towards politics is developed through the family.

1.3 Educational Institutions

Educational institutions also have important role in political socialization. Initially, he accepts the political beliefs in the family but they become more determined in educational institutions. Some scholars consider the educational institutions, rather than the family, to be the most influential agent of political socialization. Educational institutions can stimulate political learning through formal classroom instruction via civics and history classes, the enactment of ceremonies and rituals such as the flag salute, and extracurricular activities such as student government. Respect for authorities is emphasized, as teachers have the ability to reward and punish students through grades. With the need to adapt to participants of different background, the child learns to adjust with the variations and contradictions of political systems.

1.4 Political Parties

Political parties do important functions of socialization through their policies, ideology and programs. Political parties have different roles in different countries. In radical states such as communist party ruled China, the state has a strict control over the means of socialization. Whereas, in the democratic states, numerous political parties are free to socialize according to their own ideas. People develop attitudes toward the political system

through the socialization process. Political parties disseminate political knowledge and values, mobilize political action and train political leaders.

1.5 National Symbols

National Flag, National Anthem, National Day Festival, Parade of Army etc., politically sensitize the people towards political arrangements, political ideals and political system. A feeling of nationalism is generated and national values are imbibed in the youth of a country and this helps in making them good citizens who are faithful towards political ideals of their nation. In a way, all these jointly help in political conditioning and educating of the people.

1.6 Means of Communication

In modern times, the instruments of mass communication such as Newspapers, TV, Radio, and more recently the Face Book and Whatsapp have become very powerful medium for giving direction to person's political thoughts and enhancing his knowledge. Multi -Media are rich sources of information about government, politics, and current affairs. People learn about politics through news presented on television, in newspapers and magazines, on radio programs, on Internet websites, and through social media. The press provides insights into the workings of government by showcasing political leaders in action. In India, it is believed that elections are contested in the media offices nowadays, because they try to influence public opinion through various programs aired on television. People can witness politicians in action, including on the campaign trail, through videos posted on YouTube and on online news sites. The capacity of mass media to socialize people to politics has grown massively as the number of media outlets has increased and as new technologies allow for more interactive media experiences.

In fact, the political socialization is one of the important factors which influence the political system of a country the most. Political socialization has great role to play in determining and shaping the political culture of a country. It is likely that in a certain country there may be lack of active interaction between the citizens and the government and citizens may have no role to play in the functioning and the policy making of the government. On the contrary, there may be others where citizens actively participate in the functioning and the policy making process. Apparently, the difference in the level of role of citizens is actually the difference of level of political socialization.

Important Points

- The aim of political socialization is to educate the people in a political system and also helps in the smooth operation of the political system.
- The Agents or tools of political socialization are-Family, Educational Institutions, Political Parties, National Symbols, Peer Groups and the Media or the Means of Mass Communication.
- The broader the education of the students in the educational institutions, more strong their political socialization will be.

Exercise

Multiple Choice Questions-

1. Which of these thinkers have interpreted political socialization?
   (A) Herbert Hyman
   (B) Kavanagh
   (C) Almond and Powell
   (D) All of the above ( )
2. Which agency is not helpful in political socialization?
   (A) Family
   (B) Education Institute
   (C) Political party
   (D) Uncontrolled mob ( )
3. The author of the book "Political Socialization" is-
   (A) David Easton
   (B) Amartya Sen

(C) Herbert Hyman

(D) Leacock ( )

Very Short Answer Type Questions

1. Write two tools of political socialization.
2. Describe the three modes of mass communication.
3. In which institution does the political socialization of a student take place?

Short Answer Type Questions

1. How do families complete the process of political socialization?
2. Describe the role of communication media in political socialization.

Essay Type Questions

1. Write an essay on the process of political socialization.

Answers to Multiple Choice Questions

1. D 2. D 3.C

2. Political Culture

Political culture is a sociological concept. The political culture of any political system is created by the members. It refers to their historically-based, widely-shared beliefs, expectations, feelings, values and overall behaviour towards the political systems, which can serve as a link between citizens and government. Different countries have different political cultures, which can help us understand how and why their governments are organized in a certain way, why democracies succeed or fail, or why some countries still have monarchies. In fact, political culture is part of that broad general culture. At its core, political culture-the shared values and beliefs of a group or society regarding political relationships and public policy-answers the question of how human beings are going to live together. That is, political culture answers the question of who gets to do what with and to whom under what circumstances. Political culture also answers the question of who decides, who has authority, and who has power in a group, organization, institution, or other social unit in society. It is related to the political governance of a particular political system. If politics is the "art of the possible," then political culture helps define the limits of that art, for culture defines what is generally permissible in a given society. The political culture is the result of human behaviour and is therefore, not stable. It keeps on changing and is dynamic in nature.

2.1 Meaning and Definitions of Political Culture

The term political culture is referred by Almondas a pattern of orientations to political action, by David Easton as an environment and by Spiro as a political style. The term political culture was brought into political science to promote the American political system. The concept was used by Gabriel Almond in the late 50s, and outlined in The Civic Culture (1963, Almond & Verba). Almond and Powell, who first described the concept of political culture as a concept in terms of development countries, presented a broad definition of it. Almond's initial formulation defined political culture as the "particular pattern of orientations to political action. "Later he revised this conceptualization to the "distribution of patterns of orientation"-a more individual-level conceptualization. According to him, political culture is a style of political perception of individual beliefs and orientation of members towards a political system. Allen Ball writes in his book-

Modern Politics and Government that, "a political culture is composed of the attitudes, beliefs, emotions and values of society that relate to the political system and to political issues."

Lucian Pye writes that "political culture is the set of attitudes, beliefs and sentiments of that give orders and meaning to a political process and that provide the underlying assumptions and rules that govern behavior in the political system. It encompasses both the political ideals and the operating norms of a polity. Political culture is thus the manifestation in aggregate form of the psychological and subjective dimensions of politics." In other words, in any political system there exists (for the individuals) guidelines for effective political behaviour and (for the collectivity) a 'systematic structure of values and rational considerations which ensure coherence in performance of institutions and organisations.'

According to Sidney Verba "Political culture is the subjective orientation to politics or the system of empirical beliefs expressive symbols, and values which define the situation in which political action takes place."

Sydney Verba further writes that "the notion of political culture assumes that the attitudes, sentiments, and cognition that inform and govern political behaviour in any society are not just random categories but represent coherent patterns which fit together and are mutually reinforcing. In spite of the great potentialities for diversity in political orientations, in any particular community there is limited and distinct political culture which gives meaning, predictability, and form to the political process". A more simple definition is: "Attitudes, values, beliefs, and orientations that individuals in a society hold regarding their political system."

Components of Political Culture :

There are two components of political culture, namely orientation and political objects -

(1) Orientation- The literal meaning of orientation is apptitude or inclination. Almond and Powell describe the three components or organs of orientation, which are as follows-

a. Cognitive orientation, which is knowledge about the political objects and awareness about their existence.

b. Affective orientation, which is sensitivity towards these political objects developed in the minds of the people.

c. Evaluative orientation, which is to evaluative the good- evil or just-unjust about these political objects.

(2) Political Objects- There are four objects of orientation-

a. Political system

b. Political structures

c. Problems and policies

d. Individual as a political actor

2.2 Determinants of Political Culture-

History -

History plays an important role in the making and evolution of political culture.

Historical events always influence the shaping of political culture in a big way. The political culture of any system is created and developed by the historical traditions of that country and the prevailing value system. Indian political culture bears the influence of events of the freedom struggle and the contact with western civilisation and culture. As such the political culture of each society is greatly influenced by the historical events. Political culture of India is constitutional, pacifist and democratic, while the political culture of under developed countries such as Pakistan, Iraq or Libya can be termed as violent or undemocratic. Similarly, political culture in England is the result of political continuity, while the political culture of France is the result of the revolution.

Religious beliefs - Religion not only plays a key role in the formation of a political culture, but sometimes it also determines what kind of political system and institutions of the society will be. The influence of religious belief on the political culture of the Islamic nations is clearly visible.

Geographical Conditions- The geographical location of the country, the available resources, the nature of the population, also plays an important role in the creation of the political culture of that country. Political culture of a huge country like India will certainly be different from small European or African countries.

Socio-economic conditions- The social, religious caste diversity of the country, industrialization, conservatism, etc. also determines the nature of political culture. Political culture in the economically vulnerable or developing countries cannot be similar to one found in developed the countries, because levels of expectations and lifestyle vary.

Ideologies - The effect of ideologies is crucial in the formation of political culture. Ideologies like liberalism, Marxism, capitalism, play an active role in the development of political culture only on the basis of its global perspective.

Other Elements - In addition to the above elements, scientific and technical progress, the level of education and literacy, language, rituals media and press and social media such as Face book and WhatsApp also play significant role in the formation of political culture.

2.3 Characteristics of Political Culture

Political culture can be understood in terms of the traditions of a society, the spirit of its public institutions and the aspirations of its citizens, its collective discipline, the methods of its leaders, and the rules of being active.

Its characteristics are as follows -

1. It is of coordinative nature - Many innovative values come in political culture. There is a continual struggle between the new and old values of a political system. The importance of political culture lies in the fact that it co-ordinates between the new and the old values.

2. It is dedicated to moral values - It is necessary for the political culture to promote ethical values in citizens and the political system. Sometimes the religious nature of the society contributes to the establishment

of ethical values. The political system may also contribute towards formation of moral values.

3. It is of abstract nature- As a result of any law or action of the state if the people rebel or express their resentment towards the state, the mood of the people cannot be gauged; because the thoughts in the public's mindset are abstract. Such abstract sentiments continue to affect the political culture.

4. It is of dynamic nature - The political culture is the result of human behaviour and is therefore, not stable. The values of the people and society change with the changes in the circumstances and social needs. Political culture changes over time in response to dramatic events, such as war, economic collapse, or radical technological developments which makes it dynamic rather than static.

2.4 Political Culture and Democracy

Political culture emphasizes that the values, faith and capabilities of the people have a significant impact on the democratic institutions. Political Culture is regarded as a complex phenomenon which includes knowledge, art, belief, morals, law, custom and other capabilities acquired by man as a member of society. The people of a society share a common human nature like emotional drives, intellectual capacities and moral perspectives. The common human nature expresses itself in the form of certain values, belief and emotional attitudes which are transmitted from one generation to another, though with greater or lesser modifications, and they constitute the general culture of that society. Social relationships are subject to an endless process of transformation, of growth and decay of fusion and separation. Since they are all expressions of human nature, the social relationships of the present are found in germ at least in the past and those of the past survive, if only as relics in the present. Like many other approaches, this approach also emerged in the 1950-60 period and is ideologically leaned towards the then prevalent systems of Europe and the USA. The thinkers began to consider the political arrangements of their countries to be the best and sought to find causes to sustain and maintain their stability and permanence through political culture. Accordingly, relations between the democratically arranged systems and their pre requisites analytically studied. It was also necessary to consider these relations, because liberal democracies or institutions in the United Kingdom and the United States were safe even after both world wars. While the constitutional framework of Germany, Spain, Italy, was completely destroyed. The perception that constitutional structure will be helpful gradually in establishing liberal democratic values proved to be futile in cases of Italy and Germany. The demolition of the constitutional structures of the Third World in the 1950s and 60s also an indicator that democratic system can only flourish within proper, appropriate social conditions and such conducive social environment can be created by political culture. Thus, the institutional and socio-economic elements

that were considered adequate for the sustainability of democracy proved to be incomplete and wrong. Therefore, the aim of political culture is to focus on cultural aspects more than other aspects. The most important empirical research ever undertaken on the relations between political culture and democracy was outlined in -The Civic Culture-"Political Attitudes & Democracy in Five Nations" (1963, Almond & Verba). They analyzed the effects of political culture on the stability or instability of democracies of Britain, Germany, Italy, USA and Mexico. They highlighted and exposed the differences in their comparative study of political cultures of United Kingdom and America with the political cultures of Germany and Italy. According to Amanda and Verba, "Political culture refers to the paradigm of the orientations of the members of the society towards political parties, the courts, the constitution and the history of the state or to general their political environment. Political culture refers to what people believe and feel about government, and how they think people should act towards it. To understand the relationship of a government to its people, and how those people are going to act toward that government and others, it is necessary to study what those people believe about themselves and government .In essence, what is the inclination of the person towards political action, and how it is affected by the political culture are the nucleus of this study. However, the interface of political culture and democratic governance has not yet been thoroughly explored. . The current trend has tended to focus more on elections and electoral systems and, by default, leaving out culture in the discourse.

2.5 Kinds of Political Culture-

On an empirical basis various political scientists have presented their own interpretations about the names and different types of political cultures prevailing in the world. All of these help us to understand different dimensions of political culture.

Political culture can be broadly categorized in two kinds: -

i. The culture of elite

ii. The culture of common people

Almond has mentioned four types of political cultures on the basis of political arrangements -

1. Anglo-American Political System- In this category democratic and harmonious political culture with moderate values as prevailing in nations like Britain, America is highlighted.

2. Continental European Political System- In spite of liberal democratic arrangement in Francs, Germany, etc., there is tendency of sub-cultures there. Consequently, political cultures arising out of violent conflicts are also visible in these nations.

3. Non-Western or pre-industrial political system - Many newly independent, underdeveloped countries of Asia and Africa which were under the spell of colonial rule are still economically and politically far backward. Mature democratic political culture is yet to reach there.

4. Totalitarian political systems- In some countries of Asia, Africa and the Middle East there exists totalitarian or authoritarian regimes. These countries are still under the authoritarian rule of military dictatorships or forced monarchies. Communist regimes of China and North Korea also come under this category which prohibit opposition parties, restricts individual opposition to the state and its claims, and exercises an extremely high degree of control over public and private life. It is regarded as the most extreme and complete form of authoritarianism. Political power in totalitarian states has often involved rule by one leader and an all-encompassing propaganda campaign, which is disseminated through the state-controlled mass media and are often marked by political repression, personality cultism, control over the economy and restriction of speech, mass surveillance and widespread use of state terrorism. The political arrangement of these places can be differentiated in the nature of political culture. Apart from this, Finer has discussed mature, developed, low and non-political political cultures on the basis of military role in power. The role of military power in maturity will be judged and the progress will be gradual in the rest.

Wiseman has classified three narrow political cultures, narrow progressive, participant and three mixed political cultures compact, progressive, progressive participants and narrow participant political culture.

The above classification indicates the situation in the political system in the eyes of the masses. Similarly, on the basis of quantitative and power, the mass culture and the elitist culture is distinguished. Generally, the expectations of public culture differ from traditionalist culture. The creation and development of political culture is a continuous process. Political culture is not stable because social connotation and political system itself is not stable. From the political culture, the stability of the political arrangements and accordingly according to the political arrangements in the systems is fixed. In India, there was radical change in the political culture of East and East in the 1990s.

2.6 Political Culture and Political Socialization

According to Almond and Powell, "Political socialization is the process by which political culture is established and is also brought to change according to the necessity." It is through political socialization that a society transmits its political standards, beliefs and values from one generation to another. In this process, many agents such as family, friends, educational institutions, religious institutions, folk community, interest group and political parties play important role. It is not necessary that all the people will get involved in the structures so created, but this will help in keeping their continuous interest in the political life. At the same time, the political system develops the patience to withstand new pressures and tensions. Generally speaking, political socialization promotes political stability, but if the

political culture of any particular state is divided into many subcultures, it would be detrimental to national interests. It is therefore, inevitable to mould the process of political socialization in accordance with the requirements of nation building.

2.7 Importance of Political Culture

Since its beginning by Almond and Verba political culture seeks to study and analyze the stability and instability of a political system. For political culture, the society has become the focal point of the study rather than the formal institutions. This concept forced the political activists to include political and cultural elements in the study of political science to bring discretion in the study. Political culture has attempted to analyze as to why various different political societies take different directions. The development of the concept of political culture is an attempt to bridge the gap between micro and macro sociological analysis. The political culture provides guidelines for political behavior, and for the society as a whole it constitutes a structure of values and norms which helps ensure coherence in the operation of institutions and organizations. The stability of a political system is underlined by the relative success or failure of the assimilation of new attitudes into the existing value structure and for this there is the need to examine the means of effective transmission of the political culture from generation to generation. The political culture is the product of the history of both the political system and the individual members of the system, and thus is rooted in public events and private experience. In this sense.

Conclusion

Regardless of appropriate review, political culture is a very important concept for the study of comparative political institutions. Ever since Almond and Sidney Verba outlined the concept of political culture, the comparative study of politics of a country cannot be meaningfully carried out without understanding the political culture, behavior of its citizens and its political environment. Political culture involves fundamentally popular values and beliefs over political objects in a given community. Political scientists have more or less agreed on what political culture constitutes or entails. They also agree that political culture does shape the political behavior of citizens and national political development. However, it is still controversial among political scientists on how political culture can and should be studied.

Important Points

- Political culture is a concept which is related to perceptions and beliefs of people about politics.
- Leading thinkers of political culture are Sidney Verba, Almond and Powell, Alan Ball, Heinz Eulau and Lucian Pye.
- Almond has mentioned four types of political cultures the Anglo-American political system, the Continental European System, the, Pre-industrial System and the Totalitarian system.

Exercise

Multiple Choice Questions-

1. The main cause of the difference between the political arrangements of India and Pakistan is?
   (A) Geographical Situation
   (B) Political Culture
   (C) Political Development
   (D) Political Modernization ( )
2. The name of the book written by Alan Ball on political culture is -
   (A) Modern Politics and Government
   (B) Indian Politics and Government
   (C) A Glimpse of World politics
   (D) Hind Swaraj ( )
3. Which of these is not the determinant of political culture?
   (A) History
   (B) Social and Economic Traditions
   (C) Geographical Conditions
   (D) People's Dress ( )

Very Short Answer Type of Questions-

1. What are two kinds of the political culture?
2. Who are the main thinkers of the political culture?
3. Write the definition of political culture by Almond and Powell.

Short Answer Type of Questions-

1. What is political culture?
2. Describe the determinantsof the political culture.
3. Explain the Elite culture.

Essay Type of Questions-

1. Define the political culture and discuss the cultures prevalent in modern times.

Answers to Multiple Choice Questions

1. B 2. A 3. D

3. Political Participation

Political participation has special importance in modern political concepts. The term 'political participation' has a very wide meaning. It means - direct or indirect involvement of the public in the political processes. When the members of the political system participate in political processes at different levels for the smooth operation of the system or when people's participation is ensured, then this trend is called public participation or political participation. Political participation is a basic concept in political science and scholars have defined this concept in different ways. It may be defined as the actions of private citizens seeking to influence or support Government and politics. It is not only related to 'Right to Vote', but simultaneously relates to participation in: decision making process, political activism, political consciousness, etc. Women in India participate in voting, run for public offices and political parties at lower levels more than men. For political participation and direct democracy Switzerland is one of the leading democracies of the world. There the public has the right to "call back" to their elected representatives. Even the laws of the country can also be changed by the people by holding referendum. When such rights are with the public, the elected representatives in the political process cannot ignore their constituents. They always remain liable to the public. Political participation is considered to be the life element of the democratic system. Every democratic society is truly a "participatory society"

However, in reality political power is always centered in some people. It is quite difficult to find a democracy which ensures full participation of its people in the political system. In the political society in which people vested with political power constantly persuade common people to participate in the political process and consider such a partnership positive, such polity is called participatory democracy. Healthy democratic traditions are developed in such society which continues to grow further. A system can be strengthened only when there is a large number of people's participation in it. In a political system in which the public remains indifferent to the political processes or the ruling class obstructs its way to play active role, it is very likely that such systems will disintegrate or collapse.

3.1 Meaning of Political Participation

The ***'political participation'*** as a concept of political science was initiated by the thinkers of Behaviouralism. Although the earliest references to this concept are found in the articles of Rousseau and the Republicans Political participation refers to the total participation of citizens on different levels of the political system. Political participation accelerates political development in a system. It plays an important role in making the system modern and liberal. Political participation simply means that a person is participating in the political process by making his or her opinions and beliefs known. In the social sciences, the term 'political participation' is often used to describe an action taken by a citizen to influence the outcome of a political issue. The Liberalists support only such participation of the individuals which is helpful in maintaining the system.

Hence, this term has been defined as "those voluntary activities by which members of the society share in the selection of ruler and, directly or indirectly, in the formation of public policy." (McCloskey, 1968:253) Mc'Closkey believes that political participation is not only a tendency of democratic systems, but it remains in all modes in a modest quantity. He also believes that it is not necessary to find more of its quantity in the modern strong democratic system. Political participation can also be found in developing and other systems. It can also be qualitative in place of quantitative.

3.2 Kinds of Political Participation

In principle, two forms of political participation are found- (1) Developmental (2) Democratic. In the last 60-65 years, rapid expansion of the study of 'political participation' reflects the importance of active participation of citizens in democratic policy formulation. It initially focused on electoral participation in the 1940s and 1950s; now this participation seems to affect every process of the political system. Casting vote, giving donations, petitioning, influencing the ruling class, taking out a rally, protesting against a specific issue and protesting against the people's representatives all are tools of political participation. On one hand the government's activities and responsibilities have increased and on the other there is also unexpected increase in political participation. Social media has articulated political participation very sharply. There has been a deep engagement of political involvement with every social aspect of a developed society. Generally speaking, there are three different types of political participation. The first is conventional participation, which includes traditional or expected political participation, such as voting. In fact, the beginning of the study of 'political participation' lies in the fact that both democracy and political participation are inseparable. As the name suggests, political participation simply means that a person is participating in the political process by making his or her opinions and beliefs known.

Parry writes that- "Any book about political participation is also a book about democracy."

Kaase and Marsh say that - "... the notion of political participation is at the center of the concept of the democratic state."

"... all voluntary activities by individual citizens intended to influence either directly or indirectly political choices at various levels of the political system". (Kaase and Marsh)

The involvement of citizens in the democratic decision-making is an indispensable condition of democracy; its idea was initiated by the Pericles (431-430 BC) in his funeral speech. According to him, "the unique characteristic of democracy lies in role of its citizens."

Benjamin Barber (1984 to 1995) strongly advocated a strong "participatory democracy" as an alternative for liberal 'thin democracy' or 'politics as zoo keeping' more recently. He defends the idea of a 'strong democracy', which "requires unmediated self- government by an engaged citizenry" (Barber 1984: 261). Stressing the need for a strong democracy, Benjamin said that it is essential for competing citizen groups to participate directly in such a democracy without any intermediary. In which each person has direct contact with another person and there is no need for any arbitrator or a qualified intermediary. Participatory democratic theorists such as Barber have long claimed that political participation improves citizens and helps to integrate them into the political community. In recent years political participation has been advocated as a way of reducing alienation, particularly among the young. The change of democracy from the monarchy can be the result of the continuous growing aspirations and expectations of the citizens. When democracy progressed from the theoretical process and took the form of representative democracy then political participation also surfaced.

3.3 Civic Awareness and Political Participation-

Citizens' consciousness, their educational level, ideological affiliations are those elements

which ensure their political involvement. This is the reason that the level of political participation of the citizens of the countries is broad where the literacy percentage is higher. Lower rates of education literacy in Asian-African countries can be said to be sufficient enough to show the political apathy of the citizens. At the same time, the population density and extended dispersion are also the reasons why citizens cannot discuss and discuss widely with their representatives. It has been observed that large countries can communicate directly to their representatives in a minority. In such a situation, the democratic and political participation of the citizens can only be active in small amounts. Naturally, it cannot be considered suitable for the political health of a country.

3.4 Elitist Theory of Political Participation-

Effective and active participation of citizens is the first and compulsory condition in the democratic process. But this condition does not apply in practice on the practical ground. The central proposition of elitism is that all societies are divided into two classes the few who govern and the many that are governed. A basic assumption of elite theory is that "the masses" lack political competence. Perhaps the most influential precursor of the theory of "democratic elitism" is the famous political thinker Joseph Schumpeter, whose book “Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy” is taken as seminal by contemporary liberal theorists. Joseph Schumpeter says that it is business of politicians to make governance and public policies; the role of ordinary citizens is limited to electing their representatives through political parties of their choice. As Schumpeter somewhat baldly puts the point: "The electoral mass is incapable of action other than a stampede."? Schumpeter's one-sentence summary of his concept of democracy is: "Democracy means only that the people have the opportunity of accepting or refusing the men who are to rule them." Clearly, this process pushes the citizens into the back stage and the only elected politicians in power or opposition rules the roost. Robert Dahl, sharply criticizing this eloquence of democracy notes that- "The key political, economic and social decisions" of Western liberal societies are made by "tiny minorities." The elite theorists attribute this phenomenon, in large part, to the nature of contemporary mass democracy, in which the great majority of people are politically unorganized, fragmented, and passive. The reality of our system is elite rule, and, according to Dahl, "It is difficult -nay, impossible -to see how it could be otherwise in large political systems." Not only this, even the active and frontline politicians or the professional politicians who represent the public also work superficially in the formulation of policy due to economic, scientific and technical complications. Actual activism and participation in power is done by the bureaucrats and the technocrats. Thus in the present time, the actual participation remains with the minority or the elite class. An organized minority, obeying a single impulse, is irresistible against an unorganized majority in which each individual stands alone before the totality of the organized minority. A hundred men acting uniformly in concert, with a common understanding, will triumph over a thousand men who are not in accord and can be dealt with one by one. It is clear that democracies in the modern democratic system are basically the rule of politicians, in which the role of ordinary citizens is limited, short-lived and imaginative. Robert Dahl said that a system that follows the principles of market automatically becomes part of the elitist process to set the conflicting interests of various interest groups in balance. In this process, the entire society gets divided into two or more groups and follows regime of the self-appointed elite groups. Thus, the level of participation of citizens in such a democratic system is very low and which is not a good trend for any democratic system.

3.5 Nature of Political Participation-

Political participation is an activity under which a person actively participates in the process of making, determining and implementing public policies and decisions. It encompasses the many activities used by citizens to influence the selection

of political leaders or the policies they pursue. In broader terms, it may be an activity of any politician, government official or ordinary citizen in a democratic political system. Participative democracy basically emphasizes the participation of ordinary citizens in the democratic process. Political participation derives from the freedom to speak out, assemble and associate; the ability to take part in the conduct of public affairs; and the opportunity to register as a candidate, to campaign, to be elected and to hold office at all levels of government. Many standards of political participation are adopted in the democracy. The amount and what ways that society participates in politics whether it be by voting in elections, joining pressure groups or boycotting certain things. Under the majority of studies, the percentage of citizens participating in the voting is considered to be an indicator of political participation. Political participation extends beyond parties, however. Individuals can also become involved in certain aspects of the electoral process through independent action, particularly at the local level and by joining civil society organizations. Professional networks, trade unions, non-governmental organizations, the media and social media can all provide avenues for political participation. Sometimes percentage of the citizens participating in the propaganda campaign of political parties is treated as political participation. There are also other methods of political participation which can be included in this process.

(1) Community Activity

Under this, members of the community work closely with each other to meet any collective purpose (cleanliness drive, security etc.). Apart from this, when a citizen approaches his political representative to resolve any personal or public matter, or participates in the procession, protests, strike, detention or boycott, then these actions will also be treated as ways of political participation. To what extent a citizen can influence public policy and decision making is the main criterion of political participation.

(2) Active interaction between government and citizens

This is a two-way activity. When one side acts, the other party responds. In other words citizens can also take initiatives to stir political participation. The state or the government can also take initiative to ensure political participation.

3.6 Types of Political Participation-

There are two types of political participations (i) Conventional and (ii) Non-Conventional which is illustrated in following manner:

(A) Conventional Political Participation		(B) Non-Conventional Political Participation	
Citizen participation	State participation	Citizen participation	State participation
Contacting with government or public representatives	Conducting elections	Protests, processions, slogans, posters, street plays, strikes, Dharnas, hunger strikes, rejection or rejection of the government award etc.	Organizing national festivals, republic day parade
Letter, telephone, interview, editor's letter, signature campaign etc.	Public Hearings	Civil Disobedience	Cleanliness, Pulse Polio, Literacy, Vaccination, Planting,
Activities of pressure groups	Formation of Advisory Councils	Political Violence	Organizing Public Races or Making human chains Series

Political campaign	Political dissemination campaign (voting for decision on a question)		Competitions - Quiz, essay, debate, painting, exhibition etc.
Contesting for public office			
Undertaking an initiative (starting a proposal)			
Recall(recalling the elected representative)			

3.7 Main Agencies of Political Participation -

Pressure Groups- In liberal democracies, groups of people organize themselves for the purpose of accomplishing any of their common interests. They keep their viewpoint before the people and try to mobilize their support to reach out to the government to create policies that suit their interests. Elections take place once in five year, but the pressure groups engage the government in an ongoing dialogue with the people. This process is very effective in Western countries. However, in the developing countries, sometimes the pressure groups also resort to illegal and unconstitutional methods which not only disturb public life but also cause heavy damages to public property. They promote and campaign for narrow self-interests which are harmful and undermine the parliamentary democracy by bypassing the representative processes.

Initiative- The system or practice in the Representative Democracy in which the voters themselves can prepare a draft of any law or constitution-amendment and send it to the Legislature for consideration and voting. Instruments that permit people to vote directly on policy and to initiate legislation can ensure that the citizen's voice is heard. The signature of the fixed number of voters is necessary on this proposal. This system is especially popular in Switzerland. In India which is also a representative democracy, people select their representatives once in five years to make laws and policies on their behalf. Limiting the participation of the people merely to voting once in five years has significantly reduced the responsiveness of the representatives to the people. However in India, citizens have the right to present a Private bill in the Parliament through their elected representatives. Simultaneously, the citizen can also present new proposals to the government by getting public support through Signature campaigns.

Recall- Under the direct democracy, the system or practice that voters can force their chosen representative to withdraw from office before the expiry of his term. Recall procedures allow the electorate to vote in whether to end the term of office if an elected representative or official if enough signatures in support of a recall vote are collected. Although the process of recall is often similar to that of citizens´ initiatives, recall deals only with the question of the removal of a person from public office and the outcome is therefore always binding. This system is especially popular in Switzerland. In India several civil society organizations have been demanding to improve the election process for last many years. Their demands also include the demand that if the elected representatives do not meet the expectations of the voters, they must be called back by voters by initiating and passing a proposal of Recall procedure and forwarding it to competent level for final disposal.

Public Hearing - Process under which public representatives and public officials try to know the problems of the public on various issues. These ideas can be presented in an oral or written form before the officer concerned. In some countries, a

public hearing is a special type of public meeting for the purpose of the governing body accepting public comment and testimony on local legislation. In our country, this system has become almost institutionalized, and termed as 'Administration at the door of villages/cities.' The Public hearing *(JanSunwai)* could also be described a public meeting lasting from half a day to three days, organized around an issue related to a public policy, and which consequently involves state authorities.

Advisory Councils- Nowadays, the government creates Citizen advisory boards which consist of a representative group of stakeholders from a particular community to provide comments and advice on the specific aspects of the actions a project or issue related to their departments. The UK's Central Housing Advisory Committee and the Central Health Service Council are the appropriate examples of advisory councils. Similar advisory committees and councils are formed in many departments in India.

Referendum(voting for decision on any question)- This form of political participation is a process in which all the members of an electorate exercise their direct vote on an important public question such as a change in the constitution, for a new law or constitutional amendment. Just recently, in the UK it was decided by public vote that Britain to quit the membership of the European. It is popularly known as the ***Brexit referendum.***

Civil Disobedience - Civil disobedience is the active, professed refusal of a citizen to obey certain laws, demands, orders or commands of a government or occupying international power. The proceeding in which an unjust law is deliberately and openly disobeyed, voluntarily arrests are given or a prohibited place is entered to draw attention of the people and the government towards a particular issue. These activities are actively carried out by citizens in order to register public protests in our country.

Political Revenge- Political Revenge is one of the most violent forms of protest in which the protestors indulges in acts such as arson, bombing, murders, nuisances, make people hostage and damaging public property. Such actions are a clear violation of democracy. But it has also been observed that governments are often either silent or bow down in such circumstances.

3.8 The Viability and Importance of Political Participation-

Regardless of the people-oriented democracy, it is true that today's representative democracies give their citizens very slight opportunities of meaningful participation in decision-making. As a result, the electorate has little knowledge and little understanding about political problems. Voters are often indifferent to voting. Formal political participation is largely restricted to regime-affiliated party activity, co-opted civil society participation, or voting in non-transparent and often fraudulent elections. Political representatives often appear to be confused and disenchanted about their public liabilities and responsibilities. Informal political participation, through social networks, underground political movements, and social movements, was often the only way for citizens to challenge in some of the less democratic regimes. Since the misuse of power and corruption in the administration is so rampant that it has become all the necessary for the citizens to get more opportunities for political participation have more say in public issues and to closely monitoring the activities of the politicians. This helps in preventing misuse of power and corruption. Therefore, political participation is not only a necessary condition of good society, but it is also an essential part of a good life. Political participation and democratic transition are tightly linked. Not only is viable transition dependent on viable political participation, the way forward for political participation is also dependent to a great extent on the trajectory that democratic transition takes. Citizens make the future of the country and ensuring their maximum expansion of political participation in public decision making in a democratic set up has an essential necessity in today's era. Citizen's participation has always vital impact on the

development of the country as economically as socially. Following two steps are considered necessary by some of major states for the accomplishing this objective.

(A) Government and administration should be decentralized by transferring and entrusting decision making powers to the local communities. The extension of Panchayati Raj in India is an example of this effort.

(B) The process of introducing a subject or proposal to public enquiry and investigation for determining public policies should be enhanced.

3.9 Views in Favor of Political Participation -

(1) Political participation protects and promotes the interests of the participant himself. Before the people participate in political activity they must calculate and bear it in their mind that how hard they will have to work, what benefits will there be and how capable they will be to fulfill their purpose.

(2) The process of participation increases the general ethical, social and political awareness of the citizens.

(3) Political enhances the unity of citizens for common purposes and interests.

The advocates of political participation based democracy only emphasize on the increase in the participation of citizens under the current democratic system and do not suggest any alternate arrangements for it. In the past decade, the idea of increasing citizen involvement in political decision making has found favor not only with environmental activists, but also with various consumer groups, students, and politicians of persuasions. This recent upsurge in demand for more participation raises a central question for political philosophy. Despite the fact that "participation" has become a popular rallying cry of citizens' groups, the theories of democracy which dominate the attention of most Western political theorists assign to it an absolutely minimal role. Apparently, the necessary instruments for participatory democracy are already in the process and system of the liberal democracy and no separate theory but only concrete action is needed to promote the participation. The supporters of the political participation appear to be more optimistic than necessary. Increasing the participation of the public in a decision making in a democracy would be appropriate only to a limited extent. Recent writers on democratic theory, especially in America, dismiss the ideal of significant public participation in decision-making as unattainable. More than this, they tend also to view it as undesirable or even dangerous. Over enthusiasm towards political participation may sometimes be counterproductive and can prove to be harmful. It takes time to get good results from public decisions, policies and programs. However, for the purpose of public welfare there may be a need to orient certain lazy and lousy elements of the administration to make them more responsive. Generally, the common people do not have so much of patience and yearning to understand the intricacies and complexities of the things to accurately assess all the situations. If they are encouraged so much to engage in political involvement, they may bring complaints and disputes to the streets and disrupt normal life. When ordinary citizens acquire the form of a crowd they become unruly and it becomes difficult to keep them in discipline or control. Once people capriciously come out for protests, it is difficult to make understand and stop. The result is - Thousands of rallies, sloganeering, demonstrations, strikes, threats and encirclements, threats of shutting down of electricity and stopping buses and trains, way-stop and jail-thrill movements, beatings and stone pelting. The incidents put the lives of common men in jeopardy and cause great damage to the public property. In these situations, anyone who can mobilize crowds or take the crowd in whatever direction they want will be able to get his inappropriate demands accepted by pressure. Unfortunately in India the people who put forth their genuine demands in a peaceful manner, their grievances are not resolved. Thus, only the

meaningful political participation can yield positive results.

Important Points

- Political participation means the participation of citizens on different levels of the political system.
- Two forms of political participation are (1) Developmental and (2) Democratic.
- Two ways of political participation are (1) Community (2) Active interaction between government and citizens.
- Agencies of Political Participation are - Pressure Groups, Initiative, Public Hearing, Advisory Councils, Referendum, Civil Disobedience and Political Revenge

Exercise

Multiple Choice Questions

1. Which of the following thinkers have propounded the Political Participation?
   (A) Behaviorists (B) Liberals
   (C) Socialists (D)Absolutists ( )
2. Which of the following is not a tool for political participation?
   (A) Voting
   (B) To present the election petition
   (C) Funding the political party
   (D) Attempting to cross the boundary of the country ( )
3. Program on the villages / cities is part of which type of agencies of political participation?
   (A) Initiative (B) Recall
   (C) Public hearing (D) Referendum
   ( )
4. What is the meaning of ' Recall '?
   (A) Preparing legal proposals
   (B) Recalling the elected representative
   (C) Voting on a proposal
   (D) Running Exclusive Campaign ( )
5. Which of the following does not match with measures of non-traditional political participation?
   (A) Civil Disobedience
   (B) Government Award Returning
   (C) Street Plays (D) Suicide ( )

Very Short Answer Type Questions

1. Where did the first direct democracy begin?
2. What is the present form of democracy in vogue?
3. What is the main cause of political apathy or neutrality?
4. Write down the names of two agencies of political participation.

Short Answer Type Questions

1. What is the significance of excessive political participation of the elite class?
2. What is the meaning of the Community Activity?

Essay Type Questions

1. Write an essay on traditional and non-traditional forms of political participation.
2. Critically examine various aspects of Political Participation.
3. Write a detailed note on the major agencies of political participation and their contribution to this process.

Answers to Multiple Choice Questions -

1.A 2.D 3.C 4.B 5.D

Unit-III

Political Ideologies

1. Liberalism

Liberalism is the undisputed achievement of permanent values. Liberalism is an ideology which emphasizes on the personal liberty and rights of an individual. This is an important legacy of both European history and philosophy. This is actually the contribution of Renaissance. Liberalism as a political and moral philosophy is centered on two main principles - these are individualism and liberty. Firstly, liberalism places the individual at the heart of society and argues that the highest value social order is one that is built around the individual. Secondly, the purpose of society is to allow individuals to reach their full potential if they want to, and that the best way to do this is to give the individual as much liberty as possible. Liberalism is the ideology under which human beings are considered as prudent creatures, and social institutions are result of human understanding and collective efforts. John Locke is considered the father of liberalism. Adam Smith and Jeremy Bentham are also counted among liberal thinkers. Liberalism is a strong ideology of political theory. In fact, the tradition of liberalism is one of the oldest among the modern political ideologies. The rise and development of liberal representation is linked to Renaissance and Religious reform movements of Europe. Firstly, liberalism places the individual at the heart of society and argues that the highest value social order is one that is built around the individual. Secondly, the purpose of society is to allow individuals to reach their full potential if they want to, and that the best way to do this is to give the individual as much liberty as possible. In the 16th century, generous liberalism came in the form of a revolutionary philosophy and ideology, as a tremendous reaction against the medieval system like the Feudalism, Monarchy and the Pope. This word was first used in England in 1815.

1.1 The Literal Meaning of Liberalism

The word liberal is derived from the Latin word ***liber*** which means free men. ***Liberalis*** is also a derivative of liber. The central idea of all these words is freedom or liberty. Liberal also denotes generosity or open-mindedness. Open-mindedness/ generosity indicates liberty in taking food, drink, social attitude, behaviour and selection of the alternatives. Thus we find that freedom is always associated with the word liberal. There are large numbers of definitions of liberalism which convey more or less same ideas. "It means the belief that it is the aim of politics to preserve individual's rights and to maximise freedom of choice." Liberalism is a political philosophy or worldview founded on ideas of liberty and equality. Liberals espouse a wide array of views depending on their understanding of these principles, but generally they support ideas and programmes such as freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of religion, free markets, civil rights, democratic societies, secular governments, gender equality, and international cooperation. Liberalism is an obscure, intellectual, dynamic,

positive, anti-poor, unjust, immoral and inhuman concept which supported the capitalist system. It is an ideology which changes its form, nature and perspective with the change in time. Since its beginning till the date it has changed many times. Sometimes it appeared directly in favour of the capitalists, and then later it also talked about the interests of capitalists in a mild manner. Later out of the fear of Marxism, it started talking about the interests of the poor to save the capitalists. Liberalism became a strong supporter of the concept of the welfare state. When the communist system of the Soviet Union collapsed in the 1990's, it again changed its colours and inclined towards its traditional nature. Renaissance and religious reform movements gave birth to it, industrialization provided it its basis and the capitalism brought it near liberty. The belief in individualism made this ideology limit the authority of the state. Generally liberalism is more than an ideology; it is a way of thinking, a vision to look at the world and an effort to keep politics oriented towards liberalism.

1.2 Origin & Evolution of Liberalism

We find glimpse of liberalism in the works of Locke, Bentham and Adam Smith. Then it was negative in nature and known as individualism and classical liberalism. In the 19th century, John Stuart Mill gave it a positive shape. Liberalism emerged as a reaction to Europe's decaying feudal order in the 17th and 18th centuries. The rising urban business class, sometimes called the bourgeoisie, sought increased political influence to match their growing economic and social power. Momentum for change accelerated as political philosophers, developing ideas of natural rights and the social contract, began to articulate an ideology that rejected hereditary privilege and fit the political aspirations of these growing political actors. These ideas were profoundly influenced by two major movements in Western civilization. The first movement was the Protestant Reformation and its notion that a person has an individual relationship with the divine. The Reformation Movement broke the authority of the church. The second movement was the Enlightenment with the assumption that the world has a natural order that individual reason can discover and understand independently of faith, a rationalist philosophy. In the 20th century, Laski and McIver presented it in a new form, and now the state began to be considered a good and necessary institution and the law became the defender of the person's independence.

Instead of considering the state as a necessary evil, it was considered a positive institution which emphasised on restraining the uncontrolled individual freedom considering it a threat to the system. In the latter half of the 20th century, fearing the rising popularity of Marxism it again bent towards the individual's autonomy and stressed upon limiting the powers of the state. This state considers the instrument and the person to be practical. It favours reforms and liberalization in all areas in place of conservatism and traditionalism. The rule of constitutionalism, decentralization, independent elections and judicial system, democratic system, rights, freedom and justice system are some other characteristics of liberalism.

1.3 Nature of Liberalism

Nature of Liberalism is linked to stages of its rise and development. The Glorious English Revolution of 1688, not only rejected while the rulers' divine principles, it also tried to make the state a human institution. In western society, the French Revolution of 1789 invoked the ideas of freedom, equality and fraternity and abandoned the medieval dictatorship .These developments made it as an ideology related to freedom. The American War of Independence and the subsequent US Constitution invoked the personal rights as an ideology related to the rights of individuals. Liberalism emphasizes constitutionalism against autocracy. Montesquieu saw despotism, in particular, as a standing danger for any government not already despotic, and argued that it could best be prevented by a system in which different bodies exercised legislative, executive, and judicial power, and in which all those bodies were bound by the rule of law. This theory of the separation of powers had

an enormous impact on liberal political theory, and on the framers of the constitution of the United States of America. He replaced the principle of concentration of power in one body by giving governance to different institutions. Liberalism speaks of a state with limited powers that do limited tasks. John Locke believed that political work is limited so political power should also be limited. Adam Smith and Bentham were supporters of the non-prospecting state. The state is essential, but it is a necessary evil. The Renaissance rejected the idea of the state as an institution made by God and made it as an institution made by men.

1.4 Two forms of liberalism

1. Traditional or Classical Liberalism
2. Modern liberalism

1. Traditional or classical liberalism

Classical liberalism is one of the most important of modern political and social philosophies. It considers religion as an internal and personal matter of an individual. It emphasizes on personal liberty. It accepts and supports the existence of limited state. It stresses upon unity in social paradigm. In the long run, liberalism became the ideology of the capitalists and no longer remained a revolutionary ideology. It now supported the private property .The concept of Scientific Marxist Revolution emerged in opposition to this liberalism-supported capitalist system. Marx came forward with a theory of class struggle to eradicate inequality in human life and bring about equality in the society. Consequently out of fear of Marxism liberalism had to change its form and perspective. Now it started favouring a new concept of welfare state to make itself relevant in the changed scenario.

2. Modern liberalism-

Positive freedom is one of the key differences between modern and classical liberalism. However, it is important to recognise that although the two strands of liberalism have different views on the role of the state, there are still overlapping themes between the two strands. The poverty and nature of life in Victorian Britain led to the development of modern liberal views and values by the end of the nineteenth century. Politicians and theorists felt that there were weaknesses in classical liberal ideas and policies, which could not provide freedom for everyone, as shown by the high levels of disease and squalor. Modern liberals believe the government should actively intervene in the economy to correct market failures and promote fair outcomes (e.g., higher minimum wages, higher taxes on the wealthy, more regulations protecting worker safety and the environment). Modern liberals believe in a positive view of freedom, where the enabling state creates the conditions for people to choose to progress. Both classical and modern liberals believe that freedom is the ultimate political goal, in whatever form it takes. Modern liberals have also not rejected negative freedom entirely. The aim of modern liberals is to enable people to help themselves, thus the aim of both classical and modern liberals is to promote individual autonomy, or negative freedom. All liberal views on equality stem from a belief in individualism. This is true for modern liberals, who believe in a relative form of social equality that is still grounded in individualism where equality of opportunity and positive freedom allow individuals to choose to succeed. Qualified welfare is the means by which positive freedom and equality of opportunity take place. A free market, one that is unregulated and free of state intervention as favoured by classical liberals, creates inequalities in wealth and conditions similar to those in Victorian Britain. The state has a role to play for modern liberals in providing the welfare that enables individuals to help themselves. It is important to note though that the increased role given to the state by modern liberals is limited to providing qualified welfare and supervision of the economy, and does not mean that modern liberals support unlimited state power. They supported the cause of the welfare state and emphasized that the government should refrain from interfering in an individual's social or moral choices. Herbert Spencer (1820-1903) writes about liberalism that the task of classical liberalism was to limit the powers of the kings but the work of

liberalism of the future must be to limit the powers of the administrators. He said, "If every man has freedom to do all that he wills, provided he infringes not the equal freedom of any other man, then he is free to drop connection with the stateto relinquish its protection, and to refuse paying towards its support" (Spencer, The Complete Works of Herbert Spencer).After Locke philosophers to promote and carry forward the liberal philosophy were Thomas Bentham, Paine and Montesquieu. They not only expressed strong faith in power, prudence, rationality, reasonableness and merit but also insisted on not intervention in the affairs of an individual. It was the liberalism which had influenced the declaration of American independence in 1776 AD and the French proclamation of human rights in 1779 .Accordingly, the liberalism of the 17th and 18th centuries is also called traditional or classical liberalism. This liberalism was negative in character. Despite its having emphasized on human rights, prestige, rationality, independence, individualism and humanism its original character was negative. According to modern liberal perspective, freedom meant lack of constraints and was accepted as a necessary evil for the capitalist class. The state that works the least was considered the best under this view. In the economic sector, it supported the rights to private property and rights to free trade.

1.5 Characteristics of Traditional or Negative Liberalism -

1. Excessive emphasis on individualism
2. Emphasis on the emancipation of man from the prevalent religious and cultural bondages (chains) of the Middle Ages.
3. Faith in absolute value of human personality and spiritual equality of the individual.
4. Faith in the free will of an individual.
5. Faith in essential rationality and goodness of man and also certain inalienable rights of the individual such as right to life, right to freedom and right to property.

1.6 Liberalism and Philosophy of Locke

The Social Contract Theory and the Liberalism are the biggest contribution of John Locke to political theory. He is considered the father of liberalism. His theories on life, liberty, property, consent, and the social contract form the foundation of classical liberalism. For Locke, "freedom" means the ability to use and dispose of that which is properly one's own without the coercive interference of other people, including government.

Its main points are as follows-

1. The origin of the state is through social contract to protect the rights of the individual.
2. The relationship between the state and the individual is based on their mutual agreement. Whenever the state violates the necessary conditions of the agreement, then it is responsibility of the individual to rebel against the state.
3. The basis of law is reason and not the command.
4. The government that governs the least is the best.
5. State is a necessary evil.
6. Men must get a rights-based freedom in political, economic, social, religious, and intellectual areas.
7. Freedom must be unrestrained and without any constraints whatsoever.

Liberalism considers society as an artificial institution on the social basis. The objective of society was the accomplishment of interests of the individuals. The interests of the society were accomplished through the accomplishment of individual interests. Liberalism in the economic sector speaks of capitalist economy based on free trade and agreement. This is also called negative liberalism because it prohibits any kind of interference and control in the capitalist economy.

Criticism of negative Liberalism-

1. The highly openness of liberalism in the social

sector is against ethics.

2. Limited state, anti-welfare concept.
3. Economic society of liberalism is a 'market society' which takes care of the interests of the bourgeois class only and ignores the interests of the common man.
4. Negative liberalism in the cultural field makes the person quarrelsome, unlike the interests of the society.

1.7 Modern and contemporary liberalism-

There has also been a radical change in liberalism in the changed economic, political and social conditions after the Second World War. Fear of Marxism and Socialism Improved liberalism, positive sentiment was born.

This perception emphasizes the following:

1. It emphasizes the establishment of a welfare state.
2. It emphasizes the all-round development by giving total freedom to the individual in all areas.
3. It emphasizes on giving equal opportunity and rights to all individuals.
4. It aims to empower people by fulfilling their basic needs.
5. Faith in the perception of public development and scientific advancement
6. It emphasizes on universal adult franchise, fair election and comprehensive political participation.
7. It considers state positive means for fulfilling interests of the society.
8. It emphasizes on reducing communalism and class discontent in society.
9. It emphasizes on the political culture of democratic society.
10. This form of liberalism, in contrast to the revolutionary methods, believes in a reformist, peaceful and gradual social change.
11. This form emphasizes the need for strengthening the interests of minorities, the aged and the downtrodden.
12. Modern liberalism emphasizes a mixed and controlled economy rather than ***'market system'***.
13. It speaks of collective interest.
14. It emphasizes on making the capitalist economy flexible and meeting the objectives of the controlled economy.
15. It focuses on the problems of democracy in a new way.

1.8 Criticism

1. This form of liberalism is also related to the bourgeois class. It basically supports capitalism and the status quo.
2. The hidden aim of this form is to dilute and suppress the revolutionary voices of the poor.
3. It emphasizes in making the state powerful so that the poor can be suppressed in the name of political legitimacy.
4. It is related to the capitalist class.
5. Its social justice is just a scam.
6. It does not eliminate the capital system rather it gives responsibility for creating the necessary conditions for freedom to the state which itself is the biggest usurper of the liberty.

Important Points

- Liberalism is the epitome of Renaissance and Religious Reform Movement.
- Liberalism originated in 16th and 17th century.
- Liberalism, which is derived from the Latin word 'liber', means freedom.
- Liberalism was born to grow and promote the market economy.
- Liberalism is a philosophy in itself.
- It is a system of governance and a conviction committed to freedom in the form of policy.
- It emphasizes faith in human intelligence and reason.
- It considers the self-interests and the general

interests of the individual alike.

- It opposes Puritanism, Conservatism, and Traditionalism.
- The revolutions of England, America and France were influenced by Liberalism.
- Liberalism emphasizes on liberty and considers the state as means and individual as an end.
- It expresses faith in democracy, popular sovereignty, elected government, adult franchise, fair election and independent judiciary.
- Liberalism emphasizes the establishment of a secular state and religious freedom.
- John Locke is regarded as the father of liberalism.
- There are four notions of liberalism Free market liberalism, Idealistic liberalism, Democratic liberalism, Reformist liberalism.
- In economic sector liberalism emphasizes in the production, exchange and distribution of the products, entrepreneurship, in accumulation of capital and property, doing any business and regulating business.
- Adam Smith is known as the pioneer of traditional or classical liberalism.
- Liberalism supports the laissez-faire policy.
- The utilitarian thinker T.H. Green was supporter of liberalism.
- Bentham, Mill and Richards Cumberland are the originators of utilitarianism.
- Herbert Spencer emphasized on the concept of the minimum rule and the limited state.

Exercise

Multiple Choice Questions

1. Positive Liberalism does not believe in which one of the following -

   (A) Limited state

   (B) State as an ethical institution

   (C) Welfare State

   (D)Micro State ( )

2. When and where was the word 'Liberalism' first used?

   (A) In 1815 in England

   (B) In 1776 in the United States of America

   (C) In 1917 in the Soviet Union

   (D) In 1885 in Germany ( )

3. Which one of the following statements is false?

   (A) The term 'liberal' refers to the class of free individuals, who are neither peasants nor slaves.

   (B) The term 'liberalism' was first used in 1812 in Spain.

   (C) There are differences in classical liberalism and modern liberalism.

   (D) Moral deficiencies of market opponents are also have moral shortcomings of market-supporters ( )

4. Which of the following is the contribution of liberalism?

   (A) Capitalism (B) Communism

   (C) Gandhism (D) Constitutionalism ( )

5. Which one of the following is not a powerful ideology in the contemporary society -

   (A) Socialism (B) Communism

   (C) Monarchy (D) Liberalism ( )

6. Which of the following is not a supporter of liberalism?

   (A) Karl Marx (B) John Locke

   (C) Jeremy Bentham (D) Spencer ( )

7. Traditional liberalism was a political theory that -

   (A) Supported capitalism

   (B) Talked about eliminating social inequality in society

   (C) Supported autonomous monarchies

(D) Supported the dictatorship of the proletariat. ( )

8. The thinker who is considered as a father of liberalism is -

(A) John Locke (B) Ricardo

(C) Adam Smith (D) Hobbes ( )

Very Short Answer Type of Questions-

1. What was the main demand of liberalism in the economic sector?
2. What was the main demand of liberalism in the political field?
3. What was the main demand of liberalism in the social sector?
4. How did the liberalism emerge?
5. Who are the main thinkers of liberalism?
6. What is the meaning of negative liberalism?
7. What is positive liberalism?
8. What is the meaning of traditional liberalism?
9. Who are the profounder of modern liberalism?

Short Answer Type of Questions-

1. Explain the political objectives of liberal ideology.
2. Describe the five characteristics of traditional liberalism.
3. Liberalism is a reaction against Marxism. Explain.
4. How does the Modern liberalism differ from traditional liberalism?
5. How has Liberalism helped in establishing the concept of the Welfare State?
6. What are the main points of criticism of liberalism?

Essay Type of Questions-

1. Comparatively evaluate traditional and modern liberalism.
2. Liberalism is basically an ideology that nurtures capitalism. Explain.
3. Explain the main principles of Liberalism.

Answers to Multiple Choice Questions:

1. B.	2. A.	3. B.	4. B.
5. C	6. A	7. A	8. A

2. Socialism

The world is split today into two hostile camps, fighting each other with the utmost vehemence, Communists and anti-Communists. In the modern political era, socialism has been watchword and the main objective of both the opposite ideologies the Marxism and the Liberalism. Socialism, which developed in the 19th and 20th centuries in Western contemplation, is generally considered to be contrary to capitalism. Since then it has become increasingly popular all over the world. Socialism is meant to establish equality-oriented society and state without exploitation. Many democratic countries of the world including India have embodied socialist goals in their constitutions. *Socialism* addresses the contemporary issues of economic inequality and argues that wealth can exist for long periods only to the extent that wealthy producers succeed in satisfying the consumers.

2.1 Evolution of the Socialism-

In the ancient times, Stoic philosophers of the Greece propounded the principle of economic equality and social justice. In the medieval period the concept of socialism or socialist thought first appeared in the famous work of ***Thomas More*** in his book ***'Utopia'*** which was published in 1516, few years before his death. Though Utopia is regarded as a first comprehensive and to some extent modern book on socialism, ***More*** was not interested in propagating the concept. He simply provided a sketch of an imaginary island, with ideal economic, social and political conditions which modern scholars treat as basis of socialism. In the 17th Century, **Francis Bacon** expressed his socialist ideas in his book **'New Atlantis'**. At the next stage we encounter three Utopian socialists Robert Owen, Saint-Simon and Charles Fourier All the three socialists are called Utopian because the methods suggested by these three socialists had no relevance with the real world and because of this F. Engels called them so. After the Utopian socialists the most prominent names linked with the theory of socialism are F. Engels and K. Marx. But the French State Revolution of 1789 proved to be a milestone in the progress of the socialism. It accepted ***Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity*** as the ***"goal sentence"*** of the revolution. The French Revolution indirectly prepared the advent of the proletariat. It realized the two essential conditions for socialism: democracy and capitalism. In this period, Frances Babeuf advocated socialist theories. The French political revolutionist and writer François Noel Babeuf (1760-1797) was active during the French Revolution. He was among the first to advocate socialism as a political institution for solving the problems of society. Babel's ideas were later further spread by Blanc. It was during the July Monarchy in France, in the era immediately preceding the Revolution of 1848, that the ideology we call socialism became more than an abstraction held by isolated intellectuals and conspirators. A series of individuals, loose-knit associations, and more formal écoles were active during the 1830s and 1840s, developing a varied agenda of social reform, economic cooperation, or association, mystical Christianity, and women's liberation. In the 19th century, thinkers such as Charles Fourier, Saint-Simon, Proudhon, and Louis Blanc, and then under Robert Owen talked about social and economic welfare and eliminating the flaws of capitalism on

the basis of human self-consciousness. ***Proudhon*** treated private property as theft in his book ***'What is Property'***. A new socialist tradition was started by Bakunin and other anarchists who favoured end of the state. Bakunin seeks to destroy the state, whereas Marx seeks to capture and use it. Marx thus ends up on the side of authority, against liberty. Beside anarchists many other streams of socialism such as Fabianism, Guild socialism, Labor Unionism etc.also developed. Thinkers such as George Bernard Shaw, G.D Cole and George Sorrel contributed hugely in constructing and interpreting the principles of the above streams of socialism. The theory of socialism was however formally formulated by ***Karl Marx*** in his book ***"Communist Manifesto"*** in 1948.The Industrial Revolution, which gave birth to the urban labor class and made socialist revolution possible, was first introduced in England and this is why England is called the home of socialist ideology. The idea of socialism was adopted by the British people because of their unique nature and their faith in values. Socialist ideas are neither embodied in a single book such as 'the Bible' or the 'Communist Manifesto' of Karl Marx nor are they propagated by particular thinkers that make them universally applicable.

In the words of William Ibenstein, "In England there have been many towering socialist thinkers in England who have not held any significant position in political parties or government. But still they were influencial mainly because of their moral strength and style of writing."Pt Jawaharlal Nehru, Ram Manohar Lohia and Pt. Deen Dayal Upadhyaya are among the notable Indian thinkers who have also expressed their views about socialism.

2.2 The Meaning of Socialism-

Socialism is a harmonious blend of two ideologies and two systems democracy (capitalism) and the socialism (communism). It believes in a liberal philosophy based on human freedom. In the modern political era, socialism has been watchword of both the opposite ideologies the Marxism and the Liberalism. It stresses upon establishing such a democractic government through ballot which strictly adheres to democractic norms in carrying out all its functions and finally paves way for establishing a welfare state.

Socialism is a range of economic and social systems characterised by social ownership and democratic control of the means of production as well as the political theories and movements associated with them.

2.3 Definitions of Socialism-

Jawaharlal Nehru said, "Decentralization of political and economic powers and establishment of a just system by mutual consent of people and not by force is democratic socialism." He said, "Socialism is... not only a way of life, but a certain scientific approach to social and economic problems." Nehru was of the opinion that no ideology other than socialism could fit in the democratic pattern as that of India. He was convinced that no democracy could succeed without imbibing the socialist pattern.

"Socialism has accepted the common goals of Communism's economic goals (ownership of society over means of production and planned economic development), and national goals (national independence, democracy and human rights), the aim of democratic socialism is to establish harmony between these two." -Dr. Ram Manohar Lal Lohia

According to Justice Gajendragadkar, "Democratic socialism which succinctly expresses the socio-economic content of the concept of a democratic welfare state is based on social philosophy which may be aptly described as modern liberalism." To him democratic socialism is a system for bringing the principles of public welfare state into practice. It is based on liberal social philosophy. It emphasizes that an individual should fulfill his social obligations. Thus, socialism seeks to establish economic and social justice by adopting the democratic path. The dignity of an individual and the establishment of social justice is the foundation of this ideology.

2.4 Evolution of Socialism in India -

In India, socialism started with in the first

national struggle for against British imperialism. In the first session of the 1929 Lahore session, the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress had declared: "The British government in India has not only deprived the Indian people of their freedom but has based itself on the exploitation of the masses, and has ruined India economically, politically, culturally and spiritually.... Therefore... India must sever the British connection and attain Purna Swaraj or complete independence."

"In the opinion of this committee, the terrible depreciation of the Indian public is not only due to exploitation by the foreigners but also due to the economic system of the society, whose foreign ruler To continue their exploitation, there will be a revolutionary change in the current social and economic system of society."

Similarly, in the year 1931 the Karachi session was said in the preface of a famous proposal passed by the Congress, "If we want to make Swarajya a real self in general, its meaning is not only with the political freedom of the country, but also the economic independence of the general Gandhiji has rendered socialism in line with Indian ideals and circumstances. Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru, Subhash Chandra Bose, Manvendra Rai, Acharya Narendra Dev, Jayaprakash Narayan, Ram Manohar Lohia and Pandit Deendayal Upadhyay, among the leaders of the Swatantraya movement and later popularized socialist ideology within and outside Indian National Congress And had made significant contributions in the establishment of human dignity.

Since independence, the Central ruling party and the opposition have been declaring themselves as socialists, but in actual practice they have not done much in this direction so far. Socialism will definitely be considered incomplete because the gap in the society on the economic basis is widening further.

2.5 The Key Elements of Socialism-

Some common traits of socialism can be described are as under -

1. Capitalism and Communism are both Extreme Ideologies-

Democratic socialism is equally opposed to the ideologies of capitalism and communisms. Accordingly, capitalism is based on inequality and exploitation of the general public and such a system can never work the general welfare of the people. Simultaneously, it is basically opposed to communism as it is opposed to capitalism. Democratic socialism opposes communism because it is based on opposition of religion and morality, believes in the notion of class struggle, violent revolution and totalitarianism (Dictatorship of Proliteriat). According to democratic socialism, these ideas can never do any good for humanity. That is why he considers communism as its first enemy and call it "Instrument of New Imperialism". Democratic Socialism paves a new path in the field of economic and social life while opposing both the Capitalism and Communism

2. Faith in the Democratic System

The most prominent trait of socialism is that it opposes all forms of totalitarianism because in such regimes human dignity, independence and dignity are of no significance. Contrary to the authoritarianism, it has full faith socialism. The path of socialism has been adopted as a supplementary form of democracy and hence in no way does it contradict it. In the words of Norman Thomas, "Socialism is the complete fulfillment of democracy." Democratic socialism strongly believess that for whatever changes are to be brought in the economic and social sphere that must be done throgh the democratic system. According to Avon F.M. Darwin, "The democratic system is an integral part of socialism and it can not be separated from it."

3. Belief in humanity-

Both the two ideologies, the capitalism and communism consider man as an economic creature but the socialism considers man as a moral creature. The Capitalism is based on a misconception that a person actively works only out of fear of the punishment or for the profit motive. Unlike Capitalists, the Communists believe that any work

can be done only on the basis of inhuman elements such as violence, fear or terror. But, the fact is that man is not only a physical or an economic creature but a moral creature. He is not only influenced by physical needs, expectations and thoughts but also by ideals and feelings of cooperation, socialism and fraternity. Socialism adopts this optimistic view of human nature and emphasizes the moral development of humans.

4. Supporter of Spiritual and Moral Values-

The socialism believes that all social systems rest on the edifices of religion and morality and if efforts are made to reject this foundation then the entire system is likely to collapse. Political culture belongs to the means of spiritual production in our human society, the existence and development of it is based on the social value system. It reflects the political demands of ruling classes and serves their political rights. Core value system of socialism is inner spirit and soul of life of the socialist system, democracy in the widest sense is the value pursue, which shows the chief idea and development direction for the future development of the political culture of socialism. The mast of the thinkers of socialism believe the socialism draws its motivation from the religion and morality. But, the for the socialism religion and ethics do not mean adopting of specific rituals, belief in fate or destiny , or other mischief of religious life. It believes in human dignity. Simultaneously, socialism does not associate itself with any one particular religion, but with the general principles of ethics and spirituality equally defined in all the religions.

5. Socialism refrains from the Class Struggle

Although, the socialism accepts the existence of workers and capitalists in the society, but it altogether rejects the theory of the class struggle. The tendency of class struggle creates a contaminated and violent atmosphere and instead of increasing production causes the deadlock in the industrial sector. According to socialism, unity can be established between the interests of the capitalists and the working class. The basic mantra of socialism is not the class struggle between various classes of but developing harmony and cooperation between them.

6. Supporter of Economic and Political Freedom

The Communists consider only economic independence necessary for the development of individuals. According to them, the right to work, proper remuneration and the right to leave are everything for the people and hence give highest priority to them. Capitalism, on the other hand, emphasizes the political independence of the citizens, but the economic independence is not given the same weightage by them. But the socialist system considers both the political freedom and economic freedom necessary for human development. They emphasize on freedom of thought, speech, organization and conference also believes that there should be economic independence along with political and civil liberties.

7. Democratic Control over Production and Distribution-

In the capitalist system, the people have say and the determining power in relation to political questions, but they do not have the ability to influence the economic sector. Hence, the socialism considers this system as faulty. It believes that the economy should be governed by the democratic government meaning thereby that it should be controlled by the people directly through the elected parliament. In the words of British thinker Richard Howard Stafford Crossman, "Socialism should challenge all economics authorities and power which is vested in responsible and semi-responsible authorities. Just as the municipal business agencies are liable to the municipal council, in the same way every nationalized industry should be fully responsible to the parliament." He said that it is not power itself, but the legitimation of the lust for power, which corrupts absolutely.

8. The Goal of Production is Socialization

In the beginning, socialism gave more emphasis on nationalization in every field, but soon it realized that nationalization was not the solution

of all the problems of the economic sector. So in the revised system, socialism emphasized more on socialization rather than nationalization. Nationalization refers to public ownership of the industries. But socialization emphasises that the industry whether it is in the public sector or in the private sector its controlling system should be governed by the direction of the state and purpose of its operation must not be limited to profit alone, but also cater and further social interests. Socialization is based on the assumption that the purpose of the operation of the industry is more important than the ownership.

9. Against the Unlimited Accumulation and Collection of Property -

Socialism is a supporter of limiting private property rather than restricting and abolishing it. According to socialism, property that gives rise to exploitation should be abolished. For example, the state should exercise the ultimate control over large industries and not the private capitalists, because in lack of the state control; the capitalists can make the people their economic slave on the basis of these industries. But the private property which plays a useful role for the society should be maintained, i.e. private house, personal things of used in daily life, agriculture, handicrafts, and retail and midium-class industries. Socialism does not advovate abolishion of private property altogether, but it is against the tendency of accumulation of too much of private property which may be harmful for the interests of of state and can make it its slave. In other words, unlimited concentration of huge wealth and resources in few hands is basically against the pirit of socialism.

10. Aims of the Best Human Life

Socialism belives that the state is not an evil or an instrument of exploitation rather it is an institution that develops social virtues and core value system. It wants to make the jurisdiction and area of operation of the state to be comprehensive and broader. All socialists acknowledge that the collective power of society can prove to be more useful in meeting the requirements of education, health, medical, entertainment, basic amenities and facilities for its citizens to help them lead a superior cultural life. Therefore, the state should sincerely and honestly work towards developing facilities and institutions such as hospitals, shops, parks and public roads. In a nutshell, the state should strive hard to emerge as a unit of human welfare.

2.6 Society The Main Component of Socialism-

Socialism considers society as an element which should be gradually developed and which has an ability to change itself in the process of development. Socialism wants to foster the goal of development with the cooperation of all sections of the society. It emphasises that the concept is not only beneficial to workers alone but as a system it works for the benefit of all the sections of the society. Through its high ideals and moral principles of socilism a large part of the people can be drawn to it including the workers and the elites of the society. Promoting socialism with patience, caution and intelligence will lead the people to the path of development and there will be no need for any revolution. Socialism extends and manifests itself on the basis of ideas and speeches, media, forums, literary publications and other publicity tools. Socialism always believes in obtaining power through peaceful statutory means.

2.7 Main Elements of the Socialism-

1. Income tax should be imposed on the growth of the income of the rich people and amount so received as tax should be used in the interests of the poor.
2. The practice of accumulation and collection of black money should be stopped in any condition.
3. The farm holder who is the actual tiller should have the right to land.
4. Industries and banks should be nationalized with effective governance of the state on the economy.
5. Private sector industries should be directed by

the state and their operations must be in the public interest.

6. Economic inequality should be removed immediately.
7. All persons should be provided employment, proper remuneration and leave according to their qualifications.
8. The state should work hard to provide basic amenities and arrange welfare services to enable which the citizen to lead a happy and comfortable life.
9. The planning should be adopted as a method for economic development.

2.8 Characteristics of Socialism -

The certain features of socialism have made it the world's most popular ideology today. The capitalism and communism are two mutually opposed to each other on the basis of their fundamental ideological differences and principles followed by each of them. Both these ideologies are extreme philosophies of life. On the contrary, the socialism is relatively a liberal doctrine which has accepted best things and properties from both the systems-the Capitalism and Communism.

The main characteristics of socialism can be described in the following points:

1. Socialism takes care of the interests of both the individual and the society alike.
2. Socialism is familiar to the flaws of capitalism and communism both and maintains equi-distance from them.
3. Socialism believes in the full development of the personality of individuals and provides political and economic independence to the citizens to the maximum possible extent.
4. Socialism does not want to abolish the private property, but is in favor of limiting it for the larger societal interests only.
5. Socialism accepts the importance of religion and ethics in making the human life systematic and the essence of all religions is based on human religion.
6. It follows the path of decentralization of economic and political power.
7. The authority should be liable to the parliament, which is elected by the people.
8. It is helpful in establishing a social system based on equality.

2.9 Defects of Socialism-

Socialism is said to be the most useful and practical ideology but there are a few critis who find certain flaws in the Socialism.

Its main defects are as follows -

1. It is not a clear ideology - The socialism as an ideology is full of ambiguity and uncertainty. For example, some socialists insist on nationalization, wheras others emphasise on socialization. There is a wide range of differences among various socialists as regards the extent of the control over private property.

2. It accepts elements which are opposed to each other- Democracy believes in freedom whereas socialism has faith in the control system. There is a paradox in the ideology of socialists due to mutual opposition of democracy and socialism.

3. It is Contrary to Natural Possibilities - The socialism is based on the notion of equality, but in terms of nature, men are not equal because they differ in physical strength, intellect and character. In such a situation, those individuals who have acquired more property than other persons on the basis of their qualifications, hard work and financial integrity should also have the right to use the property according to their will, but the socialists wants to share and spend wealth of hard working and qualified persons on lazy and inactive people. It is wrong in principles.

4. It protects the corrupt system- In the socialism, the powers of the state are increased to great extent and in practice these powers are actually used by the bureaucracy. It is a well known fact that corruption, favouratism and red-tapism are an integral part of the process of bureaucracy. So, there are chances of more corruption in socialist systems.

5. Loss of the interests of consumers- The socialism imposes state control on production units and ends the sovereignty of the consumer and producer both. As per the socialism, since the consumer will need to meet his own requirements as per the wish of the state and hence it will lead to loss of his interest in the production activity because he will not be able to make any profit out of what has been produced nor use it for his consumption. Naturally, this will result in loss of his interests.

Conclusion-

Although, Socialism is criticized on many grounds but despite all these criticisms and flaws, it is a very significant ideology today. The criticisms levelled against socialism has some significance from the theoretical point of view nonetheless it is most popular political ideology in vogue today. Like democracy, we also have no viable alternative to socialism.

Important Points

The socialism is a doctrine which strives to establish economic, social, justice in the society and maintaining the human dignity of the person by adopting a democratic path.

Major elements of socialism -

- Both Capitalism and Communism are extreme ideologies.
- Faith in the democratic system.
- Faith in the Democratic System.
- Supporter of Spiritual and Moral Values.
- Socialism refrains from the Class Struggle
- Freedom of economic and political independence.
- Democratic control over production and distribution.
- The Goal of Production is Socialization.
- Against the unlimited accumulation and collection of Property

Exercise

Multiple Choice Questions-

1. Which concept do the Indian socialist thinkers favor?
   (A) Establishment of human dignity
   (B) Class struggle
   (C) Unlimited wealth collection.
   (D) Distance in moral values ( )
2. Which country is considered the home of socialist ideology?
   (A) India
   (B) Soviet Union
   © England
   (D) USA ( )
3. Which one of the following ideologies has the goal of "imposing tax on extra income of the rich and using this money for the welfare of the poor"?
   (A) Capitalist (B) Socialist
   (C) Lobbyist (D) Individualist ( )
4. Which one of the following is not a socialist thinker?
   (A) Ram Manohar Lohia
   (B) Pandit Deendayal Upadhyay
   (C)Lord Macaulay
   (D) Harold Laski ( )
5. Indian Socialism is counted as a form of-
   (A) Democratic Socialism
   (B) Guild Socialism
   (C) Communism
   (D) Religious Socialism ( )

Very Short Answer Type Questions-

1. Where did the socialism originate from?
2. What is a key element of socialism?
3. Where is the corrupt system more likely to flourish?

Short Answer Type Questions-

1. Who is the most prominent exponenst of socialism in India?
2. Explain four main principles of socialism.
3. Describe the four characteristics of socialism.
4. Give four arguments against socialism.
5. What is the meaning of socialism?

Essay Type Questions-

1. What do you understand by socialism? Elaborate about its merts and demerits.
2. Explain the main components of socialism.
3. Describe the main principles of democratic socialism.

Answers to Multiple Choice Questions-

1. A 2. C 3. B 4. C 5.A

3. Marxism

Marxism is the organised series of the ideas of Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, Lenin, Mao, Gramsci etc. Marx is not the first thinker to propagate the socialist ideology or speak of the change or transformation of the social and economic system. Socialist models and ideas espousing common or public ownership have existed since antiquity. Prior to him, many thinkers of UK and France had also expressed socialist views. François-Noël Babeuf, Saint Simon and Charles Fourier in France and Louis Blanc, Jean Charles Léonard de Sismondi, Charles Hall, Thompson and Robert Owenin England, had also talked of socialism.They criticized the free competition, state policy in the economic sector and the inequality of wealth existing in the capitalist system. But, they could neither underline the causes of why such inequalities in the society arise nor could they suggest any measure for prevention of the same. Marx attempted systematically to seek the structural causes behind the system of capitalist exploitation and degradation, and to offer solutions in the spheres of economics and politics Marx, first of all, presented a practical plan for the establishment of socialism (communist) based on scientific analysis of socialism.

3.1 Meaning of Marxism-

By emphasis on the word Marx, we may generally infer that Marxism is basically an ideology based on the ideas of Marx alone but that is not wholly true. In the 19th century Germany had two great thinkers named Karl Marx (1818-1883) and Friedrich Engels (1820-1895).Together they critically discussed and analyzed a variety of problems of philosophy, history, sociology, science and economics in a very detailed manner and came forward with a new approach and an ideology to analyze and study these problems. The new theory of economic and social system based upon the ideas of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels is known as Marxism. Friedrich Engels worked closely with Karl Marx and contributed a great deal in development of Marxism. The scientific and philosophical perspective was studied by Engels whereas political and economic aspects were analyzed by Marx himself. The British also made an important contribution towards ideology. He had inherited from earlier philosophers and economists, including Hegel, Johann Fichte, Immanuel Kant, Adam Smith, David Ricardo, and John Stuart Mill. However, principal exponent of Marxism which is a form of society is German philosopher Karl Marx. Since he has rendered socialism based on historical interpretation, he is called Scientific Socialist. Apart from Marx and Engels, Lenin, Stalin, Karl Kautsky, Rosa Luxemburg, Dowski, Mao, Gramsci and George Lucas etc. are also the main exponents of Marxist ideology.

3.2 Karl Marx : His Life History-

The revolutionary and the pioneer of scientific socialism, Karl Heinrich Marx was born on the 5th May 1818 in Trier (Treves) Germany in a Jewish family. His father, Heinrich Marx who was a lawyer accepted Christianity when Karl was a still child. Karl Marx studied at Berlin University and it was here that he was introduced to Hegel's dialectical thinking. Marx wanted to be a university scholar, but due to his atheist ideas this could not happen. In

1841, Marx received a doctorate from University of Jena and in 1843 married to Jenny von Westphalen at the age of 25. Karl Marx died in Londonand on March 14, 1883.Karl Marx's friendship with Engels is well-known in the history.

3.3 Sources of Marxism-

According to Ebenstein, *"In his own difficult and lengthy quest, Marx did not get his ideology readymade from any thinker, but he collected it from various sources and placed it before the world."*

Gaitle wrote that *"The main basis of Marxism is the principle of historical materialism and class struggle; these two are closely related to Hegel's dialectical thought."*

Secondly, Marxism is based on theory of surplus value which is drawn from the economics of England. Thirdly, it also includes in it various elements of French revolution and French socialism. Marx has largely from drawn theory of development and progress through revolution and the withering away of the state from French revolution.

1. Influence of German scholars- Marx adopted Heglel's dialectical method for the development of society; He took the idea of materialism from young Hegelian Ludwig Feuerbach.

2. Influence of the British Economists - Marx adopted the main principles of labor from British economists Adam Smith and David Ricardo etc. He interpreted the theory of surplus value on theses principles.

3. Influence of the French Socialists- Ideas of French sociologists François-Noël Babeuf, Saint Simon and Charles Fourier rendered their bit in formation of socialistic structure of Marxism. Apperently socialism as propagated by French thinkers was utopian but it was revolutionary in its character. The principles of ownership of the means of production, the theory of destruction of the producing and exploiting class by the workers, and the idea of establishing a classless society of Marx are attributed to the socialistic thought of French thinkers.

4. Socio-economic conditions- The exploitative character of the then capitalist society also motivated Marx to present revolutionary ideas. In short, Marx had built the huge palace by collecting bricks from many places. But he built the huge palace of Communism that is absolutely fundamental. By providing logic to the proletariat he made it progressive and powerful. He gave great progress and power by giving logic. Since he gave socialism (communism) a scientific form, he is called the father of scientific socialism. His scientific socialism is based on these four pillars-the dialectical materialism, the materialistic interpretation of history, the principle of class struggle and the theory of surplus value.

3.4 Major works of Marxism-

1. The Poverty of Philosophy (1847)
2. The Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts of 1844
3. Theses on Feuerbach
4. The Class Struggles in France (1848 to 1850)
5. The Critique of Political Economy (1906)
6. Value, Price and Profit (1865)
7. Das Kapital (Volume I, II, III) (1894)
8. The Civil War In France (1871)
9. The Critique of the Gotha Program (1875)
10. The Holy Family (1845), The German Ideology, The Communist Manifesto (1848) - Marx and Engels
11. The Origin of Family, Private Property and The State- Engels
12. State and Revolution- Lenin
13. On Contradictions- Mao Tse Tung
14. The Prison Note Books - Gramsci

3.5 Some Facts Related to Marx's Compositions-

1. In Das Kapital (1867) Marx analyzed the basic economic principles.
2. The full name of Das Kapital (1867)- A

Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy(1859).

The first volume of Das Capital was written by Marx and the remaining two volumes were written by Engels after the death of Marx

3. Proudhon wrote a book titled "The Philosophy of Poverty" (1847), in reply to which Marx wrote a composition called "The Poverty of Philosophy" (1847), and gave a positive definition of class.
4. In "The Civil War in France"(1871),Marx amended his ideas on the stateas given in "The Communist Manifesto"(1848).
5. In "The German Ideology" (1845), Marx profounded the principles of dialectical materialism.
6. Taylor called "The Communist Manifesto" (1848) by Marx as a sacred book like the Bible or the Qur'an.

3.6 Major Ideas of Marx & Foundations of Marxism-

1. Dialectical materialism
2. Materialistic or the Economic Interpretation of History
3. Theory of Class Struggle
4. Theory of Surplus Value
5. Marx's Theory of State
6. Views of Marx on Democracy, Religion and Nation
7. Marxist Method, Programme (revolution)

There are three grounds to know about Marxism -

1. System of Production

2. Means of Production

3. Relation of Production

Karl Marx identified in his theory two components of production in a society that forms its backbone

(a) The material component- it mainly consists of the material, thing, resources, capital, and technology and is also called *means of production* through which production is done. e.g. land.

(b) *Ownership of means of production-* it comprises those who all are working on the resources. These are always social components. It is called ***relation of production.*** The nature of these relations would vary from society to society. These two together are called mode of production which according to Marx forms the base of economic infrastructure of the society.

The mode of production indicates two things -

(i) What is the means of production, equipment, machinery etc.?

(ii) What is the level of knowledge, experience, expertise and capabilities of the producing labor power?

Relations of production mean the social relations found among the people involved in the process of production. These social relations are determined by the level and character of the development of productive forces. Relation of production is not merely the ownership of means of production. The employer's relation to the worker is one of domination and the worker's relation with co-workers is one of cooperation. The relations of production are relations between people and people whereas means of production are relations between people and things. The relations of production can influence the momentum and direction of the development of the productive forces. This relationship depends on ownership of the means of production. The one who is owner makes the dominant class on the contrary the deprived sections who are not in the position of ownership make the underprivileged class. Relations of Productions constitute the basis of the society at any given point of time. What are called the social relations among the people are, for the Marxists, the relations of production.

1. Dialectical Materialism-

The principle of dialectical materialism is the basic idea of Marx's entire thinking. It emphasizes

that political and historical events result from the conflict of social forces and are interpretable as a series of contradictions and their solutions. The social changes take place because of the material factors and through the dialectical materialistic method. Dialectical materialism adapts the Hegelian dialectic for traditional materialism, where he adopted principle of materialism from Feuerbach. It examines the subjects of the world in relation to each other within a dynamic, evolutionary environment, in contrast to meta physical materialism, which examines parts of the world within a static, isolated environment. The conflict is seen as caused by material needs. It is called dialectical materialism because its approach to the phenomena of nature, its method of studying and apprehending them, is dialectical, while its interpretation of the phenomena of nature, its conception of these phenomena, its theory, is materialistic. It is the sum-total of the general principles which explain as to why and how social changes take place.

Dialectical materialism consists of two words- (1) dialectical and (2) materialism. It maintains the material basis of a reality constantly changing in a dialectical process and the priority of matter over mind. It is the Marxian system of thought that combines philosophical materialism with the Hegelian dialectic and forms the theoretical basis for Communism.

2. Dilectical Process-

It determines the three dialectical stages of development: a thesis, giving rise to its reaction; an antithesis, which contradicts or negates the thesis; and the tension between the two being resolved by means of a synthesis. Marx and his followers have explained the dialectic process by an example of wheat plant. That the wheat grain (granule) is a thesis, the plant which comes out as a result of sowing the grain as seed in the field is anti thesis, and in the third stage, the grain comes out after ripening the grain head after removing it from the dried and dead plant is synthesis.

Materialism- According to Hegel the essence of creation of universe is idea or consciousness but according to Marx root cause of creation is matter. The differences between Hegel and Marx are important. In Hegel's opinion- Idea is of first importance because it arises at first and matter is of secondary importance. Engels says, *"The Hegelian system is a colossal miscarriage."*

3.7 Characteristics of Dialectical Materialism-

1. According to *dialectical materialism* that the world, material in nature that all phenomena in the universe consist of "matter in motion," wherein all things are interdependent and interconnected and develop according to natural law;
2. Nature is unstable, dynamic and constantly changing;
3. According to Marx, The process of development and change in the goods is simple. The world process, which is based on motion, attraction, and repulsion and is mechanical, is circular. It moves continually through thesis, antithesis and synthesis. But it is not a closed process.
4. The qualitative changes in the objects are not gradual but occur suddenly with speed.
5. Marx adopts Hegel's dialectical method as regards the qualitative changes that takes place in the objects. "Motion is the mode of existence of matter".
6. Dialectical materialism interprets the nature on the basis of the matter and treats it as the controlling power of the world.

3.8 Principles of Dialectical Process of Development-

1. Unity and struggle of the opposites.

2. Change in quantity results in change in quality - Changes in quantity also result in changes in the quality as on heating the water becomes hot and then on further heating turns into vapour.

3. Principle of negation of the negation - In this process, an element (thesis) does not come into

its initial state by colliding with its anti-element (anti thesis) but reaches a higher state (synthesis).Marxist interpretation, negation of the negation is the theoretical side of social change in which the exploitative capitalist system is superseded by a socialist revolution that negates the negation, the very essence of capitalism, namely, exploitation of the proletariat by the bourgeoisie.

3.9 Historical Materialism-

Marx's theory of Historical Materialism is recognized as a supplementary principle of Dialectical Materaialism. Historical materialism springs from a fundamental underlying reality of human existence: that in order for human beings to survive and continue existence from generation to generation, it is necessary for them to produce and reproduce the material requirements of life. Marx then extended this premise by asserting the importance of the fact that, in order to carry out production and exchange, people have to enter into very definite social relations, most fundamentally "production relations".Marx's general ideas about society are known as his theory of historical materialism. Materialism is the basis of his sociological thought because for Marx material conditions or economic factors affect the structure and development of society. His theory is that material conditions essentially comprise technological means of production and human society is formed by the forces and relations of production. It is historical because Marx has traced the evolution of human societies from one stage to another. It is called Materialistic because Marx has interpreted the evolution of societies in terms of their material or economic bases. Materialism simply means that it is matter or material reality, which is the basis for any change.

According to Friedrich Engels, the theory of historical materialism was discovered by Karl Marx, but Marx thought it was Engels who has conceived the materialist formulation of history independently. Materialism means the materialist structure of society. It is how the super structure of society is based on economic infrastructure. Marx's theory of historical materialism is the materialistic interpretation of the history of societies. All the societies have experienced similar pattern of history and every history is built upon its materialist foundations. Marx has tried to suggest that all society passes through unilinear evolution, every society progresses stage by stage and every society has marched ahead. To clarify the impact of economic causes on the development of human history, He has classified the history of society in 6 stages :-

Primitive Communism

↓

Slavery

↓

Feudalism

↓

Capitalism

↓

Dictatorship of The Proletariat and Socialism

↓

Communism

In Marxist theory, human society consists of two parts:

1. The base (or substructure)

2. Superstructure.

In the base, it incorporates the economy and production system, and superstructure incorporates in it social, political, cultural status. The base comprises the forces and relations of production (e.g. employer/employee work conditions, the technical division of labour, and property relations) into which people enter to produce the necessities and amenities of life. The base determines society's other relationships and ideas to comprise its superstructure, including its culture, institutions, political power structures, roles, rituals, and state. While the relation of the two parts is not strictly causal, as the superstructure often affects the base,

the influence of the base is predominant. Under above classification Marx has stressed upon the fact that three stages of historical development of society have already passed in the history. The fourth stage is continuing and the last two stages are likely to happen in future. Marx's theory sought to explain all social phenomena in terms of their place and function in the complex systems of society and nature. This was without recourse to what may be considered as metaphysical explanations clearly outlined in those early writings of Hegal and his followers. This eventually became a mature sociological conception of the making and development of human societies. According to Marx, the class which exercise control over the economy and system is called an exploiter class and the one which acts under it is called the exploited class.

3.10 Deductions of Economic Interpretation of History-

1. The development of human life and civilization is not the result of thoughts and actions of God or super human. There are definite rules for the social change and the operator of this process is the economic element.
2. In every age one that controls the economic system also exercise control over the social and political system.
3. Economic changes lead to political and social change.
4. There is always class struggle under capitalism except in primitive communism.
5. By materialistic interpretation of history, Marx announces the end of capitalism and the arrival of communism.

3.11 Criticism of Economic Interpretation of History

1. Excessive and unnecessary emphasis on economic element
2. It is not possible to interpret all historical events on economic basis
3. Neglect of element of coincidence in interpretation of history
4. It is not possible to determine the program of human history
5. The economic power is not the only basis of political power
6. Economic relations are replaced by political power
7. It is not possible for the theory of interpretation of history to stop at classless and the stateless society

3.12 Theory of Class Struggle

Communist Manifesto (1848)

Theory of Class Struggle is another tenet of Marxism. Marx says in his first translation of Communist Manifesto (1848) that all hitherto history has been the history of class struggle between opposing classes. Class struggle is the characteristic of class societies. In the classless societies, there is no class struggle because there are, in such societies, no opposing/ antagonistic classes. Class struggle, in class societies, (i.e., in slave-owning society, the feudal society, the capitalist society) is of mainly three types: economic, ideological and political. Marx's dialectical materialism is based on the principle of historical materialism and the principle of surplus value, is based on the theory of class struggle. According to Marxism, there are two main classes of people: The bouregoisie controls the capital and means of production, and the proletariat provides the labour. Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels say that for most of history, there has been a struggle between those two classes. This struggle is known as class struggle.

Engels writes in his book **(Origin of Family Private Property & State)** that the family is the first exploiting body and the first victim is a woman. According to him, first private property was the plow and the class struggle arose with the emergence of private property and the state emerged to suppress the class struggle.

Class- According to Marx, the group which has similar relation with means of production is called a class. i.e workers, capitalists etc.

Conflict (struggle):- The broad meaning of conflict is dissatisfaction, frustration, fury and non-cooperation.

3.13 Criticism of Class Struggle

1. Partly and faulty
2. The basic element of social life is cooperation, not conflict.
3. There are more than two classes in society.
4. There is a difference between the social and economic class.
5. Revolution is ignited by the revolutionary intellectual class rather than the working class.
6. The entire history is not all about class conflicts.

This theory of Marx created awareness among the working class.

3.14 Theory of Surplus Value

Marx was hugely influenced by Ricardo and helater drew from the labor-cost theory of value; his *theory of surplus value* which emphasized that since labor is the sole foundation of value, the entire product of labor belongs by moral right to the laborer. Marx in his book elaborates about the theory of surplus value. Ricardo was a capitalist thinker. Ricardo said that the price of an object is determined by labor and hence represented the labor-cost theory of value.

According to Marx the general formula of commodity circulation is C-M-C, that is to enter in the market with a commodity, earn money by selling that commodity, and then leave the market after buying another desired commodity with that earned money. Money becomes capital at a certain stage of commodity production. The formula of capital circulation is M-C-M' , that a capitalist enters the market with money (M), he buys labour force by this money and produces such commodity, which is sold on more money (M'). This M'-M is called Surplus Value by Marx, which is a gain from the initial value of money invested in the circulation. When the money starts creating surplus value it converts into capital. Capitalist buys the whole labour force a worker at the subsitance wage. Thus the labourer is compelled to work more than his subsitance wage which is his value in exchange, and the resultant value is surplus value. This surplus value is not given to the labourers, but accumulated by the capitalist. It is noticeable that the surplus value is generated during production and is inherent in the value in exchange of the commodity. The profit which capitalist earns through the fluctuations of demand and supply in the market is separate from this surplus value.

According to Marx, the surplus value affects the society in following manner-

1. Poor state of workers
2. It causes proletarian revolution
3. It causes additional population

Criticism -

1. Labor is not the only means of production.
2. It neglects the cost of capital and the mental labour
3. It lacks originality; it is more influenced by Ricardo.
4. It is a contradictory principle.

Importance- It has been most helpful in the promotion of socialism.

3.15 The Theory of Alienation

The theory of Alienation is related to the *'young'* Marx as he wrote more often and directly of alienation than the *'mature'* Marx. There was an ideological break but more or less the concept remained central. Traditionally regarded as a theme of Marx's early work, alienation remained a theme throughout his life, giving shape and form to his insights even when Marx does not name alienation as such. It is one of the most misunderstood and misused terms in the whole of Marxism. He expressed the theory of Alienation in the Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844. In this book,

he compares the capitalism to the feudalism and considers latter better than the former. This concept is frequently taken to be a moral notion based on a concept of universal human nature. While describing capitalism Marx states that *capitalism is essentially alienating and exploitative*. He says that due to capitalism, man has become an alienated human being.

Four Aspects of Alienation

1. *Alienation from the Production System-The product of labour*
2. *Alienation from the Environment*
3. *Alienation from the Colleagues or Fellow Beings*
4. *Alienation from the Self (Alienation from one's own Activity)*

Neo-Marxism is also influenced by the theory of alienation. The leading figure in the Neo-Marxist movement is Georg Lukacs who discussed alienation it in 1923-24, while the ideas written by Marx appeared in the year 1932 in form of Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844.

3.16 Analysis of Capitalism and its Future Perception-

Capitalism is a mode of production based on private ownership of the means of production. Capitalists produce commodities for the exchange market for profit and to stay competitive must extract as much labor from the workers as possible at the lowest possible cost. The economic interest of the capitalist is to pay the worker as little as possible, in fact just enough to keep him alive and productive. The workers, in turn, come to understand that their economic interest lies in preventing the capitalist from exploiting them in this way. The social relations of production are inherently antagonistic; giving rise to a class struggle that Marx believes will lead to the overthrow of capitalism by the proletariat. The proletariat will replace the capitalist mode of production with a mode of production based on the collective ownership of the means of production, which is called Communism.

3.17 Marxist View of the State and the Government-

Marx's perception of the state and the government is quite different from his other ideas. Karl Marx considers the state as an institution dominated by a particular class. According to him, the origin of the state itself is based on class division. State is an instrument used by the capitalist class to oppress and exploit the working class. According to Marxist theory, the existence of any government implies the dictatorship of one social class over another. The dictatorship of the bourgeoisie is thus used as an antonym of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In a class society this special role of the state is inevitable.

Marx explained the role of the state and the government in the form of the following points:

1. In any state or the class society there are two main classes and the origin of the state was caused by the class division in the society and to protect the interests of the capitalist class.
2. Since the interests of these two main classes are opposite conflict between the two important classes is inevitable because the interests stand in direct opposition is irreconcilable.
3. The capitalist class (the bourgeoise) uses the state machinery (particularly the police and army) as instruments of exploitation to control the revolt fuelled by the working class (the proletarian).
4. The class struggle necessarily leads to the dictatorship of the proletariat; [and] that this dictatorship, itself, constitutes no more than a transition to the abolition of all classes (to eliminate the remaining residues of state and capitalism-bourgeoise class) and to a classless society. The state itself provides the basis for the establishment of a stateless and classless society.

Criticism -

1. State is not a class organization, but it is an ethical organization.

2. At present, the state is not an enemy of the proletariat but is a friend who works for the welfare of the proletariat.
3. State is not temporary but permanent.
4. The concept of state extinction by Marx is hypocritical.

3.18 The Perception of Marxism in Relation to Democracy, Religion and Nationalism-

Karl Marx had an antithetical and complex attitude to religion, viewing it primarily as ***"the soul of soulless conditions",*** the ***"opium of the people"*** that had been useful to the ruling class(capitalists) as a means of exploitation since it gave the working classes false hope for millennia. Marx evoked the workers and the peasants of the whole world to unite as there was no country meant to cater for laborers. In this way, the concept of nationalism was also meaningless for them.

Marxist programme

There are three stages of the Marxist program

1. Revolution against the capitalist systemandthe Bourgeois State
2. Dictatorship of the proletariat for transition period
3. Establishment of state and classless society (communist society) after the withering away of the state.
4. The communist society will be technologically progressive and advanced society.

"When at last it (state) becomes the real representative of the whole society, it renders itself unnecessary. As soon as there is no longer any social class to be held in subjection, as soon as class rule, and the individual struggle for existence based upon our present anarchy in production are removed, nothing more remains to be repressed, and a special repressive force, a state, is no-longer necessary."

3.19 Criticism of Marxism

Marxism has been subjected to severe criticism from many thinkers. It is seen as an enemy of the open society. The class division of society into two classes, *'the haves'* and *'the have nots'*as perceived by the Marxists is far from the reality. Infact society is very complex and is divided into many groups. There is no clear cut division of classes as envisaged by Marxism. Moreover, there exists a huge middle class. Marxian thinkers predicted that with the advancement of capitalism, the middle class would disappear and merge with the proletariat class. But this has not happened so far and there is no possibility of it ever happening. Infact, the reverse has happened; the middle class has strengthened its position and increased its size. Marxists also predicted the narrowing of the capitalist class. Here again, just the opposite has happened. Events that took place after the fall of the Berlin Wall and the subsequent opening of Russia to the West tell a different story. Anarchists have often argued that Marxist communism will inevitably lead to coercion and state domination. Mikhail Bakunin believed that Marxist regimes would ultimately lead to the *"despotic control of the populace by a new and not at all numerous aristocracy"*.Marxism as a set of social, economic, and political ideas to change the world has died a quiet death-except in China where it is still alive as a different offshoot called Maoism. Liberals have portrayed the dictatorship of the proletariat as the anti-democracy in context of Soviet Union's Stalinist and China's Maoist dictatorialregimes. Marxism is widely perceived to be in crisis, and many believe the crisis is terminal. Marxism it is said has had a long run and now its energies are spent and its usefulness is long past. Marx did not forsee the rise of Fascism, totalitarianism and the welfare state. His analysis of capitalism was, at best, applicable to early 19th century capitalism, though his criticisms of capitalism as being wasteful unequal and exploitative was true. However, his alternative to genuine democracy and communism seemed more official to realize in practice, for they did not accommodate a world which was becoming increasingly differentiated, stratified and functionally specialized. Sartori called it a "*Fantom Alternative*" and said that in reality the dictatorship

of the proletariat in the Soviet Union was dictatorship over the proletariat. Karl Popper claimed that Marx's scientific socialism was wrong not only about society but also about science. He claimed that the capitalism that Marx described never existed. He wrote thus: *"Marx misled crores of intelligent people by saying that the historic method is the scientific way of approaching social problems."*

Further Marx made the economy all important, ignoring factors like nationality, friendship, religion, sex etc. Society was far more complex that what Marx described. As Popper has rightly mentioned *"Marx brought into the social science and historical science the very important idea that economic conditions are of great importance in the life of society. There was nothing like serious economic history before Marx".*He compared Marxism to a closed society which lacked democracy and freedom both and also rejected Marx's social engineering as dangerous for it treated individuals as subservient to the interests of the whole. Popper rejected the historicism, holism and utopian social engineering of Marxism. In contrast, he advocated piecemeal social engineering, where change would be gradual and modest, allowing rectification of lapses and errors for it was not possible to conceive of everything. He claimed that the capitalism that Marx described never existed. Marxism claimed to have studied the laws of history on the basis of which it advocated total sweeping and radical changes. Not only was it impossible to have firsthand knowledge based on some set of laws that governed society and human individuals. Eduard Bernstein in his book *'Evolutionary Socialism' (1899)*argued that the very success of the social-democratic Left made Marx's "revolutionary" predictions, and his politics, obsolete. Kautsky, in his book *'The Dictatorship of the Proletariat'* (1918); said that the fundamental aim of the Communists of every country is not the destruction of capitalism but the destruction of democracy and of the political and economic organizations of the workers. The theories of class struggle, revolution and proletarian dictatorship of Marxism are undemocratic in nature and are unwarranted for peaceful and constitutional reforms. In her book 'Russian Revolution' (1940). Rosa Luxemburg criticized Marxism for its lack of public control over the rule and lack of freedom of the press.In fact, the principle of class struggle of Marxism ends up with the possibility of all kinds of cooperation and co-ordination while talking about the constant conflict in society. In such a situation, continuous social violence and hurdles are likely to prevail in the society. Under the Marxism, the class division on the economic basis for the society is also beyond the truth. In fact, Marx has completely ignored the other social factors such as religion, race, caste, creed etc., on the basis of which and differentiating conditions are formed and many divisions take place in the society. Therefore, Marx's over emphasis on economic factors and the matter is meaningless. Moreover, the practical experience of Marxism has been extremely painful. The communist regimes of the former Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, China, Cambodia, Cuba and North Korea are some of the brute reminders of the Marxist violence, repression of democracy and disruption of the development.

In brief, Marxism can be criticized on grounds given as under:

Marxism can also be criticized on the following grounds:

According to Alexander Gray, *"Undoubtedly, Marx has createdhis ideasby drawing elements from many sources, but he has used them all to build a building that itself has its own sampling.''*

1. Unable to completely separate the inert and the consciousness
2. Automatic change in inert elements perceived by Marx is not possible.
3. Marxism lacks originality.
4. Marxism promotes violence and revolutions.
5. Marxism fatal for personal freedom.
6. Marx's economic interpretation of history and dialectical materialism is lop-sided and imaginary.

7. Assumption of withering away of the state's extinction is imaginary.
8. Considering the state as a tool of exploitation by Marxism is inappropriate.
9. Marxist approach to democracy, nationalism and religion is inappropriate.
10. Marx's idea of division of society in two classes is impractical.

3.20 Contribution of Marxism in Political Thought-

Marxism has made very significant contribution to the political thought. It provided an innovative approach to understanding the world. Karl Marx is undoubtedly one of the most influential philosophers of modern times. His ideas and doctrines have acquired the status of a powerful ideology and a programme of action. His ideas on Dialectical Materialism, Historical Materialism, Surplus Value, Class Struggle, Revolution, Dictatorship of the Proletariat, Alienation, and Communism have been extensively discussed, debated, modified and sometimes even rejected and criticized by his followers and adversaries.

1. It provides the basis for various ideologies.
2. It was a challenge to Liberalism.
3. It presents a practical and scientific plan of socialism.
4. It has been used as a tool for social analysis.
5. Its economic theory laid the foundation for understanding labor and its relation to capital.

Conclusion-

Karl Marx is undoubtedly one of the most important and influential thinkers of the modern period. He was the first thinker who presented a solid and relevant pragaramme to establish socialism in the world. Both a scholar and a political activist, Marx addressed a wide range of political as well as social issues, and is known for, among other things, his analysis of history. The ideas of Marx were practically implemented by Lenin in 1917 when he successfully established communism in the USSR by following Marxist ideology. Under the influence of Marxist ideology Mao Tse Tung established communism through revolution in a predominantly feudal society of China in 1949. Interpretations of his theories, particularly those on political economy, have in the course of history generated decades of debate, inspired revolutions and cast him as both devil and deity in political and academic circles. The importance of Marxism lies in two fields. Firstly, it has been used as a tool for social analysis. Secondly, it gives a voice to the voiceless. It is the philosophy of the poor, the oppressed and the suppressed people. Under the pressure of foreful Marxist ideology the capitalism has to change and reform its ways and move toward the concept of welfare state. The credit of emergence of the welfare state is connected with the birth of communism as an alternate and effective ideology.

Important Points

- Karl Marx was born on 5 May 1818 in Germany and died on 18 March 1883 in London.
- A thinker and propounder who presented the concept of scientific socialism in a systematic form.
- Das Kapital and Communist Manifesto are two renowned books of Karl Marx.
- The main theories profounded by Marx Dialectical materialism, Materialistic or Economic Interpretation of History, the Theory of Class Struggle, the Theory of surplus value, the Theory of the State and the Theory of Alienation .
- Six Marxian Stages of State in Human History- the primitive communist state, slave state, feudal state, capitalist state, dictatorship of proletariat and communist state.

Contribution of Marx -

- Provided a scientific form to the utopian socialism.
- Awakened consciousness in labor and proletariat.
- Supported determinism and challenged

liberalism.

- Ideas presented in practical form.

The Bases of Criticism of Marxism -

- It is opposed to democracy
- It encourages violence and conflict in society
- It supports of state less society and anarchy
- It is against the principle of personal liberty
- Economic interpretation of history is lopsided and impractical

Exercise

Multiple Choice Questions-

1. Who is the main profounder of Marxism?
   (A) Fourier (B) Karl Marx
   (C) M. N. Roy (D) Louis Blanc ( )
2. Who is the exponent of Analytical Socialism -
   (A) Jeane (B) Ram Manohar Lohia
   (C) Karl Marx (D) Taylor ( )
3. The dialectical materialism of Marx was influenced by which one of the following thinkers -
   (A) Engels (B) Jeane Silmandy
   (C) Simon (D) Hegel ( )
4. Which one of the following ideas does not match with Marxism?
   (A) Centralized and organized state
   (B) Theory of class struggle
   (C) Theory of surplus value
   (D) Materialistic interpretation of history ( )
5. Existence of which of the following classes of the society was accepted by Marx?
   (A) Middle and Capitalist
   (B) Proletariat and Capitalist
   (C) Low and Middle
   (D) Exploited class ( )

Very Short Answer Type Questions-

1. Who was the closest friend of Karl Marx?
2. Name the two compositions of Marx?
3. Which thinker termed religion as opium?
4. According to Marx, interests of which class were protected by the state?
5. Which country is highly influenced by Marxian ideology in the present world order?

Short Answer Type Questions-

1. What is the concept of class struggle?
2. How many stages of human history are there according to? Write their name.
3. Why Marx is called an exponent of systematic scientific socialism?
4. What is the main source of Marxist philosophy?
5. Write a brief note about the theory of surplus value of Marx?

Essay Type Questions-

1. The Marxism has given a new dimension to political thought. Do you agree with this? Give a detailed comment.
2. How relevant is the theory of surplus value of Marx in the present perspective? Evaluate.
3. Explain the theory of dialectical materialism.
4. What is the relevance of the Marxist theory in the present perspective? Evaluate.

Answers to Multiple Choice Questions-

1. B 2. C 3.D 4 A. 5. B

4. Gandhism

Gandhism is a body of ideas and principles that describes the inspiration, vision and the life work of Mahatma Gandhi. Thoughts and ideals of Mahatma Gandhi are also known by the names of "Gandhian Philosophy", "Gandhian Path ", "Gandhian Political Philosophy" and " Gandhism" etc. It is particularly associated with his contributions to the idea of nonviolent resistance, sometimes also called civil resistance. The term "Gandhism" also encompasses what Mahatma Gandhi's ideas, words and actions mean to people around the world, and how they used them for guidance in building their own future. A Gandhian can mean either an individual who follows, or a specific philosophy which is attributed to, Mahatma Gandhi. These ideas and ideals have been given different names. However, Mahatma Gandhi himself did not want any ' ideology ', creed or theory assigned to him, nor did he want to leave any type of 'sect' behind himself. His method was experimental, empirical and scientific. Mahatma Gandhi was a 'practical idealist' who practiced what he preached. Mahatma Gandhi believed in action; he was a Karma yogi.

4.1 Mahatma Gandhi and His Life Values

Mahatma Gandhi was a priest of truth, non-violence, love, compassion and fraternity. Mahatma Gandhi entire life revolved round these moral values. He felt that it was important to recognize the humanity. He accommodated in his personality many universal values such as love for his fellow humans, justice, peace, non-violence, tolerance, and freedom, and when faced with certain situations in his lifetime, exhibited an attitude that is compatible with his principles related to moral values. By explaining these values to an individual; he wanted to remove the perverted tendencies in him. He advocated politics based on purity, religion and justice. Mahatma Gandhi was a messenger of love and freedom. He tried to explain the significance of ***purushartha***. Thus; Gandhism is more related to the lifestyle or life philosophy rather than any theory or an ideology.

In the words of **Sitaramayya,** *"Gandhism is not a group of principles, of ideas, rules, regulations and orders. It is life style or life philosophy. It points to a new direction and presents ancient solutions for problems of human life".*

Mahatma Gandhi talks about welfare of all and considered, non-violent means are superior to violent means and weapons. He emphasized on love and friendship in place of hatred and hostility. Truth, religion and God are the sources of inspiration and there is no place for deception, treachery, selfishness, cruelty, violence, malice and perverted tendencies. Mahatma Gandhi emphasizes purity of means and ends both.

4.2 Gandhism A Pool of Ideas

Mahatma Gandhi has expressed his views on different problems of life according to the particular situation and circumstances. Gandhism is not related to any one particular idea. Gandhian ideals - truth, non-violence, love and fraternity were not meant for any particular person, country or time, but are universally applicable for humanity. Mahatma Gandhi once said in this context that "Gandhi can

die but truth, non-violence will live forever". Mahatma Gandhi did not stick to a particular theory or method. He believed in the change. He changed his ideas as per the need of the hour. Mahatma Gandhi was thoughtful as well as a man who was a good man. The idea that he could not bring in the conduct was considered secondary. He believed in God and his faith and adopted the path of non-violence in all his actions. Mahatma Gandhi's ideas were broad, multi-faceted and multi-dimensional. He was on one side a practical individualist, idealist, socialist, moderate, conservative and nationalist on the other side he was also an internationalist and Universalist. Above all, he was a super humanist. Mahatma Gandhi was a thinker of group of ideologies, on the one hand, he was influenced by both Indian and Western thinkers.He was influenced by thoughts of Mahavir Swami, Gautama Buddha, Socrates, Kropotkin and Ruskin.He was also deeply influenced by influenced by Bhagwat Gi ta and Upanishads. Mahatma Gandhi's life philosophy was completely based on spirituality. He emphasized more on morality and religion than on capital. He was a staunch devotee of the state and also a follower of the law. He would not hesitate even to adopt nationalization and internationalization if they were helpful for the welfare of everyone. He rejected the Marx's theory of ***"historical materialism"***or the ***"materialist conception of history"*** which is based on claim that history occurs through a dialectic, or clash, of opposing forces. He rejected the socialism as propounded by Marx as it was based on violence. He was opposed to the use of violence and class struggle and rejected the violence in any form. Mahatma Gandhi was also a liberal, moderate and ethical in his thoughts and actions He wrote in ***Harijan Sewak*** (20.03.1937), "The feeling of inequality and discrimination among human beings is bad, but I don't want this evil to be wiped out from the human heart by the force of the sword." He advocated the idea of progress in the economic, social and political fields through spirituality. He was an exponent of spiritual socialism and tried to interpret the history through spiritualism. He did not consider materialism and economic activities as the sole carrier of culture and civilization. While he was a supporter of the stateless and the classless society but he wanted to create it through peaceful means. He was against the theory of socialism and class struggle as propounded by Marx and advocated class- cooperation and spiritual socialism. He was in favour of cohesive ideologies which promoted harmony and coordination among various classes. His socialism was based on morality, Hinduism, Village oriented humanism and democratic values and which could not have been accomplished and established by capturing the political power through the means of violence and blood sheds. True socialism is based on civility, goodwill and love. He was opposed to absolute sovereignty and power. State was needed for coordinating among unions formed as village republics and for establishing law and order. He believed in political and economic decentralization. If it was necessary for the welfare of all *(sarvodaya)* he would even go for industrialization and nationalization. He favoured the theory of stateless and classless society as propounded by Karl Marx but was totally against the materialistic interpretation of history, class struggle and use of violence. He abhorred violence even in thoughts and feelings. He gave great importance to self-control and self-restraint in life.He also gave importance to ***Asteya*** (non-stealing), ***(Aparigraha)*** non-possessiveness and **Brahmacharya** (celibacy) in life. For him, the person who ***"consumes more than his needs"*** exploits the poor and does injustice to them. Mahatma Gandhi interpreted his thoughts in his writings, especially in Hind Swarajya and in his Autobiography and magazines Harijan, Young India, Indian Opinion, Navjivan, and Aryan Path and also in his speeches. Later on various writers and thinkers compiled them in form of Gandhism.

4.3 Sources of Gandhism

There are four types of influences on Mahatma Gandhi's thoughts

(1) The Impact of Religious Texts,

(2) The Impact of Philosophy,

(3) The Impact of the Reformist Movements and

(4) The Impact of Socio-Economic Conditions.

1. The Impact of Religious Texts -

(A) Impact of Sanatan Dharma Texts

Mahatma Gandhi was a complete religious person, spirituality was his favourite subject. That is why his thoughts, emotions and actions were rooted in religious sentiments. His religious feelings were developed from the study of the texts of the East and the West. He studied the Patanjali's Yoga Sutras in 1903 in the jail of Johannesburg. He made a deep study of Upanishads. He received vows from the Upanishads (such as not accumulating any object more than necessary) and discarded (not being obsessed of anything). Epics like the Vedas, Ramayana and Mahabharata had great influence on him. Mahatma Gandhi considered Ramayana as the best book of devotional path. He was also a devotee of the Bhagavad Gita. It was his 'path-finder', 'spiritual director' and 'spiritual mother'. As 'religious treasure' it showed him a ray of hope in the dark, made him confident in despair and always encouraged him to take daunting tasks. Mahatma Gandhi emphasis on karma is the gift of the Gita. “Do your work and don't expect anything in return”. This message of the Gita became the basis of actions.

(B) The Influence of Jainism and Buddhism-

Mahatma Gandhi was also influenced by various religions of the world such as Hinduism, Islam, Christianity, Jainism and Buddhism. Jainism made a huge impact on Mahatma Gandhi. Mahatma Gandhi's non-violence movement was influenced by Jainism. Both Jainism and Buddhism preached the virtue of Ahimsa (non-violence) in India long ago. This was Jain Sadhu Bechari who took three pledges from Mahatma Gandhi while he was going to England that he would remain away from alcohol, the women and eating flesh. What we give out is what we get back. This is what inspired Mahatma Gandhi to spread peace and non-violence. He believed it, experimented with it, and proved that it worked. He developed Satyagraha (meaning "the force of truth") as a means to passively resist violence, essentially making it his only weapon. He used Satyagraha over and over again in his political battles until he honed it to perfection, and ultimately won India its Independence from British rule.

(C) The Influence of Christianity and Islam-

Mahatma Gandhi was also influenced by the Bible very much. Mahatma Gandhi dedicated his whole life towards the service of humanity which he owed much to Christianity. Bible appealed to his heart the most. Messages of Bible to win over “evil by Good ", "hostility by friendship", "violence by non-violence", “hatred by love” and “Curse by blessing” made a lasting impact on him . On many occasions, Mahatma Gandhi found consolation and derived inspiration and strength from the Bible. The ideals of Chinese thinker Lao Tse and Confucius also influenced Mahatma Gandhi. Mahatma Gandhi received the ideas of humility, goodness, purity from these ideologies. The Islam's peace-loving teachings also had huge impact on Mahatma Gandhi. As for Islam, Mahatma Gandhi declared that in his view, “the point of brotherhood is manifested in other religions as clearly as in Islam”. According to Mahatma Gandhi, the chief contribution of Islam has been the brotherhood of man. Just as Hinduism, Buddhism and Christianity; he considered Islam also as a religion of peace. Under the influence of these religious texts, Mahatma Gandhi adopted the following ideals in his life - (1) Satya (Truth); (2) Ahimsa (Nonviolence); (3) Brahmacharya (celibacy); (4) Aswad (Tasteless); (5)Asteya (Non-stealing) (6) Aprigraha (Non-possessiveness) (7) Abhay(Fearless) (8)Asparshyatab Nivaran (Prevention of untouchability); (9) SharirikShram (Physical labour); (10) Sarvadharmasambhava(all religions are the same); (11) Swadeshi"of one's own country"(Indigenous).

Even though religious texts had great influence on Mahatma Gandhi's life and ideas but he accepted the religious facts which logic proved. In the words of Mahatma Gandhi, "I do not give any importance to religious book more than intellectual wisdom."

2. Influence of philosophers

Although thoughts of Mahatma Gandhi are

original but it has numbers of influences. Mahatma Gandhi was philosophically influenced by the ideas of John Ruskin, Henry David Thoreau, Leo Tolstoy and Socrates.

3. Impact of the Reformist Movements

One of the earliest influences that provided to Mahatma Gandhi's thought was that of ancient Hindu tradition. He had grown up in a family and in a tradition that has always respected orthodox Hindu ways of religion and worship. Mahatma Gandhi was also influenced by cultural, philosophical and religious reformist movements that took place in India, especially the influence of Ram Krishna and Vivekananda. Mahatma Gandhi learned this from the country and love of ***Swadeshi***.

4. Impact of Socio-Economic Conditions -

The helpless condition of Indians and poverty also made impact on Mahatma Gandhi's ideas and became the basis of his socialist ideas. In the field of politics he understood the issues with special consideration based on Indian nature of socio-economic and politics.

4.4 South Africa as a Laboratory of Gandhi's Experiments-

Little over two decades that Mahatma Gandhi spent in South Africa has been one of the least explored and understood periods of his life. It was in South Africa that his overall religious consciousness was developed and he studied the ideologies of various Western thinkers. It has been largely seen as a period of preparation, of apprenticeship as it were, for his eventual return to India and his role in the larger sub-continental theatre. In Mahatma Gandhi saw South Africa as a kind of laboratory for experiments in struggle that gave rise to several concepts which Gandhi would expand on later stage in his freedom struggle movement of India. The concept of ***Satyagraha*** developed in his opposition to white discrimination against the black. |He conducted his initial experiments during his stay in South Africa. It was here that he learnt his first lessons of selfless service and felt about his duties towards the humanity. It was here that his nationalistic outlook developed and he learnt about the importance of the labour.

4.5 Spiritualisation of Politics-

For Gandhi ji religion and politics are the two names of the same activity. He believes that the objective of politics, like the objective of the religion is to change those social relation which are based on injustice, oppression and exploitation and it arranges justice and justiciability in the society. Each action of man is related to justice. Therefore no aspect of human action is beyond the purview of religion and politics. For Gandhi Ji the basis of both is common and determined by the common values of morality.

Thus Gandhi as proposed the idea that politics must be based on moral and humanitarian religion. But this should be clarified here that Gandhi was not in favour of conducting the political system by the assumptions of any religious community or sect. According to him democracy is not a synonym of majoritarianism and state should not the a guardian of the dictatorship of majority, rather it should respect the beliefs of minorities. State should not be the supporter of any specific religious community, rather it should be the guardian of humanitarian and moral religion.

4.6 Purity of Means and Ends

Mahatma Gandhi did not see any difference between the means and the ends. He said, “For me, it is enough to know the means. Means and end are convertible terms in my philosophy of life”. He used to say, "My life is a tool in philosophy and transcendent words”. He further said,-“Impure means result in an impure end..... One cannot reach truth by untruthfulness. Truthful conduct alone can reach Truth. Are not Non-violence and Truth twins? Either is inseparable from the other. This blessed state is unattainable without perfect purity. Harbours impurity of mind or body and you has untruth and violence in you”. He said,-“The means may be likened to a seed, the end to a tree, and there is just the same inviolable connection between there means and the end as there is between the seed and

the tree".

Mahatma Gandhi, in the fight of independence did not support any profane (violent) means on any aspect, even when the stimulus was encouraged by the government. The use of unholy instruments for Mahatma Gandhi was far away from his imagination. Mahatma Gandhi was not interested in obtaining *Swaraj* through deceit, murder and animal force. I have often said that if one takes care of the means, the end will take will take care of itself. Non-violence is the means; the end for every nation is complete independence.

In his words, "I am ready to sacrifice the country for non-violence and truth, not non-violence and truth for the country." By emphasizing the purity of both the means and the practical, Mahatma Gandhi has brought a revolutionary change in politics.

Human nature

In each philosophy, religion or political system; the fundamental question is "human nature". Although, different philosophers have different ideas about the human nature; each philosophy begins with the definition of human or by the analysis of human nature. There have been optimistic and pessimistic thinkers, who could see nothing but good and bad, respectively, in man. Mahatma Gandhi's indictment of modern civilization, his view of politics and especially of social and individual ethics is firmly based upon his assumptions regarding human nature and human perfectibility. Mahatma Gandhi believed in the goodness of human nature. The essence of *Satyagraha* was that every man is having goodness in him. He started with a very definite conviction about what man is in his essential nature and of what he becomes through a false view of himself, of what he should be and can become, and of his place in a law-governed cosmos. All political and social theory must begin with a clear conception of the psychology of man, at least in so far as it affects his moral aims and conduct in society. For some, such as Machiavelli and Hobbes, man is by nature rabid, selfish and jealous whereas Locke and Rousseau considers as peaceful and just.

Non-violence

The Indian term of nonviolence is ahimsa, meaning literally 'non-injury or non-harm to all sentient beings'. ***Ahimsa (a + himsa)*** means without violence. ***Himsa*** means inflicting pain and injury upon others. Ahimsa, therefore literally means not inflicting pain or injury upon others. Non-violence means not giving suffering to anyone with mind, word or action. It is usually understood and interpreted as non-violence. However, nonviolence is just one aspect of ahimsa or non-injury. The non-violent person is the image of love, mercy, forgiveness, sympathy and truth. He has no enemies. World love, compassion and manifestation from the creatures, giving home to its body, the name of the power is non-violence. Non-violence is a herb of love which can make a fanatic enemy even friend and can also defeat powerful weapon from its sheer power. This is the power which is invincible. This is "the quality of the soul" which is immortal.

Origin of Satyagraha

Satyagraha was originally written by Mahatma Gandhi in South Africa. The term was also coined to show the difference in passive resistance in England and South Africa. In the words of Vincent Sheen, it was "the supreme invention or origin", through this Mahatma Gandhi taught the violent world to teach non-violence.

Satyagraha

The meaning of Satyagraha

Satyagraha in ordinary language is a way to remove evil or disputes through nonviolent methods. For the ordinary Indian citizen, it was a way of fighting the independence of Indians against the British Empire. Professor N K Bose defines ***'Satyagraha'*** as "a way of conducting 'war' by means of non-violence." In fact, Satyagrahais "non-violent direct action." Literally, the term *Satyagraha* means "holding fast to truth". Mahatma Gandhi also called it "Love-force or soul-force."In Sanskrit, the word *Satyagraha* is constituted of two words, namely *'Satya'* and *'agraha'*. Satya means truth and

agraha means holding fast, adherence, or insistence. So, the word Satyagraha means clinging to truth, holding fast to truth, insistence on truth or final adherence to truth. Mahatma Gandhi's philosophy of life and his method of opposing evil are both called 'Satyagraha'.

The opposition to what is untruth is Satyagraha. Keeping the path of truth in every situation is Satyagraha. Violence, fear and death cannot distract him from this path. Applying the life of truth for the truth is the focal point of the Satyagrahi's program. This is "penance for truth." Mahatma Gandhi called the practice of holding to Truth "Satyagraha" and sometimes "soul-force." It is a commitment to conscientious non-violent striving for what is right. He said, "Satyagraha is a demanding discipline, involving the practice of self-examination and working on oneself, as well as confronting problems in the world. "Satyagraha is a process of self-purification."

Mahatma Gandhi said, "If I could popularize the use of soul-force, which is but another name for love-force, in place of brute force, I know that I could present you with an India that could defy the whole world to do its worst."Without these characteristics Satyagraha is incomplete -

(1) Faith in God

(2) Irrevocable trust in truth and non-violence

(3) Character (4) Non-addicted

(5) Purified goal (6) Renunciation of violence

(7) Passion, patience and tolerance

Satyagraha can be omnipresent. It can be against everyone - the government, the community, the caste, the individual, the group - if they are contaminated. It is more than a thing between rulers and rulers. As much as it can be used against the tyrannical policies or practices of the government, same way also it can be used to remove social evils such as social evils (untouchability), communal clashes etc. Mahatma Gandhi had used it many times successfully.

The Nature of Satyagraha

The main form of Satyagraha are primarily as follows

1. Non-cooperation and its nature

Non-cooperation is the first technique in the methods of Satyagraha. Mahatma Gandhi called it "an expression of a continuous love". It was regarded by Mahatma Gandhi as one of the most potent weapons of the Satyagrahi. The basic idea is that all social relations, whether political or otherwise rest on the mutual cooperation of the parties involved. If one party withdraws its cooperation, the entire relationship ceases to exist. On such logic, no injustice can continue for long if the subject is of the oppression refuses to cooperate with the ruler of the state. This logic is applied to an individual, a group or a whole nation in their relations with internal or external political authorities. Civil disobedience and non-cooperation as practised under Satyagraha are based on the "law of suffering", a doctrine that the endurance of suffering is a means to an end. This end implies a moral upliftment or progress of an individual or society. Therefore, non-cooperation in Satyagraha is a means to secure the cooperation of the opponent consistently with truth and justice. Mahatma Gandhi sincerely believed that "non-cooperation with evil is as much a duty as is cooperation with good". No cooperation with anything that is 'untrue', 'illegal', 'immoral', and 'harmful'. Non-cooperation with evil is not only duty for Mahatma Gandhi but also his religion. Mahatma Gandhi believed that when the representations and the petitions fail, success can be achieved by non-cooperation with the evil. Pacifism, civil disobedience, rightful resistance against wrong policies, passive resistance, non-cooperation are some of the forms of non-violent struggles Mahatma Gandhi brought into practice. All these terms come under the common term "Satyagraha". Non-violent Satyagraha is never a method of coercion or compulsion, it is one of conversion. While using Satyagraha to bring social change and to resolve conflicts, Mahatma Gandhi negated even the slightest form of violence.

1. Various Methods of Non-Cooperation -

(A) Strike : The strike means voluntarily

closure of the work. Strike is considered a voluntary suffering undertaken for the transformation of the erring opponent. Strike is a means by which a group of individuals or society can express their feelings. A strike must be non-violent and pacific. Strike is an inherent right of the working men for the purpose of securing justice. The last device a Satyagraha uses is the strike demanding justice for legitimate cause as well as the redressal of grievances.

He advocated that in strikes adequate care has to be taken to ensure that it remains non-violent as well as peaceful and makes their demands meaningful, just and feasible. Strikes are powerful method of direct action in a Satyagraha movement. In the concept of Mahatma Gandhi, "strikes mean cessation of business out of respect, or for mourning or as a protest."

(B) Social exclusion - Social exclusion is a very old tradition which was born with the rise of the castes. It is prohibitive and is a terrible punishment which can be used effectively in a big way. The person who does evil or causes harm to others is boycotted by the society. He is given a type of punishment by society which desist him from making any interaction any member of the society. He is isolated by the society for his wrong doing. Similarly, the boycott of the product and its consumption is not only an attempt to end that item but indirectly punishes its producers by causing them economic losses through boycott. Therefore, Mahatma Gandhi has described the boycott as a siege.

(C) Dharna- A Dharna is a non-violent sit-in protest, which may include fast undertaken at the door of an offender, especially a debtor, in India as a means of obtaining compliance with a demand for justice, state response of criminal cases, or payment of a debt. It is to change the "thoughts". It must be essentially peaceful. There should be no use of "rude behaviour", "emphasis on threat" and "threat". In the words of Mahatma Gandhiji, "peaceful restraint is a friendly warning against the addiction that the reformer considers bad." "If a man had a large claim against a chief or another individual of social importance, and all other means of obtaining his rights failed, he would post himself at the door of his debtor and vow to fast until his claim was satisfied. Dharna was not restricted to credit transactions, alone, nor was it always an individual act. Groups of people -- even an entire village -- would stage a collective hunger strike to protest atrocities inflicted by a tax collector or a rapacious landlord.

2. Hijrat

Hijrat is the process by which the person leaves his habitat and goes to another place. Etymologically, the term implies voluntary exile from ones permanent place of habitation. One of the main reasons for the people to resort to Hijrat is when they feel oppressed either due to loss of self-respect or honourable living; they attempt to migrate permanently to other places. In simple terms, it is a protest against the oppressor. It is used when an individual or the group of masses cannot live in homes or villages or the country without losing their self-esteem, and unable to protect themselves from violence through violent methods. In other words, when an individual or the group of masses have neither the power of the soul nor has the power of violence (of weapons) then they resort to the Hijrat. In order to save self-respect, Mahatma Gandhi advised Satyagrahis of Bardoli (1928CE) and Limbdi, Junagadh and Vithalgarh(in 1939CE) to leave their homes.

3. Civil Disobedience

Civil Disobedience is an important technique of Satyagraha. It aims to "to dissolve laws enacted unethically. "This is a kind of "non-violent revolution. According to Mahatma Gandhi, civil disobedience is an effective and bloodless substitute for the armed revolt. This is another method of violating the established order of the state in a non-violent and peaceful fashion. Mahatma Gandhi called it "a bloodless form of full-fledged effective and armed revolution." It is a non-violent alternative to the armed rebellion. It can take many forms, such as refusing to give taxes, refusing to accept state power or one by one opposing all unethical laws, and stopping government structure etc.

4. Fasting

Difference between
Satyagraha and Passive Resistance

Satyagraha	Passive Resistance
It brings change in heart	It pains the heart of the enemies.
It is a weapon of the strong	It is a weapon of the weak
It avoids violence in any shape	It adopts violence to gain its end
It totally rejects physical force even under favourable conditions	It uses arms even during suitable occasions
It adopts non-violence as love	It adopts non-violence as an outward form
It proceeds on the active principle of love	It proceeds on the negative principle of hatred
In it, injuring opponent is remote	It contains an idea of harassing others

4.7 Economic Views of Mahatma Gandhi

Mahatma Gandhi was not an economist and therefore his economic views were not based on the principles of economics. In his economic views, he did not follow the rules of economics. He did not propagate any economic theory explicitly. Mahatma Gandhi's attitude towards economic problems was reformative and his suggestions were inspired by the time, necessity and humanity. They were largely were based on reality and self-experience. That is why Mahatma Gandhi's economic views changed with change in time. Mahatma Gandhi's views in Hind Swaraj appear to be "anti-modern," "anti-instrument" and "anti-capitalist", his later views appear to be useful and compromised with instruments. His thoughts were influenced by colonial rule too. Mahatma Gandhi's economic ideals, much like everything else in his life, were governed by ethical and moral considerations. His stress on rural economy and emphasis on a simple life, coupled with his concern for universal well-being formed the foundation of his unique views on economics. Mahatma Gandhi's economic models were based largely on his understanding of the Indian situation. Mahatma Gandhi viewed life as a whole. He did not divide life into different watertight compartments like political, religious, economics and so on. What he had said about politics must be largely applicable in religion, economics and many other fields of human life as well.

4.8 Mahatma Gandhi and Present Times

1. Over dependence on Machines- Mahatma Gandhi has criticized the present civilization in his book, Hind Swaraj. Mahatma Gandhi's thoughts about the machinery were influenced by ideas of Ruskin, Tolstoy and R.C. Dutt. Mahatma Gandhi was an early critic of the dehumanising character of the modern industrial civilisation which he described as "Satanic". Mahatma Gandhi was for machines as long as it did not tend to make atrophied the limbs of human beings. He regarded human body as a super machine. If machines were exploited by men he had no grudge against that. Where machines exploited men, his objections were to them. Practical idealist that he was, Mahatma Gandhi recognised the place of machinery, 'it has come to stay.' The machines were actually not meant to supplement the human or animal labour, or not to enhance its skills, but to acquire its place." Since there were many evils in the machines, he considers them undesirable. According to him there were three main evils in the machine - (a) It can be copied; (b) No limit on its development; (c) it may take the place of human labour. In addition to these evils, moral and economic evils were also found in machines.

2. Opposition to Capitalism- Mahatma Gandhi was opposed to capitalism and exploitation and he propagated to remove capitalism not by violent means but through economic decentralization, by encouraging cottage industries, and by making the capitalist trustees. He had great faith in economic decentralisation. He believes that capitalism has promoted the feelings of poverty, unemployment, exploitation and imperialism. The aggregation of capital is unethical for him. Though both Mahatma Gandhi and Karl Marx were opposed to capitalism and exploitation, yet they propagated different means to remove capitalism. Where Marx opposes capitalism on the basis of grabbing of

"surplus value" by the capitalists, Mahatma Gandhi opposes it because it generated inequalities in the society. Mahatma Gandhi was not opposed to capital but to the inequalities it generated. He dismissed capitalism for its exploitative nature and socialism for its connection to industrialization. In fact, Mahatma Gandhi shunned the idea of capitalist society fraught with opportunities for exploitation and ceaseless competition, eschewing laissez-faire and Keynesian economics. No longer should India rely on a global market based on the freedom of exchange of goods and capital, argued Mahatma Gandhi. Nor was socialism any more tolerable. In a 1940 interview, Mahatma Gandhi explicitly stated his objection to socialism: "Pandit Nehru wants industrialization because he thinks that, if it is socialized, it would be free from the evils of capitalism. My own view is that evils are inherent in industrialism, and no amount of socialization can eradicate them. Capitalism and socialism quintessential hallmarks of modern civilization made man a prisoner of his craving for luxury and self-indulgence."

Mahatma Gandhi's postulations on the matter left his colleagues, particularly Nehru, mystified. In his autobiography, Nehru wrote off Mahatma Gandhi's economic ideas as "utterly wrong… and impossible of achievement." Despite this less than positive reinforcement, Mahatma Gandhi continued to extensively publicize his unorthodox social, economic and political views. Having rejected capitalism and socialism, Mahatma Gandhi's speeches and writings suggest that he envisaged an Indian state grounded in unconventional economics advocating self-reliance. It seems that Mahatma Gandhi desired a self-sustaining nation that embraced communal cooperation and manual labour. This is implied in the Collected Works, where in Mahatma Gandhi argues that society should be organized around the maximization of khadi (hand spun cotton) production: "Khadi is the only true economic proposition in terms of the millions of villagers until such time, if ever, when a better system of supplying work and adequate wages for every able-bodied person above the age of sixteen, Mahatma Gandhi's Vision for the Future of India male or female, is found for his field, cottage or even factory in every one of the villages of India." Mahatma Gandhi advocated the rejection of private property in favour of public ownership; owners would be trustees of public property managed in the common interest. Accordingly, each person within this khadi economic arrangement would be "paid" in kind. For instance, a blacksmith would be paid with food for fashioning tools, while farmers would be paid in equipment for laying seed, and so on. This type of pre-modern exchange would have far-reaching benefits. "I have no partiality for returning to the primitive methods of grinding and husking," Mahatma Gandhi wrote. In fact, he suggested the return, "Because there is no other way of giving employment to the millions of villagers who are living in idleness." With an emphasis on tradition, Mahatma Gandhi promoted the spinning of khadi and manual labour as the ideal method to achieve genuine self-rule. Embracing an organic khadi-based economy would end exploitation, industrialization and modernization. It would overcome the moral hurdles preventing spiritual renewal, and hence create true swaraj.

Machinery was a case in point and represented a departure from Mahatma Gandhi's ideals. Through its allure of ever-increasing productivity and efficiency, machinery had serious ramifications that spoiled man's natural development. Mahatma Gandhi believed machinery whetted consumers' appetite to the extent that it inevitably produced exploitation, unemployment and ultimately, starvation. His solution was not to perfect industrialization but to eliminate the process all together. Mahatma Gandhi writes: "Instead of welcoming machinery as a boon, we should look upon it as an evil… It is not that we did not know how to invent machinery, but our forefathers knew that if we set our hearts after such things, we would become slaves and lose our moral fibres. They, therefore, after due deliberation decided that we should only do what we could with our hands and feet."

4.9 Gandhiji's Suggestion to Overcome Economic and Social Inequalities-

Throughout his life, Mahatma Gandhi sought to develop ways to fight India's extreme poverty, backwardness, and socio-economic challenges as a part of his wider involvement in the Indian independence movement. Many forms of his activities were related to economic well being of society. He was clear that economic self-sufficiency for an individual and for a nation is unavoidable. This led him to think about and study various economic problems of the country and devise action plans for solving them. This was the root of his economic thinking. He suggested following measures to overcome economic and social inequalities.

Asteya and Apirigraha (Non Stealing and Non-Possession)

Asteya and Aparigraha are two of several important virtues propagated by Mahatma Gandhi. Asteya means that every person has the right to own property and no other person should violate his rights. In other words, the practice of Asteya demands that one must not steal, nor have the intent to steal another's property through action, speech and thoughts. Mahatma Gandhi held ahimsa as essential to the human right to life and liberty without fear, asteya as human right to property without fear. For him, exploitation of any kind, and possessing more items than necessary, or using them more than necessary, is also theft. Mahatma Gandhi gave a far wider connotation to stealing. According to him those members of the family who help themselves to better facilities depriving the other members, are thieves. Even those who enjoy luxuries not available to the lower strata of society are also thieves. So, a person who wishes to apply Asteya in his life ought to lead such a simple life that he takes for himself from society only his minimum requirements. By Aprigraha, he meant that one should not possess more than what he actually needed. Mahatma Gandhi says that absolute non-possession in life is not possible. Therefore, human beings have the right to own property to meet the mandatory minimum requirements. The rest should be utilized in the use of surplus, i.e. general welfare. Aparigraha is almost a corollary of Asteya. In order to follow the dictum of non-thieving one must have as few possessions as possible. For Mahatma Gandhi; Non-possession was also a proof of one's faith in God. He used to quote instances of devotees who did not believe in keeping back a little food even for the next meal. Aparigraha also helped one in slowly giving up the attachment towards worldly possessions, an essential condition of a seeker of truth.

The Principle of Trusteeship - Trusteeship is a socio-economic philosophy that was propounded by Mahatma Gandhi. Trusteeship is Mahatma Gandhi's unique conceptualization of a bridge between labour and capital despite being contradictory to each other. Seeking to understand them as being complementary to each for meaningful socio-economic development and political understanding, the Mahatma evolved his own model of a relationship which is based on trust by the workers for the indigenous industrialists. Mahatma Gandhi did not like the Western capitalist model of economics because the system was based on capitalism and gave rise to exploitation, competitiveness and there is a tendency of concentration in it and hence not suitable to end the current economic discontent. He also rejected the Marxist model because it was based on violence and it increased the state power. It provides a means by which the wealthy people would be the trustees of trusts that looked after the welfare of the people in general. This concept was condemned by socialists as being in favour of the landlords, feudal princes and the capitalists, opposed to socialist theories. Mahatma Gandhi believed that the rich people could be persuaded to part with their wealth to help the poor. Putting it in Mahatma Gandhi's words "Supposing I have come by a fair amount of wealth either by way of legacy, or by means of trade and industry I must know that all that wealth does not belong to me; what belongs to me is the right to an

honourable livelihood, no better than that enjoyed by millions of others. The rest of my wealth belongs to the community and must be used for the welfare of the community."

Mahatma Gandhi's trusteeship system has the following elements :

1. It is the means of converting the current capitalist system into egalitarian society.
2. It gives no quarter to capitalism but gives the present owning class opportunity for reforming itself. It is based on the faith that human nature is never beyond redemption.
3. It believes in heart transformation; it is a belief that human beings can be liberated from money and greed.
4. It does not recognize any right of private ownership of property except in so far as it may be permitted by society for its own welfare.
5. It does not exclude legislative regulation of ownership and use of wealth.
6. Thus, under the state-regulated trusteeship an individual; will not be free to hold or use his wealth for selfish satisfaction or in disregard of the interests of society.
7. Just as it is proposed to fix a decent minimum living wage, so a limit should be fixed for the maximum income that would be allowed to any person in society. The difference between such minimum and maximum incomes should be reasonable and equitable and variable from time to time, so much so that the tendency would be towards obliteration of the difference.
8. Its related more to social welfare than the ownership of money or property.
9. The production will not be determined by "profit" but rather determined by "social necessity".

Swadeshi (Indigenous)- Mahatma Gandhi's championing of Swadeshi and non-cooperation was centred on the principles of economic self-sufficiency. Mahatma Gandhi believed that the best strategy for rural development is a self-help approach he called Swadeshi. Mahatma Gandhi said, ***"Swadeshi*** is that spirit in us which restricts us to the use and service of our immediate surroundings to the exclusion of the more remote. Thus, as for religion, in order to satisfy the requirements of the definition, I must restrict myself to my ancestral religion. That is the use of my immediate religious surrounding. If I find it defective, I should serve it by purging it of its defects. In the domain of politics, I should make use of the indigenous institutions and serve them by curing them of their proved defects. In that of economics, I should use only things that are produced by my immediate neighbours and serve those industries by making them efficient and complete where they might be found wanting. It is suggested that such Swadeshi, if reduced to practice, will lead to the millennium, because we do not expect quite to reach it within our times, so may we not abandon Swadeshi even though it may not be fully attained for generations to come."This definition of Swadeshi does not mean that Mahatma Gandhi wanted to ban all foreign objects. His definition was not narrow in any way. He only used to accept foreign items which are mandatory to make domestic or Indian industries more efficient. He believed in exchange of goods and international trade. Mahatma Gandhi did not want to separate India from the world; he only used to emphasize self-sufficiency. They could also compromise with foreign capital and technical knowledge if they were kept in Indian control.

Economics of Khadi - Economics of Khadi's has special place in the Gandhian scheme of economic reconstruction of India. Mahatma Gandhi believed that Khadiis a very natural, simple, cheap and practical way to solve the problem of economic crisis. Mahatma Gandhi had full faith that the problems arising from the concentration of capital and power and problems of production and distribution can be solved by the revival of Khadi. Even in the economics of Khadi, Mahatma Gandhi saw a glimpse of a life philosophy. Whereas Khadi,

on one hand, insists on fulfilling the necessities of life in the country, on the other hand, on the other hand, there is a way to make villages self-sufficient so that the total population cannot exploit village villages. This mill is the option of highly centralization of the system. In addition, this organization and public relations movement were also from a political perspective, in the freedom struggle, it became a symbol of unity for nationalists, which each Indian could easily understand. Although, the economics of Khadi do not satisfy the demands of economics to be rich, it is an immediate and lasting solution to the problem of laziness and unemployment. It is also a supplement of agriculture as it develops other cottage industries.

4.10 Evaluation of Mahatma Gandhi's Economic Views:

"Mahatma Gandhi enunciated his economic position in the language of the people, rather than that of academic economists. And so the economists never noticed that he was, in fact, a very great economist in his own right…" ….Schumacher (1978)

Mahatma Gandhi's economic views have been criticized by many on the grounds that his ideas are impractical and would take us to initial state of human society. His ideas emphasize only one aspect of nature of human beings and ignore their physical needs. He has made unnecessary demands of the machines and did not correctly evaluate the present civilization and its donation. The principle of Khadi is not only wrong in the current circumstances but it also neglects the achievements of technical knowledge. These thoughts are also unaware of the speed of history. Mahatma Gandhi's views on economics have usually been termed as utopian by many (including Indian) socio-economic thinkers, and this characterisation has tended to evoke two diametrically opposite reactions among policymakers and the general population the majority respect his views in so far as they are a reflection of his deep spirituality but tend to be extremely sceptical about their applicability to the real world; a small minority, however, see in this utopian view the only alternative available to a poor country to correct an economic situation distorted by a history of colonial exploitation. While critics of Gandhian economic ideas were not uncommon in the 1930s and 1940s, his great moral and political stature kept the criticisms subdued. Anyway, in the pre-Independence era such discussion naturally had to be purely academic. In the Nehruvian era certain aspects of Mahatma Gandhi's economic policies were viewed as being in conflict with the prevailing Nehru-Mahalanobis brand of democratic socialism, especially his views on industrialisation, technology, business houses and private property. But as we have mentioned above, this period was characterized more by a neglect of Gandhian ideas, (which were largely considered otiose) and by some concessions in the policy arena laced with a large measure of lip sympathy, rather than by any active criticism.

4.11 Mahatma Gandhi's Political Views-

Mahatma Gandhi did not clearly outline his ideal non-violent society, as Plato, Rousseau and Karl Marx formulated their ideal society.

In the words of Jan B. Bandura, "he was a political activist and a practical philosopher, he was not the theoretician."

Mahatma Gandhi has clearly written that "I cannot say beforehand how the government based completely on non-violence will function." Yet his Ideas can be grasped from his book Hind Swarajya and as expressed in his speeches, articles, statements, and presentations from time to time. It is generally admitted that in the sphere of politics Mahatma Gandhi, the apostle of non-violence, was a great revolutionary leader who enabled his country to win, by the use of his technique of non-violence and self-suffering, her freedom and to achieve the status of equality with the rest of the world. Mahatma Gandhi was not a political philosopher in the conventional, western sense of the term. He was not destined to propound a new political philosophy, nor did he pretend or profess to do that. He did not discard old philosophies, and, adhering to certain fundamental principles and techniques based upon

truth, he led men to the realization of a better society. In India this obvious virtue, simplistic lifestyle endeared him to the people. Mahatma Gandhi was the epitome of humanism on this earth. Mahatma Gandhi had the dream of an ideal India - his dreams of India where he described India a nation, where all people irrespective of caste, creed, gender etc. will peacefully co-exist together. Mahatma Gandhi never claimed finality of his opinions. He styled his activities as search for, or experiments with truth.

It is also necessary to understand here that Mahatma Gandhi was a constantly evolving personality and his method was "deductive, experimental, practical and compiler". Mahatma Gandhi's ideas were a mixture of the ideas of spiritual science, ethics, economics, sociology and political science. He did not understand them separately.

His perception is that power is fatal for the freedom of the person. The compulsion of state power not only destroys the moral values of a person's work but also frustrates its development. The work is ethical until it is voluntary; Development is possible only in a free environment. When a person acts like a piece in a state machine, then there is no question of ethics in it. The work is ethical only when it is understood as knowledge and duty. He sees intelligence in the power of the state with great fear, although it appears that by reducing exploitation, it is increasing the good, but it destroys the individual's personality, which is at the core of all development, harms it. What he rejects is an organization based on violence and an organization based on violence. The organization should be electives.

4.12 Contribution of Mahatma Gandhi -

Mahatma Gandhi has contribution to political science extensively. This can be explained as follows -

1. Introduced and Assimilated New Ideas - All the ideas in Mahatma Gandhi thought are synthesized. His ideas related to Economics, Sociology, Political Science and Religion are related to each other. The doors are always open for the reconciliation of new ideas.
2. Inclusion of ethics and idealism in politics - Mahatma Gandhi spiritualized the politics and made truth its core.
3. Non-Violence as a powerful Weapon- It is his biggest contribution to political science. His theory of satyagraha is completely based on non-violence. This provided the world an alternative to war to overcome injustice. Mahatma Gandhi is also credited for giving authority to the person to oppose injustice on moral grounds.
4. Faith in the purity of both means and ends- Most political and social thinkers have been concerned with the desirable (and even necessary) goals of a political system or with the common and competing ends that men actually desire, and then pragmatically considered the means that are available to rulers and citizens. Mahatma Gandhi seems to stand almost alone among social and political thinkers in his firm rejection of the rigid dichotomy between ends and means and in his extreme moral preoccupation with the means to the extent that they rather than the ends provide the standard of reference. He was led to this position by his early acceptance of satya and ahimsa, truth and nonviolence, as twin moral absolutes and his consistent view of their relationship.

4.13 Appreciation of Gandhism-

The ideas of Mahatma Gandhi are based on moral rules - truth, non-violence, love, sympathy, cooperation etc. It was his perpetual abiding to the moral principles of truth, Non-violence and satyagraha that has immortalized him as Great father of nation the and the World. Mahatma Gandhi's thoughts can be criticized as soon as he rejects these rules. Actually, the rules are so eternal that there cannot be a lasting peace in the world without abiding to these ethical codes. It is only through Gandhian methods that the environment of

mutual hatred, tension and distrust can be eradicated and converted into love to establish peace. Violent measures - invasion, war, revolution, nuisance, oppression - can never establish permanent peace. The war gives birth to war and not peace. This is the reason why Mahatma Gandhi's ideas are not only considered to be relevant for all-time but also cosmopolitan. Psychologically, these thoughts are revolutionary because they seek to change the basic sentiments of human beings. In the moral sense, these thoughts are superior because they are source of inspiration for peace and human happiness. He believes that violence brought with it hatred and feelings of revenge where as in non-violence there is no such danger.

Conclusion

In the end, it can be said that Mahatma Gandhi's ideas have been completely infused with humanity, life and national identity, which prove their compatibility with respect to every era and time. Even today, all the rulers of the world are succeeding in finding ways to solve their problems only in Mahatma Gandhi's thoughts, who believe in peace and non-violence. This is also the essence of Mahatma Gandhi. Mahatma Gandhi is not merely a political philosopher; he is a message and philosophy of life. His political ideas are stateless and party less democracy, decentralization, freedom of speech, abolition of untouchability, moral politics, secularism etc. There is great relevance of Gandhian political ideas or values in the present age of increasing violence and intolerance. Mahatma Gandhi was a practical thinker. Mahatma Gandhi was one of those philosophers, who believe in self-sacrifice, Satyagraha or Non-cooperation. Gandhian philosophy is so comprehensive that it has left no aspect of human life untouched. In the field of politics he understands the issues with special consideration based on Indian nature of socio-economic and politics. Thus he defines politics as the best means to regulate the national life and also he concluded that its power should decentralize in equitable manner. He thinks that the state in concentrated form of power structure is more coercive than individual. So he suggests the political power decentralization in the democratic form of governance. Because decentralized democracy gives the scope to the public participation and representation. It ensures the liberty and autonomy to the individual, village and nation in its extensive application of the welfare world will be attainable.

Important Points

- Mahatma Gandhi regards truth, non-violence, love and compassion as the value of life.
- Major sources of Gandhiism - religious texts, representations, reformist movements and socio-economic conditions.
- The main ideas of Mahatma Gandhi - the spiritualization of politics, the purity of the means and the ends, the analysis of human nature, non-violence, satyagraha
- The form of satyagraha - non-cooperation, hijrat, civil disobedience, fasting, Non possession
- Mahatma Gandhi's Suggestions to overcome social and economic inequality - Asteya and Aparigraha, Trusteeship, Khadi and Charkha
- Contribution of Gandhism- Introduction and assimilation of new ideas, incorporation of ethics and idealism in politics, use of non-violence, purity of means and ends.

Exercise

Multiple Choice Questions -

1. Among the following which one was not considered a life value by Mahatma Gandhi ?

   (A) Non-violence

   (B) Truth

   (C) Love

   (D) Wealth Accumulation ( )

2. The idea of Karl Marx which was supported by Mahatma Gandhi is-

   (A) Class struggle

(B) Materialistic interpretation of history

(C) Stateless and classless society

(D) The theory of surplus value ( )

3. The name of the book of Mahatma Gandhi from which we get a glimpse of his political ideology is-

(A) Hind Swaraj (B) Discovery of India

(C) Geetanjali (D) Leviathan ( )

4. What is the meaning of the Hijrat?

(A) Hajj

(B) leave your habitation to go elsewhere

(C) Non-violent Movement

(D) Social exclusion ( )

5. The trusteeship principle means that the person -

(A) Owns the public property

(B) He is a trustee of public property

(C) He cannot have a personal property

(D) He has abandoned the property ( )

Very Short Answer Type Questions-

1. What are the four major life values of Mahatma Gandhi?
2. What is Gandhism?
3. What religious texts had the influence on Mahatma Gandhi?
4. Where was Mahatma Gandhi's first laboratory?

Short Answer Type questions-

1. Which social reform movements influenced Mahatma Gandhi?
2. What is the meaning of spiritualization of politics?
3. What are the seven main characteristics of Mahatma Gandhi's Satyagraha?
4. Write comment on the concept of fasting?
5. Describe the main contribution of Mahatma Gandhi to Political Science.

Essay Type Questions-

1. What are the fundamental elements of Gandhism? Is it still worthwhile today? Prove it.
2. How does Gandhism affect modern civilization? Describe.
3. Why does Mahatma Gandhi want to delegate less work to the state? Describe.
4. " The source of economic equality passes through the trusteeship. "Prove it.

Answers to Multiple Choice Questions

1. D 2.C 3.A 4.B 5.B

Unit-IV

Emerging Dimensions of Indian Politics

1. Planning and Development : NITI Commission

All human beings are worried about their tomorrow because they have the capacity to think about themselves far into the future. Unlike other animals who respond to life mostly on a moment-by-moment basis, our ability to imagine the future allows us to behave in ways today that will have desired consequences later on. Self-awareness is essential for planning for the future, improving ourselves, and avoiding future threats. We contemplate the solution for this concern and our future plans are inherent in this contemplation. For proper diagnosis of these concerns, we must make some systematic efforts towards fulfillment of future needs. We, therefore take appropriate steps in the present to make our future better. Nations also have to take steps to fulfill their present and future needs. The USSR was the first country to adopt centralized planning as the tool for growth of the economy in 1928. The USSR introduced a planned economy when it adopted its first Five Year Plan, 1929- 1934. Some planned steps were taken to resolve the problems of the country. These efforts of the USSR were quite successful in that period. As a result, other nations also accepted this model of development. After India achieved Independence, a formal model of planning was adopted, and accordingly the Planning Commission, reporting directly to the Prime Minister of India, was established on 15 March 1950, with Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru as the Chairman. The Planning Commission was finally replaced by NITI Aayog (National Institution for Transforming India) when on 1 January 2015 a Cabinet resolution was passed to this effect. Thus, financial planning is essential for the development of infrastructure, industries and factories and to speed up information technology and also to alleviate poverty, unemployment and economic inequality in the country.

1.1 What is planning?

The first step taken in the right direction by thinking carefully is planning. Planning is the process of thinking about the activities required to achieve a desired goal. It involves the creation and maintenance of a plan, such as psychological aspects that require conceptual skills. It is necessary that objectives of the planning must be clear and the means and efforts of achieving them are organized and the period is clear. Thus, planning is as a process to develop a strategy to achieve desired objectives, to solve problems, and to facilitate action. Our Planning Commission has defined planning in following words-

"Planning is a method of organization of resources through which there sources are properly used for maximum benefit of the society so as to enable it to fulfill the societal objectives"

Our Planning Commission defines this as saying that -

"Planning is a method of organization of resources through which the resources are properly

used for maximum benefit of the society and to fulfill the societal objectives"

The Planning Commission is an extra constitutional and non-statutory body which was formed in 1950. First of all the idea of planned economy was crystallized in 1930s when our national leaders came under the influence of socialist philosophy. India's Five year plans were very much impressed by the rapid strides achieved by the USSR through five years plans. In 1934, Sir M. Visvesvaraya had published a book titled "Planned Economy in India", in which he presented a constructive draft of the development of India in next ten years. His core idea was to lay out a plan to shift labor from agriculture to industries and double up National income in ten years. This was the first concrete scholarly work towards planning. Bombay Plan of 1944, Gandhian Plan of Shriman Narayan, People's Plan of M N Roy, Sarvodaya Plan of 1950 of Jaiprakash Narayan were some of the meaningful efforts towards planned economy.

1.2 Why Planning -

The aim of planning in economic sector is national development. The participatory and responsive management is the first ladder of development. The planning makes administration and resources involved and responsive. Attitude and orientation of policy maker, flexible result mechanism, participation and commitment to the work are considered essential factors for development by Pai Panadhikar and KshirSagar. For Mahatma Gandhi the aim of planning is development of the last man at the bottom and decentralization of resources. The slogan of our present Prime Minister Narendra Modi ***'SabkaSaath…SabkaVikas'*** **'Collective Efforts Inclusive Growth'** endorses this perception. Development means improvement in the living standard of the people. Today, India has craved a place for itself among the advanced nations of the world. It indicates that our strategy of planned development has been quite successful. The planning commission played a crucial role in the planned development from its formation in 1950 till its replacement by NITI Aayog in 2015.

1.3 National Institution for Transforming India (NITI)

National Institution for Transforming India (NITI) Aayog was formed by the Union government on January 1, 2015. It replaced its predecessor the Planning Commission. In the context of governance structures, the changed requirements of our country, point to the need for setting up an institution that serves as a Think Tank of the government a directional and policy dynamo. The proposed institution has to provide governments at the central and state levels with relevant strategic and technical advice across the spectrum of key elements of policy.

This includes matters of national and international import on the economic front, dissemination of best practices from within the country as well as from other nations, the infusion of new policy ideas and specific issue-based support. The institution has to be able to respond to the changing and more integrated world that India is part of.An important evolutionary change from the past will be replacing a centre-to-state one-way flow of policy by a genuine and continuing partnership with the states.

The institution must have the necessary resources, knowledge, skills and, ability to act with speed to provide the strategic policy vision for the government as well as deal with contingent issues. Perhaps most importantly, the institution must adhere to the tenet that while incorporating positive influences from the world, no single model can be transplanted from outside into the Indian scenario. We need to find our own strategy for growth. The new institution has to zero in on what will work in and for India. It will be a Bharatiya approach to development.

1.4 Basis of Formation of NITI-

1. To ensure active role of states in development- The states will play active role in the national development as partners of the Indian Cooperative Federalism.

2. To ensure proper use of Intellectual Property and stop Brain -Drain - It emphasizes on maximum exposure and proper use of intellectual property available in our country and stops its drain to other countries by channelizing it to be part of good governance in our own country.

3. To build a common platform of the Union and the States for cooperative development - It is to prepare a joint platform of the union and the sates to ensure success in achieving the development goals by removing the communication barriers in the procedural requirements of the various ministries and the states. It tends to meet the requirement of various states through mutual discussions and deliberations.

1.5 Aims/Objectives

1. To evolve a shared vision of national development priorities, sectors and strategies with the active involvement of States in the light of national objectives. The vision of the NITI Aayog will then provide a framework 'national agenda' for the Prime Minister and the Chief Ministers to provide impetus to.
2. To foster cooperative federalism through structured support initiatives and mechanisms with the States on a continuous basis, recognizing that strong States make a strong nation.
3. To develop mechanisms to formulate credible plans at the village level and aggregate these progressively at higher levels of government.
4. To ensure, on areas that are specifically referred to it, that the interests of national security are incorporated in economic strategy and policy.
5. To pay special attention to the sections of our society that may be at risk of not benefitting adequately from economic progress.
6. To design strategic and long term policy and programme frameworks and initiatives, and monitor their progress and their efficacy. The lessons learnt through monitoring and feedback will be used for making innovative improvements, including necessary mid-course corrections.
7. To provide advice and encourage partnerships between key stakeholders and national and international like-minded Think Tanks, as well as educational and policy research institutions.
8. To create a knowledge, innovation and entrepreneurial support system through a collaborative community of national and international experts, practitioners and other partners.
9. To offer a platform for resolution of inter-sectoral and inter-departmental issues in order to accelerate the implementation of the development agenda.
10. To maintain a state-of-the-art Resource Centre, be a repository of research on good governance and best practices in sustainable and equitable development as well as help their dissemination to stake-holders.
11. To actively monitor and evaluate the implementation of programmes and initiatives, including the identification of the needed resources so as to strengthen the probability of success and scope of delivery.
12. To focus on technology upgradation and capacity building for implementation of programmes and initiatives.
13. To undertake other activities as may be necessary in order to further the execution of the national development agenda, and the objectives mentioned above.

1.6 Composition of NITI-

The NITI Aayog will comprise the following**:**

1. **Chairman** -Prime Minister of India as the ex-officio Chairman.
2. **Members of Governing Council**- Chief Ministers of all the states, Chief Ministers of Union Territories which have legislative assemblies and Lt. Governor of the remaining Union Territories.
3. **Regional Councils-**Regional Councils will be

formed to address specific issues and contingencies impacting more than one state or a region. These will be formed for a specified tenure. The Regional Councils will be convened by the Prime Minister and will comprise of the Chief Ministers of States and Lt. Governors of Union Territories in the region. These will be chaired by the Chairman of the NITI Aayog or his nominee.

Members nominated by the Prime Minster- Experts, specialists and practitioners with relevant domain knowledge as special invitees nominated by the Prime Minister

Full time Officials-

Vice-Chairman-To be appointed by the Prime Minister.

Full time members-Two.

Part time members-Maximum of 2 from leading universities research organizations and other relevant institutions in an ex-officio capacity. Part time members will be on a rotational basis.

Ex Officio members- Maximum of 4 members of the Union Council of Ministers to be nominated by the Prime Minister.

Chief Executive Officer- To be appointed by the Prime Minister for a fixed tenure, in the rank of Secretary to the Government of India.

Secretariat as deemed necessary.

Presently, Dr. Rajiv Kumar i is vice-Chairman of NITI and Dr. Bibek Debroy and Dr. V. K. Saraswat are full time members.

Important Points

- Planning Commission which was an extra-constitutional or a non-statutory body was formed by a Cabinet resolution in 1950.
- Objectives of Planning-Proper utilization of resources, alleviating poverty, skill development, national development, increase in Per capita income or average income, self-reliance and to develop capabilities for welfare.
- National Institution for Transforming India (NITI) Aayog was formed on January 1, 2015.
- NITI Aayog acts as a 'Think Tank' of the government.
- NITI Aayog has initiated a systematic effort for proper use of intellectual property.
- Prime Minister of India is an ex-officio chairman of NITI Aayog, one Vice-chairperson and two full time members are appointed by the Prime Minister.
- All the states and the Union Territories have their representation in the Governing Council.
- Present Vice-chairperson of NITI Aayog is Dr. Rajiv Kumar.

Exercise

Multiple Choice Questions-

1. When was NITI Aayog formed?
   (A) March 1, 2015 (B) January 1, 2015
   (C) April 1, 2015 (D) March1, 1950 ( )
2. Who is an ex-officio Chairperson of NITI Aayog?
   (A) Prime Minister (B) President
   (C) Chief Justice
   (D) Governor of the state ( )
3. Who is author of 'Planned Economy for India'?
   (A) Ashirwadam (B)AmartyaSen
   (C) M Visvervaiya
   (D) Dr. Arvind Pangariya ( )
4. Which among the following is a member of Governing Council of NITI Aayog?
   (A) Lt. Governor of Delhi
   (B) Chief Minister of Rajasthan
   (C) Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh
   (D) All above ( )
5. Which of the following institution is performing the function of planning in our

Country?

(A) Planning Commission

(B) Finance Commission

(C) UPSC

(D) NITI Aayog ( )

Very Short Answer Type Questions-

1. When was the Planning Commission established?
2. What is the full form of NITI Aayog in English?
3. How many full time members are there in the NITI Aayog?
4. Who presides over meetings of the regional councils?
5. Who gave the slogan *'SabkaSaath... SabkaVikas'* 'Collective Efforts Inclusive Growth'?

Short Answer Type Questions-

1. What is planning? Explain.
2. Describe the four characteristics of good planning.
3. Write names of the Vice-Chairman and the permanent members of the NITI Aayog.
4. What are the main objectives of planning in India? Explain.
5. How has the the NITI Aayog has started the systematic effort to use 'intellectual property'?

Essay Type Questions-

1. What is planning? Write elaborately about its necessity and objectives.
2. Review the bases of formation NITI Aayog and its objectives in the present context.
3. Give your suggestions for empowerment of the 'NITI Aayog' in the context of the current needs of the country.

Answers to Multiple Choice Questions-

1. B 2. A 3. C 4. B 5. D

2. Environment & Natural Resources

"माता भूमिः पुत्रोऽहं पृथिव्या"

"Earth is our mother, we all are her son".

Since the beginning of human life, there has been a perpetual mutual relationship between man and environment. Man's life depends on nature. Therefore, natural environment is essential for its existence. In Indian culture, nature has been called a mother. Earth, as mother nourishes the whole universe. So it is our ethical duty to protect it. For the people of India, environmental conservation is not a new concept. Indian society has played the role of environmental protector since ancient times. In Jainism non-violence is considered as the supreme religion and hence the conservation of the life of every living organ (*jiva)* is treated essential. Bishnoi sect of Rajasthan, which follows twenty nine principles (Bees+nau) are valuable rules for the conservation of nature. In the year 1485, Guru Jamboji launched the Bishnoi cult and framed 29 principles or commandments for his followers. He spent the remaining 51 years of his life to spreading his great vision to the people of the areas of Thar Desert. The principles laid down by him were adopted to conserve the bio-diversity of the area as much as a healthy eco-friendly social life for his followers. It is said that in Khejadli village in Rajasthan 363 Bishnois, led by Amrita Devi sacrificed their lives in 1730 AD while protecting green Khejri trees considered sacred by the community, by hugging them. Amrita Devi invoked this idiom while sacrificing her life for trees.

''सिर साटे रूख रहे तो भी सस्तो जाण''

"Sir sātey rūkh rahe to bhī sasto jān"

"If a tree was saved from cutting
even at the cost of one's head, it's worth it."

2.1 Need of Environmental Protection -

Presently man is oriented towards progress and development. For development, he is making new strides and innovations in the scientific and technological fields. However, negative aspect of excessive development is that it has created many environmental problems for the mankind. The environment has suffered due to the scientific inventions. A lot has been discovered over the years. Many of these inventions tend to be harmful to the environment, though it is a way of the human race trying to make their life better. Factories have been built in so many places around the world. The emission of harmful gases into the air is on the increase. The dredging of oil in the sea is also another case. Trees are being cut down to create space for more land. With all this going on, the environment remains at the mercy for protection.

Due to unchecked development our environment is getting polluted. Deforestation is perhaps the most vital cause of environmental disruption. Deforestation, decrease in the inter dependence between the vegetations and organisms, industrialization, rapid urbanization, smoke emitted by vehicles and factories unexpected expansion of technology, population explosion, dumping of solid waste, agricultural waste, radioactive waste of

nuclear furnaces and the electronic pollution from electronic devices are the major sources of environmental pollution. All these activities have led to over exploitation of nature and its difficult to guess as to how long the nature will be able to support these human activities. The rising temperature of the earth has resulted in the *global warming*. The gradual heating of Earth's surface, oceans and atmosphere is one of the most vexing environmental issues and the biggest climatic challenge the world is facing today. Global warming is primarily a problem of too much carbon dioxide (CO_2) in the atmosphere, which acts as a blanket, trapping heat and warming the planet. Due to the increase in population, particularly in developing countries, there has been surge in demand for basic food, occupation and shelter. The world has witnessed massive deforestation to expand absorb the growing population and their demands. not only the area of agricultural land is decreasing but the fertility of the soil is also decreasing. The livestock and milk production have been affected by the reduction in grasslands. Due to the decrease in agricultural production, providing food to the growing population has become a serious concern of the governments of all countries.

According to the United Nations report, 2016, one billion and 20 million people of developing countries do not have access to clean water. More than 3 million children die every year because more than two million sixty million people are not having access to clean facilities. Moreover, Over 97 percent of the earth's water is found in the oceans as salt water. Two percent of the earth's water is stored as fresh water in glaciers, ice caps, and snowy mountain ranges. That leaves only one percent of the earth's water available to us for our daily water supply needs. A large part of this water is also not proper for drinking due to environmental pollution. Environmental Pollution can have devastating effects on sea life, on crops and on human health. It affects all plant, human and animal life in a negative way. Almost all of our gains in the fields of industrial progress, science and technology had so far been realized at the cost of our health. Even our flora and fauna were found to be threatened with extinction. All this really leaves us wondering if all our achievements and industrial civilization really help us climb the peaks of prosperity or simply take us down the blind alleys of adversity. The question is being raised whether all is well with our industrial growth and progress in the field of science and technology.

Global Warming

2.2 What is Global Warming?

Global temperature i.e. global warming has become the world's biggest problem today. This term refers to the general increase in the earth's average temperature caused by the presence of greenhouse gases in the atmosphere, which causes changes in climate patterns across the globe. Global warming is no longer just a prediction it is actually happening. It is undisputed that the average temperature at the surface of the Earth has increased over the past century by about 1°F (0.6°C), with both the air and the oceans warming. Efforts are on the world over to reduce the global temperature but it is increasing year after year. Before we understand the global warming we must understand the greenhouse effect. The green house is called a room in which plants are produced. The walls of this chamber are made of heat resistant materials and the roof is made of glass, in which sunlight and energy can enter the plant house, but heat cannot come out. Since the temperature of the plant house does not decrease even in the winter season, the plants can be easily grown by increasing the temperature in it. The same thing happens to temperature of the atmosphere of the Earth. Many chemical compounds found in the Earth's atmosphere act as "greenhouse gases." These gases allow sunlight, which is radiated in the visible and ultraviolet spectra, to enter the atmosphere unimpeded. When it strikes the Earth's surface, some of the sunlight is reflected as infrared radiation (heat). Greenhouse gases form a natural cover over the earth tend to absorb this infrared radiation as it is reflected back

towards space trapping the heat in the atmosphere. This is done similar to the glass walls of the greenhouse absorbing some heat in it. Greenhouse gases comprise less than 1% of the atmosphere. The major greenhouse gases in the atmosphere are carbon dioxide (CO_2), methane, (CH_4), nitrous oxide (N_2O), chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs) and ozone (O_3). Atmospheric water vapour (H_2O) also makes a large contribution to the natural greenhouse effect but it is thought that its presence is not directly affected by human activity. The increasing temperature of the atmosphere is compared to that of the Green House because these Greenhouse gases form a cover over the earth's surface and absorb the reradiated heat in it. It helps in increase of temperature of the earth. It is done similar to what the as heat resistant walls do to absorb some heat in the green houses. Due to greenhouse gases, the atmosphere absorbs more infrared energy than it reradiates to space, resulting in a net warming of the Earthatmosphere system and of surface temperature. This phenomenon is called global warming.

2.3 Causes of Global Warming-

1. **Increase in greenhouse gases due to human activities-** The most responsible for the global warming is the man and his activities. The man who considers himself as the most intelligent creature of this earth is unconsciously or intentionally bent on eliminating his own habitat. The human activities are constantly increasing the amount of greenhouse gases, such as carbon dioxide, methane, nitrogen oxides etc. The cover formed of these green house gases is getting denser and absorbs in it more reradiated heat reflected back from earth's surface. It results in increase in the earth's temperature to alarming level.
2. **The buildup of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere-** The buildup of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere, mainly from your fossil fuel emissions, is the most significant human cause of global warming. The quantity of carbon dioxide is increasing in the atmosphere due to indiscriminate emissions of gases of the vehicles, aircrafts, power plants, factories and the industries.
3. **Destruction of the forest cover-** The other cause of global warming is indiscriminate destruction of the forests. We are currently destroying some of the best known mechanisms for storing that carbon plants. Deforestation increases the severity of global warming as well. Carbon dioxide is released from the human conversion of forests and grasslands into farmland and cities. All living plants store carbon. When those plants die and decay, carbon dioxide is released back into the atmosphere. As forests and grasslands are cleared for our use, enormous amounts of stored carbon enter the atmosphere.
4. **Use of Chlorofluorocarbon (CFCs) -** Another cause of global warming is CFCs which are used in refrigerators, fire extinguishers and air conditioning units. Chlorofluorocarbons, commonly known as CFCs, are a group of man-made compounds containing chlorine, fluorine and carbon. CFCs release free chlorine atoms which cause significant ozone depletion. Ozone layer prevents the fatal ultraviolet (UV) radiation from the Sun to reach the earth. Scientists claim that now there is a large hole in the ozone layer through which the ultraviolet rays reach the earth directly thus making it hot. Due to global warming and rise in the temperature snow deposits on the poles are rapidly melting leading to climatic changes.
5. **Burning of fossil fuels for production of electricity-** The need for electricity is constantly increasing everywhere be it developed or undeveloped countries. In order to produce electricity, fossil fuels are used in large quantities. By burning of fossil fuels a huge amount of carbon dioxide is released. This in turn increases the effect of greenhouse gases. Obviously, it contributes in the global warming.

2.4 Effects of Global Warming -

1. Increase in temperature of the atmosphere

In the last ten years, the average temperature of the earth has increased from 0.3 to 0.06 degrees Celsius. It is feared that there will be further increase in global warming in the coming years. After the year 1895, the year 2012 was recorded as the hottest year. Global warming caused by human activities that emit heat-trapping carbon dioxide has raised the average global temperature by about 1°F (0.6°C) over the past century. In the oceans, this change has only been about 0.18°F (0.1°C).

2. Increase in sea surface

The temperature of the earth is rising at an alarming level due to global warming. The process of melting of ice deposits on glaciers which has already started will result in increase of the amount of water in the oceans. The increase in water will further lead to increase in the surface of the sea. Global warming can affect sea levels, coastlines, ocean acidification, ocean currents, seawater, sea surface temperatures, tides, the sea floor, weather, and trigger several changes in ocean bio-geochemistry; all of these affect the functioning of a society. As the surface of the oceans increase, a large part of the natural shores will be submerged in the sea eroding the coastal areas. Thus most people living in coastal areas will be rendered homeless. So far, 18 islands of the world have submerged due to rise in temperature. In India, Sundarvan, a group of 54 islands is also threatened by this crisis. The islands of Kiribati, a remote and low-lying nation in the Pacific Ocean, with a population of ten million is under threat from climate change. Mājuli, the world's biggest river island in the Brahmaputra River in Assam is also in danger due to floods; its area has decreased from 1287 sq km to 557 sq km. With the effect of global warming, 14 islands are expected to be completely eliminated by 2020.

3. Effect on human health

Global climate change directly and indirectly contributes to the spread of diseases and premature mortality. Due to rise in temperature, risks of infectious vector born diseases such as malaria, dengue and yellow fever will increase. The time is likely to arrive when most of us will not have clean water to drink, fresh food to eat and fresh air to breathe.

4. Effect on animal birds and vegetation

Global warming will also have a profound impact on animals, birds and vegetation. It is believed that with the increase of heat, animal birds and flora will slowly migrate towards the north and mountainous areas, but in this process some of species are likely to meet their extinction due to changing food availability and environmental conditions.

5. Effect on Cities

Cities are uniquely sensitive to many impacts, especially extreme weather impacts. Climate change may threaten people's jobs and livelihoods. Due to extreme heat in summer and extreme cold during the winters the use of air conditioners in homes has increased manifold leading to over consumption of energy. It further results in release of more amounts of CFC gases in the environment which will have adverse effect on the ozone layers.

2.5 The Main Contributors of Greenhouse Gas Emissions-

Sr.No	Source/Contributor	Percentage
1	Power Station	21.30
2	Industries	16.80
3	Transport Vehicles & Trains	14.40
4	Agriculture & Farming Product	12.30
5	Use of Fossil Fuel	11.30
6	Residential Areas	10.30
7	Burning of Bio-Mass	10.00
8	Burning of Garbage	03.40

2.6 Measures to Prevent Global Warming -

Global Warming is a serious problem for humans today and for the future of humanity. We must combine all our knowledge and wisdom to find a solution to this problem. Always try your best to

educate people about global warming and its causes and after affects. Tell them how they can contribute their part by saving energy that will be good for the environment. Gather opportunities and establish programs that will help you to share information with friends, relatives and neighbors. By being just a little more mindful, we all can play our part in combating global warming. The following points should be noted for this -

1. It is necessary that we keep the environment green around us.
2. Reduction in the use of organic fuel.
3. Use of carbon free energy resources such as sun, air, nuclear power resources should be encouraged.
4. Proper measures should be taken to prevent the deforestation of forest areas.

2.7 Global Concern on Climate Change-

Climate change has been recognized as the foremost environmental problem of the twenty-first century and has become a subject of considerable debate. It is a serious global problem related to the existence and development of our lives. It is likely to result in a massive climatic upheavals in the entire world. It may endanger the very existence of the islands of the world. It has not only adversely affected human life, but has also intensified the frequency of various natural calamities such as floods, droughts and sea storms etc. Due to the indiscriminate exploitation of natural resources has led to many natural crises. Rise in the temperature of the earth has caused melting of the glaciers and the ability of the ozone layer to prevent ultraviolet rays of the sun has also decreased due to creation of a hole in it. Overall, we are facing the biggest environmental challenge our generation has ever seen. Climate change is expected to act as a 'risk-multiplier', interacting with other trends. It is likely to make it even more difficult to address poverty, disease, and food and water insecurity. In particular, rising temperatures and changing patterns of precipitation may affect the availability of food (including crops and livestock) and water, leading to more hunger and increased volatility in food prices, and heightened regional tensions, affecting international stability and security. An increased frequency of extreme weather events may adversely affect human health, disrupt the flow of natural resources and commodities, and threaten global infrastructure for transport and energy. Moreover, the inherent uncertainty of these various impacts is likely to increase risks significantly in the business and financial sectors. In this direction, the first large global level meeting known as the Stockholm Conference (United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, 1972 organized by the United Nations focusing on environmental issues) was held at Stockholm (Sweden) from 5 to 16 June, 1972. In the conference detailed discussions on the global impact of climate change were made. To celebrate the 10th Anniversary of this Conference, another Conference of UN nations was held in Nairobi (Kenya) on 10th to 18th May, 1982, in which a declaration of various project and work schemes related to the environment was accepted On the twentieth anniversary of the Stockholm Conference, the United Nations Earth Summit was held from 3 to 14 June, 1992 at Rio de Janeiro (Brazil); in which Rio Declaration on Environment and Development 1992 was approved by accepting principles underlined in it. It reaffirmed the Declaration of the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, adopted at Stockholm on 16 June 1972, and sought to build upon it, with the goal of establishing a new and equitable global partnership through the creation of new levels of co-operation among States, key sectors of societies and people, working towards international agreements which respect the interests of all and protect the integrity of the global environmental and developmental system and by recognizing the integral and interdependent nature of the Earth. The United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) was also signed in the conference to address the challenges of climate change. The first joint conference on the climate change was held in 1995 in Berlin (Germany). Since then, twenty two annual

conferences on climate change have been held so far.

2.8 The United Nations Climate Change Conference, 2014-

The United Nations Climate Change Conference, 2014 (COP20 or CMP10) was held in Lima, Peru, from December 1 to 12, 2014. The main points of the conference are as follows:

Besides representatives of 194 countries of the world, 12,500 politicians, diplomats, climate activists of various international institutions and NGOs and media persons participated in the conference in which the problem of climate change and its solution were seriously discussed. Peru's Environment Minister Manuel Pulgar-Vidal presided over the conference and it was also addressed by the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Ban-Ki-Moon. India was represented by Prakash Javadekar, Minister for Environment, Forest and Climate Change.

One important achievement of this conference was the acceptance of the consensus draft format for national resolutions to cut global carbon emissions was accepted and the concerns of developing countries including India were also resolved.

India was successful in making its a consensus draft of national resolution for reduction of global carbon emission accepted and getting the concerns of developing countries resolved. Developed countries were advised to adhere to their commitment of financial assistance strictly and were given an interim target to mobilize $100 billion a year towards the Green Climate Fund by 2020. The COP instead urged developed countries to "enhance the available quantitative and qualitative elements of a pathway, placing greater emphasis on transparency and predictability of financial flows."

According to the agreement, all United Nations countries will present their goal of reducing carbon emissions in Paris conference.

2.9 United Nations Climate Change

Conference 2015- It was held from 30 November to 12 December 2015 in the capital city of France, Paris. It was the 21st yearly session of the Conference of the Parties (COP) to the 1992 United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) and the 11th session of the Meeting of the Parties (CMP) to the 1997 Kyoto Protocol.

Its main points are as follows:

On April 22, on the occasion of Earth Day, delegates from 175 countries, including India, signed the United Nations on the Climate Change Agreement of the Paris. On behalf of India Environment Minister of India signed this agreement at the ceremony held at the United Nations General Assembly.

The signing of any agreement by 175 countries of the world was a record in itself. Earlier, 119 countries signed an agreement on maritime safety in 1982.

After signing the Paris Climate Agreement, all countries were required to get this agreement approved by the respective Parliaments of their countries.

It will come into effect within 30 days of approval by 55 countries responsible for at least 55 percent carbon emissions in the world.

Under the agreement, member countries have set a target to limit the global temperature rise to less than two degrees Celsius by the end of the 21st century. The agreement calls for zero net anthropogenic greenhouse gas emissions to be reached during the second half of the 21st century.

India has set a target of producing 175 giga watts of renewable energy by 2022 with reduction in fossil fuel emissions.

The Paris Agreement acknowledges the development imperatives of developing countries. The Agreement recognizes the developing countries' right to development and their efforts to harmonize development with environment, while protecting the interests of the most vulnerable.

Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi tweeted, "*Outcome of Paris Agreement has no winners or losers. Climate justice has won and we*

are all working towards a greener future."

President of France, who was host to the Climate Conference, said, *"It is a Great day for Earth."* He further said that Paris had witnessed many revolutions in its past many centuries but what it had witnessed this day was the most beautiful and peaceful revolution.

United Nations General Secretary Ban Ki-moon said, "This step will not only save the environment of the earth but it will also end poverty and promote development."

India's Environment Minister Prakash Javadekar said, "This is not an agreement alone rather a new chapter in the lives of seven billion people." Gandhiji used to say that we have not inherited this earth from our ancestors, but generations have passed it to us in debt.

On the occasion of Jayanti 25th of September, 2016 of Pandit Deendayal, Indian Prime Minister announced that all terms of the Paris Agreement in India will be implemented with effect from October 2, 2016. Accordingly, the process for implementation of Paris agreement in India started w.e.f October 2, 2016.

The key elements of a successful agreement in Paris-

The ultimate objective is to keep dangerous climate change in check. For the European Union (EU), the new agreement must send a clear signal of governments' resolve to reduce emissions sufficiently to keep global average temperature increase below the agreed 2°C limit by the end of the century. The EU's vision of a credible agreement includes: A global vision for a long term goal a signal for broader audiences, businesses and investors of governments' resolve to transition to low-carbon economies.

1. A mechanism to regularly review and raise the collective ambition countries should come together to consider and strengthen emissions reduction targets in light of the latest science and progress made to date.
2. Robust transparency and accountability rules. Parties and other stakeholders need to be able to trust that what is promised will be delivered and that reductions achieved are accounted for consistently.
3. Beyond emissions reductions, the Paris Agreement must also help countries, especially those most vulnerable, adapt to climate change impacts.

2.10 Indian Constitution and Conservation of Environment-

Our rich and environment friendly culture prompted our Constitution makers to recognize the need for assimilating provisions for the environment protection in the constitution. Initially, the Constitution of India had no direct provision for environmental protection. However, later on the environment protection was made a constitutional obligation/duty not only of the government but also of the citizens. Many factors have led to these developments. Global consciousness for the protection of environment in the seventies, Stockholm Conference and increasing awareness of the environmental crisis prompted the Indian Government to enact 42nd Amendment to the Constitution in 1976. While recognizing the need for protection of the environment, the Constitution was amended to introduce direct provisions for protection of environment. The Constitution (Forty second Amendment) Act, added Article 48-A to the Directive Principles of State Policy and for the first time, inserted specific provision with respect to the preservation of environment throughout the country. The Indian Constitution is the first constitution in the world which made provision for the protection of environment. The Directive Principles of State Policy have been included in Part-4 of the Constitution.

1. Article 48A says "The State shall endeavour to protect and improve the environment and to safeguard the forests and wild life of the country." The said amendment also imposed a responsibility on every citizen in the form of fundamental duty.

2. Article 51-A (g) which deals with

Fundamental Duties of the citizens states:

"It shall be the duty of every citizen of India to protect and improve the natural environment including forests, lakes, rivers and wildlife and to have compassion for living creatures."

3. Article 21 of the constitution of India provides for the right to life and personal liberty. It states that "no person shall be deprived of his life or personal liberty except according to procedure established by law."

4. Article 252 and 253 of the Constitution of India are significant as they authorize the law makers to make laws keeping in view the matter of protection of the environment. Not only the concepts of saving the environment are inherent in the Constitution of India but emphasis has also been given to protect the country fro the adverse affects of environmental imbalance.

The Parliament has passed several legislations for this, the main ones are: -

1. Environment Protection Act, 1986 - This Act was approved by the President on May 23, 1986. It authorizes the central government to protect and improve environmental quality, control and reduce pollution from all sources, and prohibit or restrict the setting and /or operation of any industrial facility on environmental grounds. In case of violations, the Act under section-7 explicitly prohibits discharge of environmental pollutants in excess of prescribed regulatory standards .Under section 15, it prescribes the penalties for offences under the Act-a prison term of up to 5 years or a fine of up to Rs.1 lakh, or both. The Act imposes an additional fine of up to Rs.5,000 for every day of continuing violation. If a failure or contravention occurs for more than one year after the date of conviction, an offender may be punished for up 7 years imprisonment.

On the violation of rules, any person can sue for public interest by giving notice of two months. The Central Government is authorized under Section 5 of this Act to give written instructions to the established authorities for the execution of their powers. The Central Government has the right to shut down industries that do not comply with the Act and can instruct to stop power services.

2. Air (Prevention & Control of Pollution) Act, 1981- The Air Act provides for the prevention, control and abatement of air pollution.

Under this Act, the State Government may declare any area as air pollution control area at its discretion. All industrial units will have to take a certificate from the state board, if they fail to comply with the provisions of the Act, the power and water connections of the industries may also be severed.

3. Water (Pollution, Prevention and Control) Act, 1974- (Amendment Act, 1988)- The main features of this Act are related to measures to be taken to keep water pollution free. It proposed for strict punishments and penalties for polluting industrial units. This Act establishes an institutional structure for preventing and abating water pollution. It establishes standards for water quality and effluent. Polluting industries must seek permission to discharge waste into effluent bodies. The CPCB (Central Pollution Control Board) was constituted under this act.

4. Wildlife (Protection) Act, 1972 Amendment - The Wildlife Protection Act was passed by the Indian Parliament on September 9, 1972. This act is a milestone for conservation of wild animals. It provides for the protection of birds and animals and for all matters that are connected to it whether it be their habitat or the waterhole or the forests that sustain them. This act has removed the item of wildlife conservation from the state list and included it in the concurrent list.

The main features of this act are as follows:

1. It ensures the protection and management of wild animals.
2. It prohibits animal hunting, sale of their leather and products.
3. It prevents illegal hunting and focus upon the need for the protection of wildlife.
4. It provides for imprisonment of 3-5 years and a fine of Rs. 5 thousand on violation of the act by criminals. In case of hunting of the National

Animal Tiger and national bird Peacock, it provides for imprisonment upto 10 years.

2.11 Environmental Protection : Some Important Decisions of the Judiciary-

Our judiciary has been playing an important role as a steward of environmental protection. In recent years; there has been a sustained focus on the role played by the higher judiciary in devising and monitoring the implementation of measures for pollution control, conservation of forests and wildlife protection. Many of these judicial interventions have been triggered by the persistent incoherence in policy-making as well as the lack of capacity-building amongst the executive agencies. Devices such as Public Interest Litigation (PIL) have been prominently relied upon to tackle environmental problems, and this approach has its supporters as well as critics. The Apex court and the High Courts have given important instructions/ orders for environmental protection.

1. The State Governments and Union Territories will require, as a condition of licenses to all cinema halls, touring cinemas and video parlours, that at least two slides/messages provided by the Ministry of Environment, and which deal with environmental issues, will be shown free of cost as part of each show. Failure to comply with this order is grounds for cancellation of a license.
2. The Ministry of Information and Broadcasting will start producing short films which deal with the environment and pollution. One such film will be shown, as far as practicable, in one show every day by the cinema halls.
3. All India Radio and Doordarshan will take steps to make and broadcast interesting programmes on the environment and pollution. The Attorney-General has said that five to seven minutes can be devoted to these programs each day on these radio/TV stations.
4. The University Grants Commission will take appropriate steps to require universities to prescribe a course on the environment. They should consider making this course a compulsory subject. As far as education up to the college level, every State Government and every Education Board connected with education up to the matriculation stage, as well as intermediate colleges, is required to take steps to enforce compulsory education on the environment in a graded way.
5. In the year 1996, the Supreme Court ordered the federal government and local authorities to clean the historic city of Delhi every day, run a Comprehensive Forestry Campaign and implement Reserve Forest Laws.
6. To protect the world heritage of Agra-Taj Mahal, the Supreme Court held in its judgment dated December 13, 1996 that the 292 coal-based industries shall as per the schedule indicated change-over to natural gas as an industrial-fuel and the industries which were not in a position to get gas connections for any reason would stop functioning with the aid of coke/coal in the Taj Trapezium Zone (TTZ) and may relocate themselves as per the orders given by the Supreme Court. The court directed (in 1999), Secretary, Ministry of Environment and Forest, and the Secretary, Ministry of Tourism to collect Rs. 20 million from tourists which shall be spent on preservation and beautification of the city.
7. The Supreme Court has issued various instructions to prevent pollution caused by vehicles.
8. Leadless gasoline should be used in the four metros, Delhi, Mumbai, Kolkata and Chennai from 2000.
9. CNG to be used in taxis, auto rickshaws and buses in Delhi w.e.f. April 2001.
10. Smoking should be prohibited in all public places.

2.12 Important Days Related to Environmental Awareness-

1. World Environment Day- 5 June
2. Earth Day-22 April

3. World Ozone Day-16 September

4. Foerst conservation Day-28 July

5. World Water Day-22 March

2.13 Consumer Culture-

Consumption is a complex social phenomenon in which people consume goods or services for reasons beyond their basic use-value. Consumerism is an economic process which means that every element within the society is consumable. Only thing required is to set up them in the market as essential products. Consumer culture can be defined as a *"social arrangement in which the relations between the (lived cultural experience of everyday life) and social resources, between meaningful (valued) ways of life and the symbolic and material resources on which they depend, is mediated through markets."*

The industrialists ignite an artificial desire in the minds of the customers to attract them towards their products by generating a vague feeling that they cannot do without those products. This is deliberately cultivated by the industrialists and traders to sell their products in the market ad earn profit. This is here the trend of debutant consumerism begins. Consumer culture is a system in which consumption, a set of behaviors found in all times and places, is dominated by the consumption of commercial products. It is also a system in which the transmission of existing cultural values, norms and customary ways of doing things from generation to generation "is largely understood to be carried out through the exercise of free personal choice in the private sphere of everyday life." Three -fourths of the world's total resources are consumed by the people of developed countries, where less than one-fourth of the world's population lives. For example, while the US population is 5 percent of the world's population, 20 percent of total petroleum products of the world are consumed by the American consumer. Similarly, due to excessive use of air conditioners in homes and vehicles in the developed countries results in emission of green house gases; which in turn causes global warming. More or less the behavior of all the developed and developing countries is similar to that of the US. In the flippant chasing of the Western culture, developing countries like India have come under the grip of the consumer culture. Advertisements have played an important role in developing this thinking.

For the last few decades, concept of *"the economics of supply",* based on the theme-make the goods and you will also get the consumers is going on very well. Where customers are not prepared to buy the goods at their own they are tempted by advertisements to make them ready as customers. Government and banks are also supporting the tendency in the competitive era of maximum industrial production. The consumers' are turning bankrupt due to excessive and indiscriminate and uninterrupted purchases made through the wallets, net banking, debit and credit cards and bank accounts. Moreover, the lifespan of products expires after their due expiry date making them unusable and useless. With the old stuff quickly meets its expiry date and rendered unusable new products comes for sale. The average lifetime of a product was three times more in the 1980s as compared to the present times. Along with this, the production of packing materials and the use of disposable products have resulted in the challenge of salvaging the waste products before the world. The natural resources of mineral, forest, water and energy sources are being exploited to prepare these products. This system is polluting the environment by destroying the valuable and healthful sources of nature. We should not forget that natural resources can not be created and it is impossible to increase them. Current industrial development is running a business that is being used to spend its own deposit. It is believed by environmentalists that a while calculating a nation's Gross National Product (GNP), the resources should also be accounted for, which are getting destroyed by the industrial system.

According to experts, if we continue to consume natural resources at the present rate, then in the 277 years, in the cobalt and platinum 400 years, in Petrol 49 years, petroleum 60 years, coal will

disappear from Earth in a few hundred years. Today, millions of years ago, in the world, the use of gasoline, coal and natural gas is being used to generate energy. Therefore, we have to understand that in spite of raising such resources of consumerism in a consumerist culture, man is not truly happy; this culture of consumerism continues to be a cause of mental stress due to human desire to fulfill the new needs. What has been said in our culture to limit the requirements and to adopt a restrained and ***sattvik*** lifestyle is that today it is relevant not only for India but to the whole world. Earth is not someone's personal contact. We have not received this right from our ancestors, but it is a heritage of future generations. Therefore, we are bound by the obligation to preserve the present natural resources.

Conclusion-

In today's development race man has advanced so fast that it hardly has any time to look towards conservation of its environment. He has nearly forgotten that he lives on the earth. If every individual whether he is a child or an aged one develop awareness, consciousness and be alert about environment issues and adapts to it accordingly; only then can this serious problem be solved. Today, there is a dire need for all human beings to coordinate, cooperate and adapt to the environment. At the same time, we must adopt our traditional methods and ancient culture and follow the provisions of environmental conservation enshrined in our constitution.

Important Points

- In Khejadli village in Rajasthan 363 Bishnois, led by Amrita Devi sacrificed their lives while protecting trees and said that saving trees at the cost of one's head was worth it.
- Green houses gases are responsible for the rising temperature of the earth.
- Green house gases are- chlorofluorocarbons, carbon di-oxide, methane and nitrogen oxide tec.
- Global warming has become the world's biggest problem today and the glaciers are melting at the poles due to the rising temperature which in turn results in rising of sea water. It creates a threat of submerging of coastal areas into the sea and also adversely affects human health and lives of all other living beings.
- Every individual must be aware about the dangers of global warming and strive hard to curtail it. The application of carbon free sources of energy such as solar, wind, and nuclear energy should be encouraged.
- Materials derived from natures which are directly or indirectly necessary for human life are called natural resources i.e.; water resources, mineral resources, food resources, forest resources, energy resources and soil resources.
- The first global level conference on climate change was held at Stockholm (Sweden) from 5 to 16 June, 1972.
- The United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) was also signed in the first joint conference held at Berlin (Germany) in 1995.Since then UNFCCC conference is being held year.
- 21st United Nations Climate Change Conference 2015 was held from 30 November to 12 December 2015 at Paris.
- Under the agreement, member countries have set a target to limit the global temperature rise to less than two degrees celcius by the end of the 21st century.
- Article 48A of the Constitution of India says "The State shall endeavour to protect and improve the environment and to safeguard the forests and wild life of the country."
- Article 51-A (g) of part IV of the constitution

deals with Fundamental Duties of the citizens states: "It shall be the duty of every citizen of India to protect and improve the natural environment including forests, lakes, rivers and wildlife and to have compassion for living creatures."

- The Parliament has passed several legislations to save us from the effects of environmental imbalance such as-Environment Protection Act, 1986, Air (Prevention & Control of Pollution) Act, 1981, Wildlife (Protection) Act, 1972 Amendment.
- The tendendecy of Consumer culture is causing great harm to the environment.

Exercise

Multiple Choice Questions-

1. When is the world environment day observed?
   (A) 16 September
   (B) 16 October
   (C) 16November
   (D) 16 December ( )
2. When is the world water day observed?
   (A) 12March
   (B) 22March
   (C) 12 April
   (D) 22April ( )
3. Where was the UNFCCC (COP21) held?
   (A) Kyoto (Japan)
   (B) Lima (Peru)
   (C) Paris (France)
   (D) Rio de Janeiro(Brazil) ( )
4. Which one of the following is a metallic minerals?
   (A) Gypsum
   (B) Granite
   (C) Rock Phosphate
   (D) Zink ( )

Very Short Answer Type Questions-

1. In which year and where did the incident of the sacrifice of the Bishnois for saving trees take place?
2. Which Bishnoi woman sacrificed her life for saving the trees?
3. What is the full form of CFC?
4. When is the world earth day observed?
5. When is the world environment day observed?
6. What is the name of the chemical element used in nuclear energy?
7. Write the name of the any two of the Hydro Power Projects of Rajasthan?
8. What is the full form of UNFCCC?

Short Answer Type Questions-

1. What is the significance of environment conservation is Indian Culture?
2. "Sir sātey rūkh rahe to bhī sasto jān"
   "If a tree was saved from cutting
   even at the cost of of one's head, it's worth it."Describe in brief the incident related to this saying.
3. Suggest measures to control Global Warming.
4. Write name of any three deserts of the world.
5. Write a brief note on Paris agreement.
6. What constitutional provisions were made by the government under Environment Protection Act, 1986 for the conservation of the environment?
7. How Consumer Culture is harmful to the environment? Describe in brief.

Essay Type Questions-

1. What does the Global Warming mean? Describe its causes and effects on the earth.
2. Describe comprehensively about the

provisions made for the conservation of environment in our constitution.

3. Write an essay on the world perspective as regards the Global Warming.
4. Elaborate about the causes of Consumer Culture and its effects on the environment and human life.
5. How is Consumer Culture causing irreparable damage to the natural resources. Elaborate?

Answers to Multiple Choice Questions-

1. A 2. B 3. C 4. C

3. India & Globalization

In the last decade of the twentieth century, the revolution in communication technology has transformed the whole world into a ***'global village'***. It is a metaphoric shrinking of the world into a village through the use of electronic media. In this era, a new concept of ***globalization*** was initiated. After the end of Second World War, the world was divided into two parts on the basis of ideology. On one side, there were countries which were supporting liberalization; privatization, globalization and capitalism, while on the other side there were other countries which supported communism and socialism. The United States led the first group, while the other group was being led by the former Soviet Union. The mutual political and economic relations between these two factions were not equal. All the countries of both the groups were members of the United Nations, but the Soviet Union, the East European Union and their supporters were not members of the International organizations such as World Bank, International Monetary Fund and General Agreement on Trade and Tariff (GATT)**.** In these communist countries, there were totalitarian regimes and state owned economy, whereas the capitalist faction had private ownership and market-oriented finance system. The possibility of eliminating poverty, economic inequality and exploitation was inherent in the communist system, but the possibility of independence, inspiration and prosperity was not there. The bureaucratic system dominated the communist factions all over the world. On the contrary, the capitalist bloc was engaged in attracting under developed and developing countries by showing them the dream of independence, inspiration and development, but it was not serious about eliminating poverty and exploitation which were rampant in these countries. Both ideologies indulged in all sorts of fair and unfair measures to increase their area of influence in the world. As a consequence of this rivalry, the Cold War broke out between two diverse and opposite ideological blocs. The USA which led the capitalist faction realized that communism could flourish in the countries which were infested by poverty, inequality and capitalism. Therefore, to counter this possibility it made efforts to overcome poverty and inequality in these countries through international organizations such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. The Communist faction neither had resources nor the ability to redress poverty and inequality in areas of their influence. Economic inequality was continuously increasing in the communist countries due to the lack of effective administrative machinery, malad ministration and the indiscriminate arms and weapons race. Around this time, the then President of the Soviet Union, Mikhail Gorbachev, called economic liberalization and globalization as the need of the time for communism and the world at large. In March 1985, he launched his nation on a dramatic new course. His dual program of ***"perestroika"*** ("restructuring") and ***"glasnost"*** ("openness") introduced profound changes in economic practice, internal affairs and international relations. Within five years, Gorbachev's revolutionary program swept communist governments throughout Eastern Europe from power and brought an end to the Cold War (1945-91), the largely political and economic rivalry

between the Soviets and the United States and their respective allies that emerged following World War II. Gorbachev's actions also inadvertently set the stage for the 1991 collapse of the Soviet Union, which dissolved into 15 individual republics. Thus the communist bloc and its ideology communism were defeated by the capitalist bloc led by the United States. Since then, and the capitalism has emerged as a winning ideology. The western capitalist countries felt that their prosperity could touch new heights by creating a new relationship with the countries which so far did not have economic links with them. With the quiet death of communism the only option left for supporters of the communist and many backward nations of Asia and Africa was to adopt a market oriented system for their development. As a result, the vast majority of the world adopted the liberalized economy and adopted a market-oriented economy driven by privatization, liberalization and globalization.

3.1 Meaning of Globalization

Globalization means the international integration, opening of the world trade, development of advanced means of communication, internationalization of financial markets, increasing the importance of multinational companies, increase in the movement of the people, capital, data and ideas across the world. Globalization, therefore; is the free movement of goods, services and people across the world in a seamless and integrated manner. It is a process that has integrated the diverse world into a single society. It can be thought of to be the result of the opening up of the global economy and the concomitant increase in trade between nations. In other words, when countries that were hitherto closed to trade and foreign investment open up their economies and go global, the result is an increasing interconnectedness and integration of the economies of the world. Globalization means different things to different people. It is a very debated and controversial ideology, although there is a consensus on the fact that there has been unprecedented growth in the global flow of people, capital, goods and ideas in the era of globalization. It can be defined simply as an expansion of economic activities across political boundaries of nation states. Trend of globalization has changed the nature of the nation state. It has compromised the sovereignty of the nation state in favor of an international order. More importantly it refers to a process of deepening economic integration, increasing economic openness and growing economic interdependence between countries in the world economy. It is associated not only with a phenomenal spread and volume of cross-border economic transactions but also with an organization of economic activities which straddle national boundaries of the world. India is also not untouched by the effects of globalization. Globalization in India is generally taken as integrating the economy of the country with the rest of the world. This in turn implies that opening up the economy to foreign direct investment by providing facilities to foreign companies to invest in different fields of economic activities in India.

3.2 Causes of Globalization

There is no single factor responsible for the globalization, yet the source lies instead in the development of technology. The costs of transport, of travel, and above all the costs of communicating information have fallen dramatically in the post-war period, almost entirely because of the progress of technology. Telegraphs, telephones and microchips and the new inventions such as Internet have revolutionized the communication throughout the world. The development of communication technologies such as internet, email and mobile phones have been vital to the growth of globalization because they help Multi National Corporations (MNCs) to operate throughout the world. The effect of an event taken place in one part of the world is now realized in the whole world.

3.3 Political Impact of Globalization

The globalization has greatly impacted the national states. The ecological changes, integrated economy and other influential trends at the global level have direct bearing on the political

environment of the entire world. It has changed the very concept of the national state. Despite the continuing emphasis on promoting global prosperity and achieving a more "just world," negative aspects of globalization remain rife in our globe. Poverties, inequalities, injustices, starvations, backwards and marginalization are all serious problems many societies are still experiencing. We are living in a global international system where nation-state is expected to be diminished. Sovereignty of nation-states has also been undermined due to the growing number of powerful supranational/supra territorial forces as well as global problems (like the climate change, MNCs, terrorism, international non-governmental organizations, new communication technologies like Internet). The concept of ***welfare state*** has also been eroded and it is now being replaced by the new concept of ***Non-Interfering State***. In international law, the principle of non-intervention includes, but is not limited to, the prohibition of the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state. In domestic affairs, the traditional rights of the state have been curtailed and now the jurisdiction of the state has been restricted to maintain law and justice system and to protect its citizens. The market has become the key determinant of economic and social priorities and replaced the public welfare state. Multinationals established all over the world have affected the autonomy and sovereignty of the governments. Although, the nation-state is still important in the world politics and its position; primarily as a form of a political community has not yet been challenged. Globalization has some positive effects on the state. It is often accompanied by the flow of related lifestyles, tastes, ideas, and even values across boundaries which help reshape local political institutions, cultural patterns and social relations. It also creates new opportunities for many peoples to increase their wealth and enhance their prosperities. The intense exchange of information has facilitated the lives of citizens. With the rise of Japan and Germany as main economic powers in the beginning of 1960s, the term globalization was treated as a merely economic phenomenon. But after the ***"withering"*** of Communism and the end of the Cold War, the term becomes the ***'buzzword'*** of our time and its meaning remains elusive. It is now no more an economic phenomenon or a merely mental state as perceived during the Cold War, but it transforms into a movement being enhance through concentrating on global common principles such as democracy and human rights, growing interdependence between states, and unprecedented revolution in information technology .The quantitative and qualitative effects of this process are seen in many aspects of human life. Within these perspectives, globalization becomes a process of reshaping human life through globalizing certain values which include economic patterns related to free trade, production, consumption and distribution; cultural patterns related to entity, language, and lifestyle; and political patterns related to democratic process and human rights. The potential for people of different cultural and religious backgrounds to know and understand one another owing to this process is greater than ever before. Therefore, it is important that one not should reject it totally. Instead, as a short and medium-term strategy one should try to inject ethical and moral considerations into some of the dominant economic institutions, activities and goals associated with the process. The rapid exchange of information across the borders has made life of people a bit more comfortable. However, there is no doubt about the impact of globalization on politics; but some social scientists are skeptical about it and differ on the nature and extent to which it affects the politics at national and international level .They also contend that the MNCs as part of the process of globalization has not diluted the sovereignty and weakened the nation state. They all agree that the international institutions and the nation states are dependent on each other in many ways but their interdependence has not affected the existence of the nation states. Nation state is still very important, In fact, the influences of MNCs on the states have restructured the international relations and there is no possibility of the end of the existence of national states. In the

latter part of the twentieth century, international relations and various political aspects of world politics were deeply influenced by globalization. The Cold War was an ideological conflict between two factions. In the 1950s and 1960s, when the Cold War was on its rise, colonialism in Asia and Africa was ending and new national states were emerging. Their struggle was inspired by the principles of freedom, justice and equality. Both the Eastern and Western blocs were ideologically supporting and ratifying these principles in their own way. These newly independent nations were a fertile land for economic, political and ideological competition for eastern and western groups. As a result of cold war, regional conflicts took place in Korea, Vietnam, Congo, Angola, Mozambique and Somalia. Some political scientists believe that after the collapse of the Soviet Union, the globalization has ushered the world politics in a new era of peace and tranquility. Now the international community is promoting openness in trade which is based on the principles of democracy and human rights. The United Nations, World Bank and International Monetary Fund have also changed their policies ii accordance to the changes taking place in the politics. The traditional struggle for power between the East and West has ended and many legal institutions such as International Court of Justice have been created for the protection of human rights, peace and criminal justice at international level. A large number of international conferences are being organized frequently so that all the countries of the world can come together and solve their problems by mutual cooperation. All international organizations are based on the mutual sharing and equal participation of national states and respect the fundamental principles of national sovereignty. In away globalization has helped in bringing all the countries of the world to a common platform to reconcile their own and global problems by mutual cooperation. This kind of trend can be termed as political globalization.

3.4 Economic Impact of Globalization

The global economy is affected the most by the process of globalization. The Western capitalist countries have been working very hard to find a market for their products in Asia and Africa. Each country has opened its market for sale of foreign goods. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Trade organization (WTO) are directly and indirectly playing an active role in determining the economic policies in the world. These institutions are under the influence of the capitalist forces and work in tune with their policies. Hence, globalization is much better for developed economic growth. On average, countries that globalized more- experienced higher growth rates. The backward and developing economies have also been benefited a lot. The quality of life of people has improved significantly. Progressive economies like China, India and Brazil have made more profit as compared to other backward economies. Unrestrained economic flow has increased between the different countries of the world. In the past, the countries used to impose trade restrictions on imports, but under globalization these restrictions have been relaxed. Now the investors of the wealthy and developed countries can easily invest in other countries. The developing countries such as India and Brazil are major attractions for foreign investment .Capitalist countries make huge profits through such investments. Globalization has revolutionized the world trade conceptually. Now there are no restrictions on the flow and exchange of ideas across the national borders. The free flow of cross-border information helps in promotion of economic growth of countries. Besides, with a fully integrated market of services, labor, capital and goods, increased internationalization leads to larger income and sales, which in leads to greater profit potential especially in exploiting emerging markets. Globalization can enhance socio-economic development in the developing economies. The international trade and globalization are important factors for a developing economy to build a positive economic system. Internet and computer related services such as banking, online shopping and trading have made international transactions easy and rapid, but the movement of the people and the

flow of capital have not increased with the same speed and simplicity. The developed capitalist countries have made their visa policy extremely complicated and difficult after the terrorist act of 9/11. This is mainly due to two reasons. Firstly, these countries are apprehensive that the migrant population can grab jobs and businesses and render the native citizens' jobless. Globalization has had different effects on different countries. Economy of some countries is progressing fast, while some countries are financially lagging far behind. Economic globalization gives governments of developing nations' access to foreign lending. When these funds are used on infrastructure including roads, health care, education, and social services, the standard of living of the people of these the countries increases. If the money is used only selectively, however, not all citizens will participate in the benefits. Globalization leads to freer trade between countries. This is one of its largest benefits to developing nations. Homegrown industries see trade barriers fall and have access to a much wider international market. The growth this generates allows companies to develop new technologies and produce new products and services. The social justice is still in crisis in the era of globalization. Vulnerable, marginalized, and weaker sections of society, including unskilled and low-skilled workers and the poor, continue to be disadvantaged in this current economic climate that emphasizes capitalism, market economy profit and competition at the expense of social justice and human rights. Due to the lack of protection and safeguards of their rights by the government, the weaker sections of society are facing loss rather than profit. It is also emphasized that social security cover must be provided for the backward people in the era of globalization. Some critics condemn globalization as new colonialism. While the supporters of globalization praise it for the growth and prosperity it brings in the society. The openness and free flow of ideas and trade leads to overall prosperity and by and large every country big or small, rich or poor is benefited by the process of globalization.

3.5 Cultural Impact of Globalization

The globalization has not only affected the political and economic life of a country, but it also has a great impact on the cultural life of its people. It has mixed impact on local cultures of the countries. The traditional cultures of the world are facing the higher risk from the process of globalization. An importance feature of globalization is the interchange of ideas as symbolized by the social media sites of the internet. The negative aspect of it leads to materialism. The concern involves the clash of cultures and the spread of materialistic values. The internet allows any person to access anything and anywhere in the world and no one is there to stop, control or direct him. This has enormous influence on how people think; act or behave. The values that an individual reflects on internet often promote materialism, violence and immorality. The globalization gives rise to cultural harmony, which has adverse effects on the exotic native cultures. In the name of cultural harmony, Western cultural values are being introduced and imposed upon the other native cultures. This has caused adverse effects on diet, lifestyle and the way of living of the people. Positive aspect of globalization is that the development and free flow of technology have created the potential for the emergence of a new world culture. The globalization is the process of harmonizing different culture and beliefs and also eroding differences in culture and producing a seamless global system of culture and economic values Internet, social media, fax, satellite and cable TV have made significant contribution in removing the existing cultural barriers between different nations. The continuing world-wide growth of access to internet is being mirrored by an equally discernible rise in its use by ethnic ideological and national groups anxious to assert their culture identity.

3.6 The Channels for Promoting Cultural Exchanges

Informational Services

Exchange of information through internet and

email-The electronic revolution has made the information democratic and people friendly.

Making exchange of thoughts and beliefs easy- There has been a digital revolution in the expansion of information technology, although there has also been created a digital divide.

Information services under the control of the state- In some undeveloped, under- developed and developing countries information services are still under the control of the state.

Supremacy of particular group over information media is undemocratic.

News services - Such as CNN, B.B.C., Al Jazeera and hundreds of other international channels are making live telecast the worldwide. They have made the process of globalization more effective. The authenticity and honesty of the news is still questionable. The news and their analysis are mostly related to the political influence which is not suitable for democracy.

3.7 The Impact of globalization on India

The wave of globalization hit India at the end of the last century and still the country is flowing with the current of global changes. India which was a mixed economy so far also joined this stream. Indian economy had experienced major policy changes in early 1990s. The new economic reform, popularly known as, Liberalization, Privatization and Globalization (LPG model) aimed at making the Indian economy as fastest growing economy and globally competitive. Globalization was initiated in India by the then Prime Minister Narasimha Rao in July 1991 In practice, the then finance minister Manmohan Singh started the new economic policies (liberalization, privatization and deregulation).The series of reforms undertaken with respect to industrial sector, trade as well as financial sector aimed at making the economy more efficient. By adopting the new economic policy in 1991, India joined the process of globalization and liberalization. In a technical sense, India opened up to globalization much later in 1991 when it was felt important to liberalize market norms and allow privatization to encourage the growth of its long-stagnant economy. Historically, however, India has long preached ideals of ***Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam*** (the world is one family) and ***Sarve Bhavantu Sukhinah*** (may all be prosperous and happy), thus carving out the Indian model of globalization. From 1992-93 the rupee was made fully convertible. Steps were taken for capital market and financial reforms. Import-export policy was also reformed. The restrictions that acted as barriers in free flow of trade were removed. On December 30, 1994, India signed and ratified World Trade Organization (WTO) which came into force on 1 January 1995.After signing the agreement; India started eliminating many rules and formalities which had been a hindrance in economic development over the years. Several reforms were introduced in the administrative system and the bureaucratic complexities were also done away with. The process of globalization still continues. Globalization has different effects on Indian politics. Three different responses to Indian Unionism have been brought to face these challenges. First, it is anticipated that due to globalization, there is a tremendous impact on the economic development of the country due to the looseness of the economy, because India is still a development country and cannot equate the developed countries by leveraging the positive trends of globalization on the path of development. The biggest beneficiaries of globalization will be those economies which are already developed. The Underdeveloped and economically backward countries will be left behind in this race. If the Indian state has to accelerate the overall and socialist development, then the powers of the national government will also have to be increased. This demands centralization to provide better service in competitive market and also to implement policies in uniform manner.

Second, the trend of globalization produces validity vacuum. On one side, the national state reduces its economic sovereignty but avoids abandoning internal sovereignty. In order to increase domestic sovereignty, the nation state has to make local democratic structures so that the

credibility of the state remains intact. The constitutional recognition and introduction of ***Panchayatiraj***, as the third layer of Indian federation is a step towards this goal. This trend is referred to as ***"Act locally"*** and ***"go globally*** "and reflective of this concern. The third challenge to globalization is the rapid growth of civil society organizations. Some of these organizations produce parallel and horizontal structures of democratic governance which have a negative effect on the conduct of democracy. If the Indian state is committed to economic development then it has to initiate corrective measures by direct intervention in two different levels of development. On the one hand, advance states have made extensive development in all sectors, whereas the backward states are lagging far behind in development and they have to depend on the center for social and economic development. The backward states have to depend on center for not only their own development but they also render help to center for potential positive growth of the nation. This trend is called - ***Cooperative financial federalism.*** Equal rights should be granted to unequal states is the guiding principle of federalism. On one hand, the regional inequality affects the mutual bargaining power of one unit. On the other hand, the impact of national and international factors on bargaining also affects the social and political participation of the population of these units. Globalization in the form of a process is as old as our civilization. However, this tendency acquired importance at the national and international level in the last two decades. Politics and administration of all the nations of the world has been under the impact of globalization. It had major impact on the administrative system of the developing countries. India had become a part of this process, since it had to open up its economy to other countries of the world in the era of financial crisis in 1991.On one hand, Independent India's federal structure was influenced by its past colonial legacy, and on the other hand, there was a reaction to the compulsions and challenges of nation building. The constitution makers had expected that the institutional infrastructure provided by them would be able to successfully deal with the complexities of the country and the challenges of nation building. It has not happened so far. In Indian Union two opposite tendencies exist. It has tendencies of pluralism and decentralization on one hand and at the same time it also has tendency of centralism. The co-existence of these two anti-trends makes India's federalism quasi-federal.

Globalization as a process began with the creation of the capitalist economy, which formed connections between distant regions of the world. One part has an effect on another. Increasing interaction and interdependence between states is one of the most important features of the globalization. People around the globe are more connected to each other than ever before. Information and money flow more quickly than ever. Goods and services produced in one part of the world are increasingly available in all parts of the world. International travel is more frequent and international communication is commonplace. Globalization is an economic tidal wave that is sweeping over the world. It can't be stopped, and there will be winners and losers. Globalization is a multi-dimensional concept and is related to every aspect of life. Globalization has turned the world into a ***"global village"*** because people from the far-flung areas of the world now feel closer to each other as if they are neighbors of each other. Technology is an important contributor to accelerating the trend of globalization. Increasing communication tools, Internet and social media have changed the world into an integrated unit. With the increase in traffic and communication systems, today the whole world has become a market place (business area).

If you live in a big city then you can buy Kiwi fruit of America or New Zealand in your local market. Thus, this flow of commodities from the productive countries to the markets of other countries is a part of globalization. This free flow of goods and services has persisted within the national boundaries of the country at all times.

The apples of Himachal Pradesh and oranges

of Gujarat and Maharashtra reach the markets in the north-eastern states. But when this happens between two or more sovereign national states, this trend is given the name of globalization. In this way, the country which can produce a car with a more inexpensive and better technique than other countries, can export all the manufactured cars to different markets the world for sale. Similarly, in countries where computers are not produced and computers have to be imported from outside, the countries that produce cheap and better computers can export these goods to such countries. It is called - one of the best profits of a nation in a competitive market. Globalization is a process in which a country produces the goods and then competes with other countries to sell the goods in the whole world. It leads to increase in international trade, annuity and capital. Today, China's products are available for sale in any country of the world because wages are cheaper there. This has helped China in competing with other nations. How does a nation decide as to what it is to produce? Many factors such as availability of natural resources, geography, climate, expertise and specialization in the production of something special determine as to what a country should produce. India has expertise and special areas for the production of Basmati rice.

Main Competition-The area in which the country has the ability to produce something is called the main competition. It is a basic element that establishes expertise or qualification in the description of a subject area or skill.

Therefore, the main idea behind globalization is that all the nations will produce the things in which they have competence and expertise. Such competition will be helpful in strengthening the countries involved from within the country and also internationally. Despite all this, restrictions are frequently imposed by countries to restrict the free flow of goods and services. Since all the countries are trying to sell in the same world, it is natural that opportunities for production of items are easily available to them. Generally, developed nations do not give other nations an opportunity to reach the developed level. Even when a nation prepares to confront these obstacles created by these developed nations then new boundaries, restrictions or constraints are created as barriers to block the progress of developing nations. India as a developing nation has to be ready to face such difficulties.

3.8 Impact of Globalization on Native Culture

Due to globalization, songs and music of any country can be heard and watched in every corner of the world. The negative aspect of this trend is that it has polluted the special national music. Globalization has enhanced the spread of folk culture all over the world, but it has blocked the expression of regional culture. The domination of Western and foreign cultural imperialism has increased under globalization. Pope Culture has also adversely influenced classical music tradition. With the arrival of electronic instruments in place of folk instruments, the beauty of the music and the classical desirability has ceased. It is important to study the impact of these changes on our culture and Society. Culture is a broad concept and covers numerous identifying features of a society. Culture shapes our personality and has a lasting mark on our perception. Our culture is deeply rooted and is a blend of well accepted philosophy, tradition, religion, history, myth, and legend. This perception has been developed through several millennia, producing, over successive generations, a mind-set, a value system and a way of life. The blindly adopting to Western culture and life style has endangered our traditional cultural ethos and values. Globalization has adverse effects on the food and clothing of a nation. Indian culture is under the severe threat of the ruthless forces of Globalization today. An unbelievable expansion of western culture has continued at a faster rate along with the denigration and decline of our native culture, civilization, religion, art, literature and customs.

3.9 Impact of Globalization on Social Values

India is poised for a rapid all round growth with Globalization in economic, social and technological fields. The biggest challenge before India now is to manage this growth effectively and also integrate with the global society smoothly. For this we need to develop new business models and strategies. India has had a positive impact of globalization on economic sector, but it has adverse effects on its social sector. Our youth under the Western influence has taken to flippant western life style and has renounced the native life values and rituals. Selfishness has replaced the social morality. Under the influence of globalization, the moral character of an individual in particular and society in general has declined to its lowest ebb. Lack of moral character and values of citizens have proved to be very fatal for a pluralistic country like India, where morals and values were considered most important. Ancient Indiana culture was very rich in values and virtues. It was believed to be created by God itself. It was a country where the battles were based on values i.e. ***Dharma Yudh***. ***Mahabharat,*** the battle at ***Kurukshetra*** was the one fought for ***Dharmakshetram***, but these all are presently depleting due to globalization.

3.10 Outcome of Globalization-

Today, the whole world is bound by the same network. The immediate impact of the important event of a nation falls on other nations. Objects, capitalists, knowledge, communication, weapons, crime, fashions, ideas, and beliefs reach at a rapid pace from one country to another. Globalization has given birth to a global system with a global culture. Globalization has affected every area of life. Globalization promotes the process of mass movements and migration which affects the aged and elderly the most. Globalization has given birth to refugee problems in Europe and many other parts of the world. By 2016, approximately 60 million people were refugees, i.e. every 122th person was a refugee. On the one hand, globalization is a process that fulfills the financial needs of each individual. On the other hand, globalization primarily furthers the interests of the corporate sector and industrialists and it does not have any concern with the individual interests. Some critics also believe that the world's expectations from the free market-oriented economy of globalization have not been fulfilled. The organizations affected by globalization have only furthered the interests of the corporate world, ignoring the interests of poor countries, workers and the natural environment. This is a new form of imperialism of big nations. Globalization is committed to impose a debt-based economy, which can lead to a high level of credit and a situation of debt crisis.

Criticism-

The wave of globalization is certainly not resistible although often confronted with a lot of mixed reactions. One of the hair-splitting arguments pertaining to globalization is that it is seen as an economic monster whose objectives include, among others, the wiping away of the nation-state's sovereignty especially with regard to socio-economic and political autonomy. As a matter of fact, the nation-state is seen as a toothless partner in the process and does not have the power or mandate to control or have a democratic voice pertaining to the principles and policies under which the globalization gospel is advanced.

The criticism can be under the following points:

1. Globalization can affect the autonomy, sovereignty and self-dependence of a nation. The under developed and developing nations are more likely to lose their sovereignty and autonomy due to their over dependence on developed countries.
2. Globalization can prove to be deadly for developing countries like India and other backward nations. This phenomenon will encourage America's domination.
3. It is believed that globalization will make India a client state of the USA.

4. Globalization is a force for oppression, exploitation and injustice.

The policy of globalization or globalization is an expression of the logical consequences of liberalization and privatization. Under this, the work of financial activities of the system is given to allow the systemic semi-administered economy to be connected with the economic momentum of any political system of the world for the increase in efficiency. Under globalization, any arrangement can be combined with any part of its production procurement and services network. Where quality can be upgraded at the lowest cost and maximum profit can be found. The policy of globalization in the economic sector promotes the expansion of multinational corporations, which in turn leads to the social, economic and cultural life of the developmental regimes under the scope of global, social and economic cultural influence. Liberalization is a policy or process under which the government's restriction and control over the system are reduced to bare minimum or concessions are granted to increase the efficiency of financial activities and increase the profitability of the system. Market forces get more power and opportunities to work freely to conduct economic activities in a favorable manner in order to strengthen the economy of the system. Under this policy, the accountability of the state towards the welfare of the people and the society is reduced to bare minimum with the expectations that globalization supports trade across borders and follow rules of free competition and meet the demands of the services and goods and benefits the traders and the workers both by providing them attractive economic benefits and a variety of incentives as well.

Globalization ultimately results in emergence of such conditions and circumstances which are not conducive and favorable for the developing and under developed countries and may create many social, political, economic and cultural problems in the developing systems. Globalization also has its side effects to the developed nations. These include some factors which are jobs insecurity, fluctuation in prices, terrorism, fluctuation in currency, capital flows and so on. It promotes the neo colonial mindset through which the developed countries use cheap raw material and cheap labor of under developed countries for their own benefit at the pretext of international trade and industrialization and dump their products for sale in the markets of the client states using them as part of big global market. Globalization is a threat to culture and religion, and it harms indigenous people groups while multinational corporations profit from it. Although globalization has promised an improved standard of living and economic development, it has been heavily criticized for its production of negative effects. Globalization is not simply an economic project, but it also heavily influences the country environmentally, politically, and socially as well.

Achievements-

Despite the criticisms, the positive role of globalization in the present global order cannot be ruled out. In the last 25 years, globalization has been an important contributor to the progress of many backward nations and making the people happy and prosperous. Globalization offers hope to the world's poorest. Just as more open trade tends to promote economic growth, growth in turn leads to poverty reduction. Globalization helps in international economic integration in which technology allows people to pursue their own goals and they are given the liberty to do so. The result is that society as a whole prospers and advancesspontaneously, not by design of any person or government. People choose what serves their own self-interest, each of them making that judgment for himself.

The achievements of globalization are given as under-

1. It has facilitated the spread of modern medicine, which has helped to extend life expectancy and reduce infant mortality of the people of developing and poor countries.
2. It has helped in proliferation of universal adult franchise.

3. It has increased the nutritional value of people's diet.
4. It has helped in reducing the practice of child labor.
5. It has helped in providing basic amenities to an individual such as electricity, car, radio, television, telephone, mobile phone and internet etc.
6. It has helped in providing clean water.
7. It has facilitated an unprecedented improvement of each service sector.
8. Globalization has made life of the people more comfortable.
9. It encourages governments to follow more sensible economic policies.
10. It provides capital to fuel future growth.
11. It helps in gaining access to a much higher level of technology.
12. It helps in gaining access to much larger markets, both for imports and exports.

Conclusion-

The process of globalization which began in 1991 benefited developed nations the most. It also had very positive effects on the economy of developing countries such as China, India and Brazil. However, comparatively there has been less economic improvement and progress in under-developed and undeveloped countries than the developed and developing countries. It has helped in the increase of per capita income of higher and middle class people of counties like India. The people in service sectors, telecommunications, information technology, finance, entertainment and tourism have been more benefited by globalization than the people involved in agriculture and manufacturing sector. Today India is a progressive nation and its economy is quite strong. Many multinational companies have invested in India in different areas. Globalization is making continuous progress in India as elsewhere through technological revolution. The advance of globalization has not been a smooth or a pain-free process. Many voices are getting raised against the much hyped globalization in India. The critics view globalization as the cause of ruination of India. Critics of globalization warn of a destructive ***"race to the bottom,"*** as advanced nations are forced to weaken labor and environmental standards to compete with less-regulated producers in developing nations. The changes it has caused, or is perceived to have caused, have spurred a political backlashdramatically evident in the street protests that plagued the WTO ministerial in Seattle. Two of the most common complaints against globalization are that it has undermined labor and environmental standards, and that it has exacerbated the gap between rich and poor, both among and within countries. To build a developed India, it is essential that we believe in ourselves and ensure that what we can do as a nation. Market incentives in agriculture and industry, followed by welcoming aggressive foreign investment and state-of- the-art technology adoption and development, can set India on a path to rapid economic growth. Unfortunately, apparently in some people of our country we can see a kind of mentality under which they think that foreign goods are relatively better than the indigenous ones.is also seen in our country. For example, we are willing to buy the imported goods of cheap and low quality manufactured in China with the belief that they will be better than any products made in our country. At the outset, it appears that we have lost our confidence in ourselves. Globalization is not a new trend for us. Centuries ago India was a global leader and pioneer in the field of international trade. Thousands of years ago, India's goods were exported to remote areas of the world due to its high quality and workmanship. Today, we need to restore that faith, which has weakened in us for various reasons. We must resolve to reduce our hype and attraction towards imported goods and must take pride in buying goods produced in our country like the citizens of Japan. The present government's ***'Make in India'*** plan reflects this sentiment. We have to become courageous as a nation and have to work for our own, and then only we will be able to

survive in this period of globalization. In the era of globalization, we need to develop in all the areas in which India has full potential to develop. We have to transform India in areas where India has core competence such as agriculture and food processing, education and healthcare, information and communication technology, infrastructure development and Self-reliance in critical technologies. It is only possible when we have an honest, creative and upright elected leader as the driving force to take our nation on an unexplored path of developmental politics with the cooperation of other parties, using the core competences of other leaders, intellectuals, able and creative minds from all disciplines irrespective of their party affiliations, to realize the vision.

Important Points

- International integration, the opening of world trade, the development of advanced communication tools, globalization of the market, the increase in the importance of multinational companies, the migration of the population across the borders are parts of the process of globalization.
- The main cause of globalization is the quick proliferation of technology
- Major Impact of Globalization - Political, Economic, Social and Cultural
- Achievements of globalization -
- Globalization has helped to extend life expectancy and reduce infant mortality of the people of developing and poor countries.
- Globalization has helped in proliferation of universal adult franchise.
- Globalization has increased the nutritional value of people's diet.
- Globalization has helped in reducing the practice of child labor.
- Globalization has helped in providing basic amenities to an individual such as electricity, car, radio, television, telephone, mobile phone and internet etc.
- It has helped in providing clean water.
- It has facilitated an unprecedented improvement of each service sector.
- Globalization has made life of the people more comfortable.

Exercise

Multiple Choice Questions:

1. Which statement is true in relation to globalization?
   (A) It is just a market oriented economic phenomenon.
   (B) It was started in 1991.
   (C) Globalization and Capitalism are synonymous of each other.
   (D) This is a multi-dimensional phenomenon.
   ( )
2. Which statement is true about the effect of globalization?
   (A) It has had negative impact on different countries and societies.
   (B) It has had similar impact on all the countries.
   (C) The effect of globalization is limited to political scope.
   (D) It essentially leads to cultural harmony.
   ( )
3. Which statement is true about causes of globalization?
   (A) Its sole cause is mutual dependence on the economic level.
   (B) It is related to movement of objects.
   (C) It is related to a particular community.
   (D) It took birth in the United States of America. ( )
4. Which statement is true about globalization?
   (A) Globalization is concerned only with the movement of objects.

(B) There is no conflict of values in globalization.

(C) The importance of services as part of globalization is secondary.

(D) Globalization is related to global interpersonal engagement. ( )

5. Which statement about globalization is false?

(A) The advocates of globalization argue that it increases economic growth and prosperity.

(B) Supporters of globalization believe that it helps in cultural harmony.

(C) Critics of globalization argue that it helps in cultural harmony.

(D) Critics of globalization argue that this will increase the economic inequality more. ( )

Very Short Answer Type Questions

1. What does globalization mean?
2. What does India and globalization mean?
3. What does privatization mean?
4. What are the advantages of globalization?
5. When and why were the economic reforms in India started?
6. What impact the political aspects of globalization have on the state?
7. Which countries were influenced the most by the globalization?
8. What are the economic aspects of globalization?
9. What effects did political aspects of globalization have on the state?
10. What impact did globalization have on life expectancy?

Short Answer Type Questions

1. What do you understand by the cultural aspects of globalization?
2. What are the major influences of globalization?
3. Show the positive effects of globalization?
4. Why is globalization adopted in India? Write any four reasons.
5. What are the main bases of globalization? Explain.
6. Explain how globalization has affected national sovereignty.

Essay Type Questions

1. What is globalization? Describe its political and economic impacts
2. Write an Essay on India and Globalization

Answers to Multiple Choice Questions-

1. B 2. D 3. A 4. D 5. C

4. New Social Movements

The term social movement is literally a flexible word that relates to all the social interests, groups and efforts of the society which are generally deprived of representative representation in democracy. However, the term New Social Movement (NSMs) is a theory of social movements that attempts to explain the plethora of new movements that have come up in various western societies roughly since the mid-1960s (i.e. in a post-industrial economy) which are claimed to depart significantly from the conventional social movement paradigm. This is a collective social action which aims to protect, promote and enhance the interests of disadvantaged groups. Social movements are broad alliances of people who are connected through their shared interest in social change. Social movements can advocate for a particular social change, but they can also organize to oppose a social change that is being advocated by another entity. These movements do not have to be formally organized to be considered social movements. Different alliances can work separately for common causes and still be considered a social movement.

4.1 Classification of Social Movements

There is no single, standard typology of social movements. As various scholars focus on different aspects of movements, different schemes of classification emerge. Hence any social movement may be described in terms of several dimensions.

1. Revolutionary
2. Reformative
3. Corrective
4. Alternative

1. Revolutionary Social Movement- A revolutionary movement favors the radical change in the prevailing social institutions and systems. It seeks, at minimum, to overthrow the government or state, and perhaps to change the economy and key institutions of the entire society. They can also be violent like Naxalites and Leftist movements.

2. Reformative Social Movement- A reformative social movement favors gradual improvement in the prevailing inequalities and social problems. They work to create partial societal change in order to address injustices and inequalities. Reformative movements tend to have as their stated goal a desire to foster and promote positive change and achieve a just social order. Generally, the constitutional parliamentary traditions are used for minor changes instead of radical changes. Most NGOs fall under this category.

3. Redemptive or Corrective Social Movement- Redemptive social movement is radical in scope but focused on the individual or the problem. Their goal is to provoke inner change or spiritual growth in individuals and get rid of a particular problem. Arya Samaj, Brahmo Samaj and Ramakrishna Mission are examples of such movements.

4. Alternative Social Movement- It favors establishing a different alternative by altering social and cultural system. It refers to a social movement that seeks limited societal change. It also includes altering social values. It targets a small group of people and a specific behavior, and attempt to

change the behavior of individual people in relation to that issue. The Feminist Movement is an example of alternative movement. A key feature of this movement is that it is based towards lesser populations. Social movements often arise with the aim of bringing about changes on a public issue, such as ensuring the right of the tribal population to use the forests or the right of displaced people to settlement and compensation. While social movements seek to bring in social change, counter movements sometimes arise in defense of status quo.

In this way, the social movements are conscious and collective human efforts for change in an old or existing system and to bring a new one. Through these movements, collective efforts are made to bring in desired changes in the human behavior and values in the social system in tune with the change in time and circumstances. The singular objective of all these movements is to establish a fair social system. According to the renowned social scientist Abhay Kumar Dubey, earlier leftist political activities were seen as class based activities. But when movements were organised in the west on the issues like redical feminism, environment protection, the rights of Afro-Americans, nuclear disarmament, the class centrality was challenged. Accordingly New Social Movements are the issue- centric movements based on ideological diversity.

The New Social Movements which essentially need to be discussed are described as under :

1. Peasants' Movement- Indian economy is primarily an agrarian economy. The main occupation of majority of the population is agriculture. Agriculture once known as the backbone of Indian Economy is at present at its worst. There have been many peasants' movements in India since 1991 to protect the interest of small farmers after the government adopted anti farmer, capitalist economy and pro-Industry policy. Their aim is primarily to safeguard Indian interests in the free market system in the era of globalization and privatization. The Bharatiya Kisan Sangh, The Bhartiya Kisan Union and Shetakari Sangathan etc. are examples of farmers movements of India.

2. Labor Movements - Traditional Labor Movements were mainly leftist trade groups and their activities were limited to collective bargaining with industrial establishments and governments. In this new era of globalization, the new social movement organizations such as Chhatisgarh Mukti Morcha are actively working to safeguard the interests of the workers of Service Sector and the Industrial sector.

3. Women Empowerment Movements- In India the feminist movement developed during anti colonial national movement. After the stages of women- welfare and women- development in the 80's, the era of women- empowerment is the product of new social movement. Accordingly it was demanded that through participation, representation and the effective role in decision making, women should gain their appropriate status in the social system. Challenging the conservative Patriarchy, women feminist movements have campaigned gender sensitization of family to economy and state.

4. Movements Against Development Hazards - Although development is a compulsory and continuous process but sometimes it also results in adverse effects. There is a large scale displacement of human beings due to construction of large dams over rivers in India, in general. A deeper analysis is needed on the issues of rationale of dam building, the processes and procedures of land acquisition from the original land owners, especially the tribal residing in the remote areas, either inside or adjacent to the forests, the ills of the so-called compensation, resettlement and rehabilitation. Industrial projects and road and rail projects also cause displacement of human beings and create problems of rehabilitation, river water disputes and environmental degradation etc. In this context the concept of 'Infinite Developemnt' was challenged and mobilization for 'Sustainable Development' is being done.

Important Points

- There are four categories of social movements
  (i) Revolutionary (ii) Reformative
  (iii) Redemptive (iv) Alternative
- Some active social movements in India are - Peasants 'movement, Labor movement, Women empowerment movement, Movement against development hazards (Narmada Bachao Aandolan , water dispute etc.)

Exercise

Multiple Choice Questions

1. Which one of these is an example of a reformative movement in India -
   (A) Naxalite Movement
   (B) Save Girl Child Movement
   (C) Bodo Movement
   (D) Cauvery Water Dispute ( )
2. Which of these is not related to the Movement for Peasants rights -
   (A) Bharatiya Kisan Sangh
   (B) Bhartiya Kisan Union
   (C) Shetakari Sangathan
   (D) People's Movement ( )

Very Short Answer Type Questions

1. Write name of a labor union.
2. To what Narmada Bachao Andolan is related?
3. In which state is Shetkari Sangathan active?

Short Answer Type Questions

1. Write any two special features of the reformative movements?
2. Collect information about any two feminist movements.
3. Name any two movements that have stood up against development projects.

Essay Type Questions

1. Write an analytical article on the trend and types of new social movements in India.
2. Explain the difference between social movements and new social movements.

Answers to Multiple Choice Questions

1. B. 2.D

5. Social and Economic Justice and Women's Reservation

The important provisions are contained in Part IV (Article 36-51) of the Constitution of India, to establish social and economic justice. Directive Principles are classified under the following categories economic and socialistic, political and administrative, justice and legal, environmental, protection of monuments and peace and security. As a concept, the foundation of social justice is based on the insistence of all humans to be equal. The social justice emphasizes that there should not be discrimination against any person on grounds of social, religious and cultural prejudices and biases. The emergence of the concept of social justice is the result of the process of development of social norms, rituals, laws and ethics. This concept stressed upon implementing the rules and laws according to the principles of social equality. It is the duty of the State to apply such principles in making laws to establish a just society in the country. The first part of the term social justice refers to social- all people living in the society and the second part justice is related to liberty, equality and proper and just distribution of rights of citizens. Social Justice is the concept that protects the rights and equality of all the people living in society. In other words, the state of proper development of the capabilities of all the members of society can be called social justice. There is a great difference between the traditional concept of social justice and the modern concept.

5.1 Meaning of Social Justice

Justice means that it establishes equality, unity and human rights without any discrimination between all members of society and gives special importance to the person's dignity and dignity. It is a concept based on the concepts of human rights and equality, whose purpose is to establish an egalitarian society. The conservative social view of Indian society was full of discrimination. Casteism and communalism have been the biggest obstacles in establishing social justice in India. Due to the lack of social justice, India's unity and integrity could not remain intact and it had to remain a slave for a long time. The Indian social system, which is caste based, was a major obstacle in the establishment of social justice and egalitarian state. The struggle for social justice has continued in Indian society for centuries. There were many social reformers who stressed the establishment of social justice. Thousands of social reformers such as Mahatma Buddha, Mahaveer Swami, Kabir, folk deity Baba Ramdev and Mahatma Gandhi did their best to reform the social structure of Indian society that based on the discrimination. The states lacking in social justice are more prone to frequent wars, revolutions, revolts and rebellions. All the best rulers of the world have recognized social justice in their policies. The states and the administrators who acted against the principles of social justice have been unstable and shaky. Indian society was primarily based on the *Varna* system was gradually became polluted and was transformed into caste system. Inequality, separatism, regionalism, and social upheavals were born due to the introduction of conservatives in the caste system. The foreign invaders took benefit of this precarious situation and established their rule in India. By adopting the policy of ***"divide and rule"*** first Muslims and then the English succeeded in enslaving India for a long period. But during the freedom movement, all the Indians fought the

colonial power as one unit. They left aside the fringe of social discrimination and adopted the spirit of unity, fraternity and brotherhood and finally succeeded in independence of India on 15 August 1947.

5.2 Social Justice & Constitution of India

After obtaining independence, making provisions in the constitution for establishing 'social justice' was one of the important priorities for constitution makers. Dr. Rajendra Prasad and Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar considered social justice necessary for the establishment of future Indian philanthropic democracy. The constitution of India embraces the goal of achieving social equality in express terms. The Preamble of the Constitution has used the terms like "Socialist", "Social and Economic Justice", "Equality". It indicates that the state would extensively involve itself in social welfare of people, and would try to establish an egalitarian society. Our constitution is not only moderate but it is also based on the concept of social justice. Various provisions have been made in the Constitution to fulfill this objective. The right to equality was included in the fundamental rights because the constitution makers believed that it was not possible to improve the condition of the oppressed sections of society without right to equality. Accordingly, in order to improve their position and to protect interests of the deprived sections of the society, reservation for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes has also been provided in government jobs and in the legislature. It is also provided in the constitution that the state may make any special provision for women and children. Special provisions may be made for the advancements of any socially or educationally backward class or scheduled castes or scheduled tribes. It was felt that for true democracy equality alone was not enough and justice was also necessary because equality and freedom without justice were of no use for the oppressed sections of the society. Under Indian Constitution the use of social justice is accepted in wider sense which includes both social and economic justice both. Article 38(State to secure a social order for the promotion of welfare of the people) of Part IV of the Constitution mentions that (1) The State shall strive to promote the welfare of the people by securing and protecting as effectively as it may a social order in which justice, social, economic and political, shall inform all the institutions of the national life. (2) The State shall, in particular, strive to minimise the inequalities in income, and endeavour to eliminate inequalities in status, facilities and opportunities, not only amongst individuals but also amongst groups of people residing in different areas or engaged in different vocations.

5.3 Nature of Social Justice

Social Justice means that there should not be any distinction from one citizen to another on the basis of social status and every individual has access to full opportunities for development. The concept of social justice emphasizes that no person should be exploited in any form and its personality should be considered as a sacred and dignified social entity and not merely a means for the accomplishment of any goal. In the system based on social justice, it is expected that there must prevail all necessary conditions for the smooth and cultured life and the political power of the society must strive to establish an equal society through its legislative and executive programs.

The meaning of social justice is that there should be no discrimination among the people on the basis of caste, varna, sex, race, place of birth. In the historical evolution of society, on the above said bases discrimination grew between person to person, which led to inequality and injustice in society. Therefore social inequality prevailed as a social reality. To establish social justice, the state has to adopt 'Differential Justice' which demands 'Equality Among Equals and Unequal Treatment with Unequals'. State provides safeguards to the marginalised communities. Thus 'Protective Discrimanation' is must for social justice. The constitution of India also establishes this notion.

In the Indian Constitution, the happiness of

social justice has been accepted in many ways. Various remedies for achieving social justice have been explained in **Part 3** of the Constitution (Fundamental Rights) and **Part-4** (Directive Principles of State Policy). **Article 14** of the Constitution of India provides for equality before the law or equal protection within the territory of India. The State shall not deny to any person equality before the law or equal protection of law within the territory of India. **Article 15** of the Constitution provides that no citizen shall be subjected to discrimination in matters of rights, privileges and immunities pertaining to him. The State shall not discriminate against any citizen on grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex, and place of birth or any of them. **Article 16** deals with the equality of opportunity in matters of public employment. **Article 17** of the constitution abolishes the practice of untouchability. Under **Article 23(1)** Traffic in human beings and begar and other similar forms of forced labour are prohibited and any contravention of this provision shall be an offence punishable in accordance with law. Article 24 mandates that No child below age of 14 years shall be employed to work in any factory or mine or engaged in any other hazardous employment. Both Article29 and Articles 30 (Cultural & Educational Rights) guarantee certain right to the minorities. **Article 29** protects the interests of the minorities by making a provision that any citizen /section of citizens having a distinct language, script or culture have the right to conserve the same. **Article 29** mandates that no discrimination would be done on the ground of religion, race, caste, language or any of them. **Article 30** mandates that all minorities, whether based on religion or language, shall have the right to establish and administer educational institutions of their choice. These are also the steps of social justice. The constitution has accepted the right of citizens to get work, education and public assistance in some states. **Article 41** of the Constitution of India deals with right to work, to education and to public assistance in certain cases. The State shall, within the limits of its economic capacity and development, make effective provision for securing the right to work, to education and to public assistance in cases of unemployment, old age, sickness and disablement, and in other cases of undeserved want. **Article 42** of the Constitution provides for just and humane conditions of work and maternity relief The State shall make provision for securing just and humane conditions of work and for maternity relief. **Article 43** (Living wage, etc, for workers)provides that -the State shall endeavour to secure, by suitable legislation or economic organisation or in any other way, to all workers, agricultural, industrial or otherwise, work, a living wage, conditions of work ensuring a decent standard of life and full enjoyment of leisure and social and cultural opportunities and, in particular, the State shall endeavour to promote cottage industries on an individual or co operative basis in rural areas. **Article 44(Uniform civil code for Citizens)** provides that the state shall endeavour to secure for the citizens a **uniform civil code** throughout the territory of India. **Article 45** provides for free and compulsory education for children. The State shall endeavour to provide, within a period of ten years from the commencement of this Constitution, for free and compulsory education for all children until they complete the age of fourteen years. **Article 47** of the constitution of **India,** deals with Duty of the State to raise the level of nutrition and the standard of living and to improve public health. Another important step in establishing social justice is the Article 21(A). The Constitution (Eighty-sixth Amendment) Act, 2002 inserted Article 21-A in the Constitution of India to provide free and compulsory education of all children in the age group of six to fourteen years as a Fundamental Right in such a manner as the State may, by law, determine. The Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education (RTE) Act, 2009, which represents the consequential legislation envisaged under Article 21-A, means that every child has a right to full time elementary education of satisfactory and equitable quality in a formal school which satisfies certain essential norms and standards. Article 21-A was enacted by Parliament on August 4, 2009 and came into force on 1 April

2010.

The most important thing of the concept of social justice is that it works for social upliftment of the disadvantaged class. In reality, the principle of social justice will be only attained after all kind of discrimination is over from the society and the polity. Social polarization and the politics of caste based vote bank are totally opposite to the fundamental principles of social justice. Social justice cannot be established only by providing reservation to the socially backward class only. Continuous and meaningful efforts towards mental and educational development of this class can only keep them free from narrow social activities. Therefore, social uplift and mental development of the disadvantaged sections is essential for social justice.

5.4 Economic Justice

It is not possible to establish complete economic justice and economic equality in any society. Economic justice also does not mean to end economic inequality completely and bring all the people on the same level economically. Since economic equilibrium is not practically possible, the basic goal of economic justice is to reduce economic inequality in a particular society. Economic justice is a component of social justice. . Functionally, "justice" is a set of universal principles which guide people in judging what is right and what is wrong, no matter what culture and society they live in. It's a set of moral principles for building economic institutions, the ultimate goal of which is to create an opportunity for each person to create a sufficient material foundation upon which to have a dignified, productive, and creative life beyond economics. The ultimate purpose of economic justice is to elevate the dignity and sovereignty of all the human beings and to alleviate economic inequality and disparity which may lead to social inequality. Economic justice, which touches the individual person as well as the social order, encompasses the moral principles which guide us in designing our economic institutions. These institutions determine how each person earns a living, enters into contracts, exchanges goods and services with others and otherwise produces an independent material foundation for his or her economic sustenance. The ultimate purpose of economic justice is to free each person to engage creatively in the unlimited work beyond economics, that of the mind and the spirit. Historically, elements of social and economic injustice have existed in every era and every region. Marx on justice is quite uncommon. Marx's view of history, which came to be called materialism, said that, there have always existed two separate classes in society according to the economic condition of the people. The first one represents the rich class which usually exploits the second class which is formed of the poor or the oppressed people. These two classes are always at war as the exploiting class and the exploited class and economic justice cannot be established in the society without the end of one class. He conceived human history as a history of class conflicts and proposed a classless society, where the conflicts would be ultimately resolved. However, democratic socialists and social democrats reject the idea that socialism can be accomplished only through class conflict and a proletarian revolution. Just like other countries of the world, the economic condition of the people in India is also not equal and therefore, establishing economic justice is an important goal of Indian government. Due to rising economic inequality in different states of India, the problems like Naxalism, corruption, criminalization of politics, smuggling and terrorism have developed. These problems pose great are challenge to India's unity and integrity and therefore economic justice is a mandatory condition for social and political justice.

5.5 Meaning of Economic Justice

The meaning of economic justice is that, there must not be any discrimination on the basis of wealth and property and no economic wall is erected between the poor and wealthy. In ordinary words, economic justice means justice in the economic field. Money and property have always been an important place in human society and played an important role in achieving higher status and

acquiring power in society. Every person tries to increase wealth and property. The economic justice therefore stresses upon equal and even distribution of economic power and resources (wealth) in any state or society. Economic injustice or economic inequality prevails when equitable distribution of economic resources, wealth and assets is not done. The economic justice is a condition in which every person of society can live a dignified life. In other words, economic justice implies that the minimum requirements of all the people in society are fulfilled. It seeks to establish such conditions that no one becomes so poor or financially weak that he may lose his own existence and dignity. Economic justice is a component of social justice. It's a set of moral principles for building economic institutions, the ultimate goal of which is to create an opportunity for each person to create a sufficient material foundation upon which to have a dignified, productive, and creative life beyond economics. Social and economic democracy is the foundation on which political democracy would be a way of life in the Indian polity. In present era a social welfare state is the need of hour and no state can become a welfare state unless and until it provides socio, economic and political justice to its subjects.

Pt Nehru said that-"Democracy is of no value to a person who is starving."

Dr. S.Radhakrishnan once said that- "Poor people, who wander about, find no work, get no wages and starve whose lives are a continual round of sore affliction and pinching poverty, cannot be proud of the Constitution or its law."

US President Franklin D. Roosevelt also said that-"True individual freedom cannot exist without economic security and independence."

5.6 Economic Justice and Indian Constitution

In India, many provisions have been made in the Constitution to make the concept of economic justice as successful in the practice. Social and economic democracy is the foundation on which political democracy would be a way of life in the Indian polity. The expression 'economic justice' envisaged in the preamble of the Indian Constitution denotes the determination of India in bringing socio-economic revolution. Article 39 (b) and (c) are also very significant constitutional provisions in relation to economic justice as they affect the entire economic system of India. They related to distribution of ownership and control of material resources of the community. These articles are characters of the social economic liberties of the people of India. Article 16 gives the guarantee of equality of opportunity in matters of public employment. Article 16(1) & 16(2) have laid down a general rule that there shall be equal opportunity for all citizens and thus emphasizes on universality of Indian Citizenship. However, further section of Article 16 provides the exceptions. Article 16(3) reads as follows: Nothing in this article shall prevent Parliament from making any law prescribing, in regard to a class or classes of employment or appointment to an office [under the Government of, or any local or other authority within, a State or Union territory, any requirement as to residence within that State or Union territory] prior to such employment or appointment. As per this article residence qualifications may be made necessary in the case of appointments under the state for particular positions, thus making the domicile provisions stronger, however, the power is not vested in the states but in Parliament to prescribe the requirement as to residence in the state. This emphasizes on making the qualifying test uniform throughout the country. Article 19 (1) (g) of the Constitution provides that all citizens have the right to to practice any profession, or to carry on any occupation, trade or business. There are adequate provisions for economic justice under the Directive Principles of State policy. Under Article 39 certain principles of policy to be followed by the State: The State shall, in particular, direct its policy towards securing

(a) that the citizens, men and women equally, have the right to an adequate means to livelihood;

(b) that the ownership and control of the material resources of the community are so distributed as best to sub serve the common good;

(c) that the operation of the economic system does not result in the concentration of wealth and means of production to the common detriment;

(d) that there is equal pay for equal work for both men and women;

(e) that the health and strength of workers, men and women, and the tender age of children are not abused and that citizens are not forced by economic necessity to enter avocations unsuited to their age or strength;

(f) that children are given opportunities and facilities to develop in a healthy manner and in conditions of freedom and dignity and that childhood and youth are protected against exploitation and against moral and material abandonment. After independence, India launched its First FYP in 1951, under socialist influence of first Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru. Five Year Plans were efforts towards establishing economic justice. The process began with setting up of Planning Commission in March 1950 in pursuance of declared objectives of the Government to promote a rapid rise in 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. The socialist patterns of welfare state and mixed economy were followed in making economic policies in the economic sector. Economic inequality can be reduced by adopting the middle path to achieve national goals. The *directive principles of state policy* enshrined in Indian Constitution (Article 36 to 51 mentioned in Part IV) fulfill the purpose of a welfare state and also to ensure a new social and economic system attested with justice. Welfare state means a nation where the government bodies take care of the needs of the citizens. These principles are in the form of instructions to the center and state government. Unlike the fundamental rights, these principles are not justifiable. That is, the state is not legally bound to abide by these instructions and a person cannot move to any legal body to make them do so.

The directive principles of state policy are incorporated in some other constitutions around the world too. This idea was taken into our constitution from the *Irish constitution*. The Irish took it from the *Spanish constitution*. Article 39 provides for equal justice and unencumbered legal aid so that the government has the duty to keep its party in court during the trial for which he is poor or for some reason that he has provided the lawyer on government expenditure. The provisions of Article 39 (a) and 39 (b) are also significantly related to economic justice. Both of these paragraphs are also significant in that if necessary for their attainment can limit even the fundamental rights. With the objective of establishing economic justice, the *Jagirdari system* and *Privy purses* of the former rulers of *princely states* were also abolished in India.

5.7 Essential Arrangements for the Establishment of Economic Justice in India

In the last 70 years, since India getting independent in 1947, the condition of poor has certainly improved in India, but the gap between the rich and the poor keeps widening. Nexus between the corrupt politicians, bureaucrats and criminals have further widened the economic inequality in India, gap between the rich and poor is constantly getting deeper. Government of India has to make the following concrete and impactful arrangements to reduce economic inequality.

1. Remove economic inequality from the society.
2. Ban the right of unlimited property.
3. Ensure financial security by providing employment to every citizen.
4. Proper distribution of Wealth.

5. Viable policy formulation and implementation of new schemes for the welfare of the poor.
6. Effective establishment of tax system and improvement in tax system.
7. Providing reservation on economic basis without giving reservation on political basis.

5.8 The Situation of Economic Justice

India has become the fastest growing country of the world today. India's growth rate in fiscal year 2015-16 was 7.6 percent, which is ahead of China's 6.7 percent growth rate. Due to concrete decisions like GST and demonetization taken by India's Prime Minister Modi in recent years can help India achieve 8-9 per cent growth rate in the coming years. Although for the time being growth rate may seem to falter but in the long run it will prove to be very helpful in saving the country from the clutches of poverty. Despite the good growth rate, problems stemmed due to economic inequality in the country cannot be ignored. Economic justice can be established in the true sense only if the proper benefit of economic development reaches all sections equally. It is noteworthy that in spite of the high growth rate, the rich are getting richer but the poor are still poor. The real benefit of development is just confined only to the cities. The villages of India where approximately 65 percent population lives are still struggling with gruesome barrenness and shortcomings. So far the internet and technology have not spread to the desired level in the villages and this phenomenon known as the digital divide has divided the villages and cities. In India, the manufacturing and production sectors which were lagging far behind other countries.

Women Reservation

Traditionally, Indian women of the countryside have remained confined within the periphery of their house for years. In this fast era of globalization, where women are working together with men in social, economic and political areas in the western and eastern regions, Indian women have not been able to develop and use their full capacities openly for social and religious reasons. Indian male dominant mindset has not given woman ample opportunities for all-round development of her personality. Women's empowerment in India is heavily dependent on many different variables that include geographical location (urban/rural), educational status, social status (caste and class), and age. Policies on women's empowerment exist at the national, state, and local (Panchayat) levels in many sectors, including health, education, economic opportunities, gender-based violence, and political participation. However, there are significant gaps between policy advancements and actual practice at the community level. In the last 70 years, there has been remarkable progress in the field of women education in India, but Indian women have not yet got enough opportunities to get employment, to do business in industries and also to work in political sectors. Unless the socio-economic and political situation of Indian women equals with men, neither the real progress of the nation nor the progress of women is possible. In such a situation, it becomes necessary that special facilities are provided to them in all fields at par with men to bring them to the same level with men in power and strength. Currently, government jobs are reserved for women in many states. They have also been given jobs in the Army, Air Force and Navy through Short Service Commission. In other fields also their participation is rapidly growing. However, their representation is very small as compared to men.

5.9 Reservation of Women in Panchayati Raj Institutions

To ensure proper development and to increase participation of women in the activities of local self-government, 1/3 posts in *Panchayati Raj Institutions* have been reserved for women in all categories by 73rd and 74th constitutional amendment of Indian Constitution. This provision has not only increased the participation of women in Panchayati Raj Institutions, but has also helped in social and political empowerment of women. They now have an active role to play in the development work through Panchayati Raj Institutions. Most

women elected representatives have actively participated in the activities of Gram Sabha and Panchayat. As a result of the reservation, women's participation in Panchayati Raj institutions in India has crossed the figure of 42.3 percent. The Constitution has provided for reservation of not less than one third seats and offices of Chairpersons of Panchayati Raj Institutions (PRIs) for women. As such, the Elected Women Representatives (EWRs) are not mere proxy for male relatives but statutorily empowered to hold seats and offices in PRIs. Reservation of women in Panchayati Raj Institutions

5.10 Demand for Women Reservation in Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha and Assemblies

India's economic liberalization and rapid growth over the past two decades have helped expose people to more liberal views about women. As a result, more women are stepping out of traditional roles. Female doctors, lawyers, police officers and bureaucrats are common and are now everyday sight in cities. Yet women make up only twenty-two per cent of the work force and though seventy-nine per cent of rural women work in agriculture and more than ninety per cent are in the informal sector with little social protection or land ownership. In India, women are so deeply engrossed in family affairs and burdened with such heavy domestic responsibilities that in spite of their capabilities, education and aptitude, most of them are unable to enter into Government services on time. Women have only marginal representation in services connected with the affairs of the Union. They are capable of efficiently carrying out various responsibilities connected with the assignments. It is welcome step that in Rajasthan, Gujarat, Bihar and Madhya Pradesh thirty three percent posts are reserved for females in all Government services. This will help end gender bias and prove to be a great leap towards women empowerment. In order to create a level playing field for all its citizens, women may be provided with preferential precedence and reservation in Government services is expected to considerably increase opportunity for women. In a bid to boost women's empowerment it is proposed that women get due representation in Government services, it is necessary to reserve thirty-three per cent of all post and services under the Central Government, including public sector undertakings and enterprises; for women by providing them relaxation in matters of age limit, requisite educational qualifications, experience and other conditions of eligibility.

The Need for Reservation

The solid foundation of reservation for women is that till now women have not been to properly develop themselves successful in all walks of life for social reasons because all the roads of development of women were blocked by trivial man-head mentality. It is necessary for the smooth execution and development of democracy that the equitable participation of both men and women in the process of uninterrupted construction should be ensured so that the balance of the structure of the society can be maintained properly. Neither the goal of equality can be achieved without the strong participation of women in all spheres, nor can the peace in the world be achieved. Strong participation of women for all-round development is indispensable. Reservation for women is necessary to overcome all social constraints and obstacles and also to enable them to make a meaningful contribution to politics and society. Reservation safeguards their social, economic and political rights. Increasing women's participation by reservation in Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha is a positive step for Indian democracy, which will further strengthen the process of democratization of India. In this regard, the statement of Article 181 of the Fourth World Women's Conference, the Declaration of Beijing, is remarkable. This article states that it is necessary for the smooth execution and development of democracy that the equitable participation of both men and women in the process of uninterrupted construction should be ensured so that the balance of the structure of the society can be maintained properly. Neither the goal of equality nor the peace

can be achieved without the strong participation of women in all spheres, in the world. Strong participation of women for all-round development is indispensable.

India's economic liberalization and rapid growth over the past two decades have helped expose people to more liberal views about women. As a result, more women are stepping out of traditional roles. Female doctors, lawyers, police officers and bureaucrats are common and are now everyday sight in cities. Yet women make up only twenty-two per cent of the work force and though seventy-nine per cent of rural women work in agriculture and more than ninety per cent are in the informal sector with little social protection or land ownership. In the first session of the centenary Lok Sabha on June 4, 2009, the then President Pratibha Patil announced in a joint meeting of the two houses that the government will take steps within 100 days in the legislative assemblies and legislation to pass the Women's Reservation bill very early in the day. President Pratibha Patil actually put forward the government's vision for women reservation. According to the President, women have been deprived of many opportunities due to class, caste and their being female. In India, women are so deeply engrossed in family affairs and burdened with such heavy domestic responsibilities that in spite of their capabilities, education and aptitude, most of them are unable to enter into Government services on time. Women have only marginal representation in services connected with the affairs of the Union. They are capable of efficiently carrying out various responsibilities connected with the assignments. It is welcome step that in most of the states thirty three posts are reserved for females in all Government services. This will help end gender bias and prove to be a great leap towards women empowerment. In order to create a level playing field for all its citizens, women may be provided with preferential precedence and reservation in Government services is expected to considerably increase opportunity for women. In a bid to boost women's empowerment it is proposed that women get due representation in Government services, it is necessary to reserve thirty-three per cent of all post and services under the Central Government, including public sector undertakings and enterprises; for women by providing them relaxation in matters of age limit, requisite educational qualifications, experience and other conditions of eligibility.

5.11 A Brief History of the Women's Reservation Bill

1. **1996 -** The Women's Reservation Bill was introduced by the Deve Gowda government in 1996 as the 81st Constitutional Amendment
2. **1998 -** The Women's Reservation Bill as the 84th Constitutional Bill was introduced by the National Democratic Alliance (NDA) under the leadership of Atal Bihari Vajpayee.
3. **1999 -** The bill was again introduced by the National Democratic Alliance (NDA)
4. **2002 -** Women's Reservation Bill could not be passed in the House.
5. **2003 -** Second consecutive presentation of the Women's Reservation Bill.
6. **2008 -** The United Progressive Alliance (UPA) government, again put up the women's reservation bill in the form of a 108th constitutional amendment to save it from being time barred.
7. **2010 -** The Cabinet approved the proposal of the Women's Reservation Bill in the Rajya Sabha. After a long battle, the Bill was passed by the Rajya Sabha on February 25, 2010 amidst stiff resistance from some political parties. Then it was forwarded to the Lok Sabha to get it passed there but the bill is still pending and has also become time barred.
8. With the approval of the Rajya Sabha and the Lok Sabha to pass this bill, it is also necessary to have the bill passed by half the states of India. Only then can it be sent to the President

for final approval. But unfortunately, this bill has been hanged for reasons of selfishness, political dogma, and demand for arrangement of class reservation in this bill etc. for various political parties.

9. **2016 -** In November 2016, the demand for women reservation has been revived in the Parliament. But no proposal has been made so far.

The Women's Reservation Bill is one of the longest pending legislations in the Indian Parliament. The Bill seeks to reserve 33.33 per cent seats in the Lok Sabha or the Lower House of Indian Parliament and in the State Legislative Assemblies for women, in accordance with the 73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendments which reserved the same percentage of seats for women in rural and urban local bodies respectively. The Bill has been introduced in the Indian Parliament several times since its initial launch in 1996, but however the status of the bill remains undecided primarily due to lack of political consensus. Due to the vested interests of various political outfits the Women's Reservation Bill could not be passed in the lower house, in 2010 but its demand has become more intense at present. It is imperative for the overall development of India that half the population of the country should get equal participation in not only the parliament but also in the legislative assemblies. It enables traditional women to develop and make full contribution to the development of the country.

Important Points

- Provisions as regards the concept of social and economic justice are given in Part 4 of the Indian Constitution.
- Traditional Indian society was classified into four classes- Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaishya and Shudra and there was no further justification for such classification.
- In society many people have to face social and economic disparities on caste basis.
- Article 16 (4) of the Indian Constitution provides for reservation for the strengthening of social justice.
- Equality of opportunities is an effective step to establish economic justice.
- To ensure equal opportunities in government jobs and legislatures, the Women's Reservation Bill is necessary.
- The Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education Act or Right to Education Act (RTE), is an Act of the Parliament of India enacted on 4 August 2009and which came into effect on 1 April 2010 (It describes the modalities of the importance of free and compulsory education for children between 6 and 14 in India under Article 21A of the Indian Constitution).

Exercise

Multiple Choice Questions

1. In which part of the constitution, the provisions as regards social and economic justice have been given?

   (A) Part I (B) Part II

   (C) Part III (D)Part IV ( )

2. Which of these statements does not match the concept of social justice?

   (A) It emphasizes freedom, equality and justice.

   (B) It nourishes human rights.

   (C) It promotes caste discrimination.

   (D) It is based on the concept of equality ( )

3. What specific provisions have been made in the Constitution for the upliftment of people who were traditionally exploited and socially marginalized?

   (A) Arrangement of reservation

   (B) Accommodation to all

   (C) Panchayati Raj System

   (D) None of these ( )

4. Which Article of Indian Constitution provides equality of opportunity?

(A) Article 15 (B) Article 16

(C) Article 20 (D) Articles 32 ( )

5. From which date The Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education Act became effective -

(A) January 26, 1950

(B) August 4, 2009

(C) April 1, 2010

(D April 15, 2015 ( )

6. 'Democracy is of no value to a person who is starving.' Who said this statement?

(A) Bisank (B) Pt. Nehru

(C) Lohiya (D) Amartya Sen ( )

7. Which Constitutional Amendment Act relating to the women's reservation is pending in Parliament?

(A) 108th (B) 118th

(C) 43rd (D)74th ( )

Very Short Answer Type Questions

1. Write the names of two social reformers who have favored social justice.
2. What is the main cause of war or revolution?
3. What were the four *Varnas* of Indian social order?
4. How many classes are found in the society on the basis of economic condition? Write down the name.
5. Who was the first woman president of India?
6. How many posts are reserved for women in Panchayati Raj institutions?

Short Answer Type Questions -

1. Explain the meaning of social justice.
2. Comment on the concept of economic justice.
3. Why is reservation based on the caste provided in India?
4. What is the main reason of women reservation bill not getting passed in Parliament?

Essay Type Questions -

1. "The concept of social justice is possible only in the equitable society."

   Do you agree? Explain the whole concept.
2. As a welfare state, review the provisions of the Indian Constitution which favors establishment of economic justice.
3. Write an article on status and direction of Women's Reservation.

Answers to Multiple Choice Questions-

1. D 2. C 3. A 4. B
5. B 6. B 7. A

SECTION-B

GOVERNANCE AND DEMOCRACY IN INDIA

Unit-I

Constitution of India

1. Salient Features of Indian Constitution

"I feel that the constitution is workable; it is flexible and it is strong enough to hold the country together both in peace and war time. Indeed, if I may say so, if things go wrong under the new constitution, the reason will not be that we had a bad constitution. What we will have to say is that Man was vile."

-Dr. B.R. Ambedkar

The Constitution and political system of any country reflect a consolidated philosophy of beliefs, basic eternal values and principles of that country. In fact, the Constitution defines all aspects of the political system that a country has and more importantly, it reflects certain values that form the core of that political system. These values guide not only the government, but also the citizens and the society at large. Constitution includes in it fundamental and entrenched rules governing the conduct of an organization or nation state, and establishing its concept, character, and structure. It is usually a document, general in nature and embodying the aspirations and values of the people of a country. The constitution makers of India have built the Constitution by keeping in mind the historical, social, religious and political conditions of our country. Their goal was to establish a philanthropic state, to fulfill the objectives of the constitution as enshrined in the ideals of the preamble of the Constitution. The Constitution is the result of the historical experiences and the circumstances of our country. The framers brought to their deliberations a coherent philosophy about the ends and means of the government. This philosophy, sometimes implicit and sometimes made explicit, guided their deliberations and informed the choices they made among competing solutions to pressing problems. Our constitution has its own specificities which separate it from other constitutions of the world. This is proof of the wisdom and vision of the Constitution makers that they have incorporated the best features of the important constitutions of the world. They have made their choices to make desired changes as per the requirements of Indian conditions to make it a vibrant constitution. The Constitution of India is the supreme law of India. It lays down the framework defining fundamental political principles, establishes the structure, procedures, powers and duties of government institutions and sets out fundamental rights, directive principles and the duties of citizens. It directs the government system to actively work and administer the system. It is the longest written legal document of any sovereign country. It was prepared by a Constituent Assembly in 02 years 11 months and 18 days. Dr. B R. Ambedkar, the chairman of the Drafting

Committee, is widely considered to be its chief architect. The Preamble indicates the basic Structure of the Constitution which cannot be changed in any case or situation. Our Constitution is an embodiment of those ideals, which guarantees freedom, equality and the justice to all its citizens and is fully committed to democracy. The deliberations of the Indian Constitution are basically an extension of the principles and norms interpreted in its Preamble. It imparts constitutional supremacy and not parliamentary supremacy, as it is not created by the Parliament but, by a constituent assembly, and adopted by its people, with a declaration in its preamble. Parliament cannot override the constitution. The salient features of the Indian Constitution are basically an extension of the principles and ideals interpreted in its preamble. The Constitution of India is a unique document. It is the largest written liberal democratic constitution of the world. It provides for a mixture of Federalism and Unitarianism. It is fusion of flexibility and rigidity. The Republic of India is governed in terms of the Constitution of India which was adopted by the Constituent Assembly on 26th November, 1949 and came into force on 26th January, 1950. Since then, it has continued its journey, successfully guiding the path and progress of India.

1.1 Salient Features of Indian Constitution-

1. Sovereign Constitution-

The Constitution of India is based on the principle of popular sovereignty i.e. it is made by the people of India. According to preamble, the constitution of India has been pursuance of the solemn resolution of the people of India to constitute India into a ***'Sovereign Democratic Republic'***, and to secure well defined objects set forth in the preamble. Sovereignty denotes supreme and ultimate power. Being sovereign means having complete political freedom and being the supreme authority. It implies that India is internally all powerful and externally free. It is free to determine for itself without any external interference (either by any country or individual) and nobody is there within to challenge its authority. The final authority lies with the people. The people of India adopted, enacted and spirited this Constitution with their own will. It has not been imposed by any other authority.

2. Preamble-

The fundamental objectives and goals of the Indian Constitution are embodied in the Preamble of the Constitution. Dr. K.M. Munshi called it a political horoscope. A horoscope is used to forecast a person's future. Similarly, the Preamble states the objectives of the Constitution. It tells about the goals that have to be attained in the future. It states that India should be a sovereign, socialist, secular, democratic republic. It suggests that the ideals of justice, liberty, equality, and fraternity should be achieved. Given its importance, it is also called the soul of the Constitution. At the beginning of the preamble, 'We the people of India' indicates that the final sovereign power is rooted in the people of India. This is the main feature of the Constitution.

3. World's Largest Constitution-

The Constitution of USA has 7Articles, the Constitution of Canada has 147 Articles, the Constitution of Australia has 128 Articles and the Constitution of South Africa has 153 Articles. Our constitution is a broad and detailed constitution in the world which consists of 395 Articles divided into 22 Parts with 12 Schedules and 5 Appendices. Our federation is a ***'Union of States'***, in which the relations between the Centre and the states have been described in a detailed manner. One of its chapters is exclusively dedicated to cover the directive principles of the state policy. This is its unique feature and no other country of the world has attempted to include such principles in their constitutions. As of January 2018, there have been 123 Amendment Bills and 101 Amendment acts to the Constitution of India since it was first enacted in 1950. This continuous process of amendments has made our constitution vast. On the vastness of the Indian constitution, Hari Vishnu Kamath has said that-*"We are proud of the fact that our constitution is the largest constitution in the world."*

4. Written and enacted Constitution-

It is a wholly written document which incorporates the constitutional law of India and was prepared by the Constituent Assembly of India. It took the Constituent Assembly 2 years, 11 months and 18 days to write and enact the Constitution. It was fully debated and duly enacted by the Constitution Assembly of India. Despite its having been a detailed constitution, it has full scope for amendment and change as per the conditions and requirements of the country. It has been amended 101 times till date.

5. Parliamentary form of Government-

According to Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, *"The evaluation of the responsibility of governance in the parliamentary system is not only done after a certain time, but it is also done on daily basis."*

The Constitution of India provides for a parliamentary system of government at the Centre as well as in every state of the Union. It is based on the ***Westminster model*** of democracy practiced and planted by the British in the Indian political system. It is the system of government in which there exists an intimate relationship between the executive and the legislative departments, and the stability and efficacy of the executive department depend on the legislature. In this system executive group is collectively responsible for executive management. The President of India is a constitutional head of the state and enjoys the dignity and prestige linked to his position. The actual powers are used by the Cabinet with prime minister as its head. The Union Council of Ministers headed by the Prime Minister is the real executive. Ministers are essentially the members of the Union Parliament. For all its policies and decisions the Council of Ministers is collectively responsible before the Lok Sabha. The Lok Sabha can remove the Ministry by passing a vote of no-confidence. The Cabinet, in fact the Prime Minister has the power to get the Lok Sabha dissolved by the President. The Constitution of India provides for a parliamentary system of government at the Centre as well as in every state of the Union. In the states, the Governor is the constitutional head.

6. Fundamental Rights and Duties-

Fundamental Rights:

Part III (Articles 12-35) of the Constitution of India grants and guarantees Fundamental Rights to its citizens. Initially, 7 Fundamental Rights were granted by the framers of the constitution but after the deletion of the Right to Property from the list of Fundamental Rights (44th Amendment Act, 1979) their number has come down to six. The Six Fundamental Rights are:

i. ***Right to Equality:*** It provides for Equality before Law, End of Discrimination, Equality of Opportunity, and Abolition of untouchability and Abolition of Titles.

ii. ***Right to Freedom:*** It incorporates six fundamental freedoms -freedoms of speech and expression, freedom to form associations, freedom to assemble peaceably without arms, freedom to move freely in India, freedom of residence in any part, and freedom of adopting any profession or trade or occupation. It ensures personal freedom and protection in respect of conviction for certain offences. The Constitution lays down that the freedom of life and liberty cannot be limited or denied except in accordance with the procedure established by law. Citizens can seek refuge in the court when these rights are abrogated.

iii. ***Right against Exploitation:*** This Fundamental Right prohibits human trafficking (sale and purchase of human beings), forced labor (beggar) and employment of children in hazardous jobs and in factories.

iv. ***Right to Freedom of Religion:*** The grant of this right involves the freedom of conscience, religion and worship. Any person can follow any religion. It gives to all religions freedom to establish and maintain their religious institutions. No person can be compelled to pay any tax for the propagation of any religion. The state cannot levy a tax for any religion and constitution prohibits the imparting of religious instructions in schools and colleges.

v. ***Cultural and Educational Rights:*** Under this category the Constitution guarantees the rights of the minorities to maintain and develop their languages and cultures. It also confers upon them the right to establish, maintain and administer their educational institutions. Through the 86th Constitutional Amendment (December 2002) Act ,which was passed in Parliament in July 2009 and implemented on 1st April, 2010, the Right to Education (elementary) has been included in the constitution as the fundamental right. Now after Article 21, a new Article 21 (A) has been added, according to which it is the responsibility of the State to arrange for free and compulsory education to all the children between age of 06 to 14 years. Art. 22 guarantees protection against arbitrary arrest and detention.

vi. ***Right to Constitutional Remedies*** (Art. 32): This fundamental right is the soul of the entire Bill of Rights. It provides for the enforcement and protection of Fundamental Rights by the courts. It empowers the Supreme Court and High Courts to issue writs for the enforcement of these rights.

According to MC Chagla- "*provision of an independent court entrusted with the task of protecting the rights of the citizens in the Indian Constitution is an arrangement on which any civilized country can boast of."*

Fundamental Duties:

Ten Fundamental Duties were added in Part-IV of the Constitution under Article 51-A in the year 1976 through the 42nd Constitutional Amendment. However, whereas ***Fundamental Rights are justifiable***, the ***Fundamental Duties are non-justifiable.*** It means that the violation of fundamental duties, i.e. the non-performance of these duties by citizens is not punishable. The following ten duties have been listed in the Constitution of India which are as under:

(i) to abide by the Constitution and respect its ideals and the institutions, the National Flag, National Anthem; (ii) to cherish and follow the noble ideals which inspired our national struggle for freedom; (iii) to uphold and protect the sovereignty, unity and integrity of India; (iv) to defend the country and render national service when called upon to do; (v) to promote harmony and the spirit of common brotherhood amongst all the people of India and to renounce practices derogatory to the dignity of women; (vi) to value and preserve the rich heritage of our composite culture; (vii)to protect and improve the natural environments including forests, lakes, rivers and wildlife; (viii) to develop the scientific temper, humanism and the spirit of inquiry and reform; (ix) to safeguard public property and not to use violence; and (x) to serve towards excellence in all spheres of individual and collective activity. Besides above duties, a new duty has been added after the passage of Right to Education Act,2009. *"A parent or guardian has to provide opportunities for the education of his child/ward between the age of six and fourteen years."*

The Fundamental Duties are, however, not enforceable by the courts.

7. Directive Principles of State Policy-

Part IV of the Constitution lays down certain Directive Principles of State Policy, which though ***not justiciable,*** are ***'fundamental in governance of the country'***, and it is the duty of the State to apply these principles in making laws. These lay down that the State shall strive to promote the welfare of people by securing and protecting as effectively as it may, a social order, in which justice-social, economic and political-shall form in all institutions of national life. The State shall direct its policy in such a manner as to secure the right of all men and women to an adequate means of livelihood, equal pay for equal work and within limits of its economic capacity and development, to make effective provision for securing the right to work, education and to public assistance in the event of unemployment, old age, sickness and disablement or other cases of undeserved want. The State shall also endeavor to secure to workers a living wage,

humane conditions of work, a decent standard of life, and full involvement of workers in management of industries. In the economic sphere, the State is to direct its policy in such a manner as to secure distribution of ownership and control of material resources of community to serve the common good, and to ensure that operation of economic system does not result in concentration of wealth and means of production to common detriment.

8. Socialist state -

Although, the Constitution of India fully reflected the spirit of democratic socialism right from the beginning, but it was only in 1976 that the Preamble was amended under 42th Constitutional Amendment Act to include the word ***'Socialist'***. The term 'Socialist' was not used in the 'preamble' of the original constitution of India. It shows that our constitution is committed to secure social, economic and political justice for its entire people by ending all forms of exploitation and by securing equitable distribution of income, resources and wealth. This is to be secured by peaceful, constitutional and democratic means. It is now regarded as a prime feature of Indian state.

9. Adult franchise-

The Constitution of India establishes political equality in India through the method of ***universal adult franchise*** which functions on the basis of ***'one person one vote'***. In the constitution of our country, every citizen of the age of 18 or above is entitled to vote in the elections, irrespective of caste, sex, race, religion or status. Although in the original constitution this age limit was fixed at 21and above, but by the 61stConstitutional Amendment Act the age limit has been reduced from 21 years to 18 years.

10. Secular State-

The Article 25 states that every individual is "***equally entitled to freedom of conscience"*** and has the right ***"to profess, practice and propagate religion"*** of one's choice. Practicing religion or the act of propagating it should not, however, affect the ***"public order, morality and health."*** The Article does not put any restriction on the government when it comes to making any law to regulate ***"economic, financial, political or other secular"*** activities, which may be associated with religious practice. It is through several provisions that the Constitution of India upholds the spirit of secularism. The relevance of this legislation can be gauged only when one understands the importance of preserving the pluralistic ethos of the country and the idea of harmonious coexistence of different religions. With the 42nd Amendment of the Constitution of India enacted in 1976, the Preamble to the Constitution asserted that India is a ***'secular'*** state. However, neither India's constitution nor its laws define the relationship between religion and state. The laws implicitly require the state and its institutions to recognize and accept all religions, enforce parliamentary laws instead of religious laws, and respect pluralism. ***India does not have an official state religion. No citizen can be discriminated on the basis of religion.*** A secular state is neither religious nor irreligious, or anti-religious. Rather it is quite neutral in matters of religion. But in India, there is not a saperation between state and religion as in western model. The consitution in India authorises state for value based interference in religious matters to eradicate the social evils in various religions. Renowned political scientist Rajeev Bhargava has underline it as 'Dotrine of Principled Distance'.

11. Distinguished Document-

The constitution of India is an extraordinary document in itself. It is evidence of the intelligentsia, wisdom and vision of the constitution makers. Inclusion of fundamental values and the highest expectations of people in the constitution make it a unique document. South Africa while making its own constitution has used it as a paradigm or as an ideal. The sovereign, democratic and secular character of the polity, rule of law, independence of the judiciary, fundamental rights of citizens etc. are some of the essential features of the Constitution that have made it a distinguished document.

12. Remarkable Fusion of Unitary and Federal Elements-

The constitution of India has components of both federal and unitary constitution. Article 1 of the Constitution declares, that ***"India that is Bharat is a Union of States."*** The term ***'Union of State'*** shows that Indian Union is not the result of voluntary agreement among sovereign states, and that states of India do not enjoy the right to secede from the Union. The unitary nature of the Indian constitution can be stated through various facts. Many provisions of the Constitution make the Center stronger than the states. In case of a conflict between the two legislatures over a matter in the Concurrent List, the will of the Parliament prevails. The laws made by the State legislatures whether anterior to or posterior to the Union Laws give way to the latter and to the extent of the inconsistency are void. The exhaustive list of Union subjects and the prevalence of the will of the Parliament over the state legislature regarding the subjects in the concurrent list, reflects the tendency of making the Centre comparatively stronger. Moreover, this demarcation apart, the Parliament is empowered to make laws regarding any matter of any territory not included in a state list. It can also make laws with extra territorial operation. Moreover, residuary powers (vested in the center),emergency provisions, single citizenship, appointment of governor, All India Services, economic dependence of states on the center, single constitution (except the state of Jammu and Kashmir) and the right to reorganization of the states (except the state of Jammu and Kashmir) make center more powerful than the states. The state governments are ruled by the central government when it comes to the derivation of powers, the ***states do not have separate constitutions*** of their own. It is indeed difficult to put the Indian Constitution in the category of federations, even though it had all the main ingredients of a federation. It is, in fact, a new contrivance designed to meet the special requirements of Indian society. The framers of the Constitution have modified the true nature of Indian federalism by incorporating certain non-federal features in the Constitution as well. However, the states have been assigned autonomy within their area of jurisdiction and operation. This has lent support to the contention that the Indian Constitution is ***federal in form but unitary in spirit.*** Presently, Indian Union has 29 States and 7 Union Territories.

13. Independent Judiciary-

An independent judiciary is a backbone of any federation. The judiciary in India is independent and impartial. It is an integrated judiciary with the Supreme Court at the apex of the hierarchy. The High Court stands in its middle, and the lower courts are located at its bottom. Many provisions have been made in the Constitution of India to uphold the supremacy of the constitution, to protect the fundamental rights and also the democracy. The judges of Supreme and High Courts are appointed by the President of India and they can be ***removed by an impeachment*** in Parliament. The Supreme Court of India has the power of ***Judicial Review***. The power of judicial review has in itself the concept of separation of powers an essential component of the rule of law, which is a basic feature of the Indian Constitution. Every State action has to be tested on the anvil of rule of law and that exercise is performed, when occasion arises by the reason of a doubt raised in that behalf, by the courts. The power of Judicial Review is incorporated in Articles 226 and 227 of the Constitution in so far as the High Courts are concerned. In regard to the Supreme Court Articles 32 and 136 of the Constitution, the judiciary in India has come to control by judicial review every aspect of governmental and public functions. The Supreme Court of India can declare any law ***ultra-wires*** if it violates natural justice. They have the power to declare acts of legislatures and actions of the Executive ***ultra-vires*** if such acts or actions are found to be in conflict with the provisions of the constitution. To protect the fundamental rights of the citizens, writs such as **Habeas Corpus** and ***Quo Warranto*** etc. can be invoked. All these provisions are made with an aim to achieve judicial independence in India.

14. Combination of Rigidity & Flexibility-

Based upon the provisions made for its amendment, a constitution can be flexible or rigid or a mixture of both. A ***flexible*** Constitution is one that can be ***changed by ordinary lawmaking process*** and the one which requires a ***special procedure for amendmen***t is called ***rigid***. The Indian Constitution is a mixture of rigidity and flexibility. A constitution is required to be amended with the change in the requirements and the circumstances of any country. Article 368 of Constitution of India exclusively deals with the amendment of the Constitution. Since India is multilingual, multicultural and multiethnic, hence some amount of rigidity is necessary to maintain, the federation in a wholesome manner. Parliamentary system of government, rule of law and legislative procedure in India follow the lines of British constitution. The Preamble and the Supreme Court have been designed as per the U.S. model. Indian Constitution is a unique agreement of both the theory of fundamental law of the US constitution and the theory of Parliamentary sovereignty of the unwritten constitution of the UK. It has taken the element of rigidity from the constitution of the United States and the flexibility from the constitution of the UK. For amendment of ***federal provisions2/3rdmajorities*** in both houses of the parliament and ratification by ***at least half of the States*** is required. The procedure is hard and it is in the interest of the nation which is so vast and diverse. The constitution can be amended in three ways-

(i)***Amendment by simple majority of the parliament***-In some parts of the Constitution amendments are made by the simple majority of the two Houses of Parliament, such as admission or establishment of new states, formation of new states and alteration of areas, boundaries or names of existing states, abolition or creation of legislative councils in states, making the union territories, the salary of Members of Parliament etc.

(ii) Amendment by special majority of the parliament-The majority of the provisions in the Constitution need to be amended by a special majority of the Parliament, that is, a majority (that is, more than 50 per cent) of the total membership of each House and a majority of 2/3rd of the members of each House present and voting as mentioned in Article 368. The expression 'total membership' means the total number of members comprising the House irrespective of fact whether there are vacancies or absentees. The fundamental rights, directive principles of state policy, special provisions for SC/ST and all other provisions which are not covered by the first and third categories are amended by special majority of the parliament.

(iii) Amendment by special majority of the parliament and the ratification of half of the state legislatures-Those provisions of the Constitution which are related to the federal structure of the polity can be amended by ***a special majority*** of the ***Parliament*** and also with the ***consent of half of the state legislatures*** by ***a simple majority***. If one or some or all the remaining states take no action on the bill, it does not matter; the moment half of the states give their consent, the formality is completed. There is no time limit within which the states should give their consent to the bill. This complex procedure is adopted to amend the provisions related to election to the President and its manner; extent of the executive power of the Union and the states; Supreme Court and High Courts etc. These are examples of a rigid constitution.

Amendment procedures mentioned above are evident of the fact that constitution of India is a fine blend of rigidity and flexibility. In the words of **Prof.K.C Wheare**, *"the Constitution of India establishes a good balance between the rigid and flexible."*

15. Harmony between Judicial Review & Parliamentary Supremacy-

The Constitution of India has adapted a middle path between Judicial Supremacy (of United States) and Parliamentary Supremacy (of UK). In fact, both parliament and the judiciary should not exceed their limits as defined by the constitution of India, so that harmony can be maintained between the legislature and judiciary. At the same time, Judiciary is given

the power of declaring a law unconstitutional (***ultra vires***) if it is perceived to be going beyond the competence of the legislature as per distribution of powers enshrined in the Constitution of India. Our Constitutional forefathers have envisaged a close and harmonious relationship between highest Judiciary and the Parliament. In India, the constitutional supremacy was explicitly echoed in the Minerva Mills case whereby the Supreme Court held that *"government, legislature, executive and judiciary are all bound by the Constitution, and nobody is above or beyond the Constitution."* Every law made by the parliament is subject to interpretation by Supreme Court in the light of ideals and objectives of the constitution and if they go beyond or above that, they can be held null and void.

16. Advocate of World Peace-

Article 51 of the Indian Constitution (Part IV-Directive Principles of State Policy) is based on the ancient Indian philosophy of ***"Vasudhaiv Kutumbakam",*** which means that the entire world is but one family and the mankind its citizens. Each citizen of India, who owes allegiance to the Constitution, is individually (and with other citizens) duty-bound to make an earnest endeavor to promote the ideals of *Vasudhaiv Kutumbakam*. According to Article 51(***Promotion of international peace and security)***the State shall endeavor to (a) promote international peace and security; (b) maintain just and honorable relations between nations; (c) foster respect for international law and treaty obligations in the dealings of organized peoples with one another; and (d) encourage settlement of international disputes by arbitration. India neither interferes in any other country's territorial boundaries and internal affairs nor does it tolerate any other country's interference in its territorial boundaries. The Government of India has adopted the policy of ***Panchsheel*** and ***Non-Alignment*** according to this sentiment. Article 51 and ***Vasudhaiv Kutumbakam*** embody India's quest for world peace.

17. Emergency Provisions-

The part 18 of Indian constitution deals with the emergency provisions. According to ***Article 352***(***External aggression***)if the president is satisfied that a grave emergency exists whereby the security of India or any part of the territory of India is threatened by war or external aggression or armed rebellion, he may proclaim an emergency. This emergency may be with respect to whole or part of India. The Article 352 puts certain conditions -The proclamation or formal declaration of emergency can be revoked by further proclamation. The proclamation of a war emergency cannot be made by the president unless the Union cabinet gives him in written that such proclamation should be made. If a proclamation is ***NOT*** revoked subsequently, it should be laid before the parliament. The both houses of parliament must approve such proclamation within two months. If the parliament does not approve the proclamation, it will become ineffective. It may be that at the time of the proclamation, the house of people has been dissolved or its dissolution takes place within the period of two months after the proclamation. In these cases, the proclamation shall be laid before Rajya Sabha. If Rajya Sabha passes it, it must be approved by Lok Sabha ***within the 30 days of the new meeting of the Lok Sabha***. However, if Rajya Sabha itself does not pass the proclamation, the proclamation would cease to be valid.

According to ***Article 356*** (***Failure of constitutional machinery in the State***).If the president is satisfied on receipt of a report from the governor or otherwise that a situation has arisen in which the Government in a state cannot be carried in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution, he / she is empowered to proclaim an emergency. The result would be that: President may assume to himself all or any of the functions of the state or he may vest all or any of those functions in the Governor or any other such authority. President may declare that powers of the state legislatures shall be exercisable by the parliament. President may make any other incidental or consequential provisions

necessary to give effect to the object of proclamation. However, it must be noted here that President cannot assume to himself any of the powers vested in a High Court. Further, the proclamation would have to be approved by the Houses of the parliament in same manner as in case of a War Emergency. However, even if Parliament has approved the proclamation, it will normally cease to operate 6 months after the Parliamentary approval. The proclamation can be repeated if necessary so as to allow the period of emergency to continue for maximum of one year. Every such resolution approving the emergency has to be passed by each of the houses of Parliament by a majority of not less than two-thirds of the members present and voting. If the emergency proclamation authorizes Parliament to exercise the powers of the state legislature, it is open to parliament to adopt one or other two alternative courses. It may pass all legislative enactments for the state including financial legislations. But if the parliament does not find it convenient to do this all additional work, it may confer upon the President to delegate this power to any authority. Parliament is also empowered to authorize the president to sanction expenditure from the Consolidated Fund of the state. Any law made by any of the authorities mentioned above shall continue in force until repealed or altered by a competent legislative or other authority.

According to ***Article 360 (Financial Emergency)*** if the President is satisfied that a situation has arisen where by the financial stability or credit of the country or any part of it is threatened, he / she may declare a financial emergency. Proclamation in this case also has to be approved by the Parliament as in the case of two other cases of emergency. During the Financial emergency, the executive authority of the Union shall extend to giving of the directions to any state to observe such canons of financial propriety as may be specified in the direction or any other direction, the president may deem necessary for the purpose. Such directions may include those requiring the reduction of salaries and allowances of the Government servants and even those of the Judges of Supreme Court and High Courts. Financial emergency has never been proclaimed in India.

18. Single Citizenship-

Since the Constitution of India is federal there should have been dual citizenship in principle--first, citizenship of the Union and second, citizenship of the state. But the framers of Indian constitution thought that dual citizenship could be a hindrance to maintaining the unity of India, so they adopted the ideals of single citizenship in the constitution of India .The Indian constitution provides a single citizenship of the Union of India for all the people residing in different parts of the country and there is no separate citizenship for the states (Article 511).All citizens enjoy a common uniform citizenship. They are entitled to equal rights and freedoms, and equal protection of the state.

19. Ideal of Establishing Welfare State-

The basic principles of the Constitution of India reflect that the Constitution makers had visualized establishing India as the welfare state. One of the salient features of the Indian constitution is the effort to establish a welfare state. It is duty of the state to provide its citizens nutritious food, accommodation, clothing, education and health facilities, raise the level of life of the citizens and to establish economic equality. Planning has been adopted as an effective method to accomplish the goal of welfare state in India. The Central and State Governments are constantly trying to achieve the objectives given in the Constitution. The Preamble and the Directive Principles of State Policy make it amply clear our goal is welfare and socialist state through democratic means. The Preamble promises to secure to the Indian people Justice-social, economic and political. The Directive Principles are non-justifiable (cannot be enforced by a court of law); none the less they are regarded as fundamental in the governance of the country. Article 38 of the Constitution reads: "The state shall strive to promote the welfare the people by securing and protecting as effectively as it may, a social order in which justice-

social economic and political-shall pervade all institutions of national life." provides a broad framework for the establishment of the welfare state ideal. While Article 39(a) spells that all citizens, men and women equally, have the right to an adequate me of livelihood, Article 43 enjoins that the state shall endeavor to secure to all workers work, a living wage and conditions of work ensuring a decent standard of living. Provision of employment opportunities which is yet another objective of the welfare state is emphasized by Article 41 which directs the state for securing the right to work. Provision against insecurity is also incorporated in this Article which directs the state make effective provision for securing right to education, and to public assistance in case of unemployment, old age, sickness and disablement. Protection and special care of the weaker sections of the community is provided Article 46 which directs the state to promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people, and in particular, of the scheduled castes a the scheduled tribes, and to protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation. It provides for development of weaker and depressed sections of the society. It underlines the need of improving the conditions of women, Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes who have remained neglected for long. Our constitution is opposed to concentration of wealth and means of production. Workers should be involved in management and they should get fair wages. Children should not be exposed to hazards. All these provisions are expected to help in building a Welfare State.

20. Special Provisions for Welfare of Minority & Backward Classes-

In the Indian Constitution, special arrangements have been made to protect the religious, linguistic and cultural interests of minorities. Apart from this, special protection has been provided to citizens of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, by providing them job reservation in the government services, and reservation of seats in the central legislature, legislative assemblies and also in some other areas. Article 330 and 332 of the Constitution provide for reservations for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in Lok Sabha and Legislative Assemblies respectively. Today, out of 543 seats in India's parliament, 84 (15.47%) are reserved for SC and 47 (8.66%) for ST. Allocation of seats for Scheduled Castes and Tribes in the Lok Sabha are made on the basis of proportion of Scheduled Castes and Tribes in the State concerned to that of the total population. Initially, this reservation was meant for 10 years and was supposed to be discontinued after 25th January 1960, but by amending the Constitution its time limit has been further extended. Now on the basis of 95th Constitutional 2010, the reservation system has been extended up to 25th January 2020. No time limit has been fixed for reservation in government services for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in Article 335. In the same way, 27 percent reservation for Other Backward Classes has been provided in the Central Government Services with effect from September 1993.Reservation was first of all introduced keeping in view the inequitable distribution of posts in the administration between different castes and communities. The rulers of some of the then princely states, who were genuinely interested in the upliftment of disadvantaged sections of the society, took initiatives and introduced reservations in the administrative posts in favor of backward castes and communities in their State. Later by and large for the same purpose it was also introduced in India through constitutional provisions.

Preamble

Preamble is an introduction in the beginning of each constitution by which the basic objectives of the constitution are specified. Preamble is the window to the Constitution through which we can look at the whole Constitution. It sets out the goals, the values and the ideals for which our country stands. The Preamble of Indian Constitution is the most important part which incorporates together the Fundamental Rights and Directive Principles as

well as the aims and ideals of the constitution. The philosophy of the constitution is nothing but the values, ideals, aims, objectives etc. as the foundation on which it stands up. The objectives specified in the Preamble constitute the basic structure of our constitution, which cannot be amended in exercise of the power under Article 368 of the constitution. The preamble to the Constitution declares India to be a Sovereign Socialist Secular Democratic Republic and a welfare state committed to secure justice, liberty and equality for the people and for promoting fraternity, dignity of the individual and unity and integrity of the nation. The Preamble reveals the minds of the Indian Society though divergent in nature. It reflects the sustaining goals of the Indian polity and the ideals are sought to be achieved through the medium of the Constitution. The opening and last sentences of the preamble: "We, the people... adopt, enact and give to ourselves this Constitution" signifies the power is ultimately vested in the hands of the people.

Preamble of the Constitution of India reads as-

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 (*Margashirsha Shukla Saptami, Samvat 2006 Vikrami*), do HEREBY ADOPT, ENACT AND GIVE TO OURSELVES THIS CONSTITUTION.

The Forty-second amendment to the Constitution in 1976(3.1.77) incorporated terms such as ***'Socialist and Secular*** 'and ***'Unity and Integrity'*** of the nation in the preamble.

(A) *Declaratory part-*

- ***"We the people of India"*** - means it is the people of this country adopt and enact the constitution, a legal body for themselves. It underlines that the sovereignty ultimately lies with the people of India. On behalf of the people, the founding fathers prepared this document of Constitution. They are not themselves adopting and enacting but the people are the major body to frame the constitution. They are the representatives of the people and its people who are resolving to constitute India.

(B) *Objective Part-*

"Sovereign"-The people of India constitute India into sovereign nation. The term "Sovereign"- means free from any internal or outside control.This means that India is no more under the domination of any foreign country and any external force cannot influence its decisions. It is a free and independent country. It can acquire foreign territory and if necessary, cede a part of the territory in favor of a foreign state. There is no any limit or any restrictions on the people of India to frame the constitution for themselves.

- ***"Socialism"*** - The word socialist was not there in the Preamble of the Constitution in its original form. In 1976, the 42nd Amendment to the Constitution incorporated 'Socialist' and 'Secular', in the Preamble. The word 'Socialism' had been used in the context of economic planning. It signifies major role in the economy. It also means commitment to attain ideals like removal of inequalities, provision of minimum basic necessities to all, equal pay for equal work. Keeping this ideal in view the mixed economy was adopted to uplift the weaker and the backward sections of the society and to overcome economic inequality.
- ***"Secular"-*** The word "*Secular"* was also added by the 42nd Constitutional Amendment Act of 1976.This means that India gives special status to no religion. There is no such thing as a state religion of India. Further, Indian secularism

guarantees equal freedom to all religions. The Constitution grants the Right to Religious Freedom to all the citizens.

- ***"Democratic"*** - This implies that the Constitution of India provides for a democratic system. The authority of the government rests upon the sovereignty of the people. The people enjoy equal political rights. On the basis of these rights, the people freely participate in the process of politics. They are governed by their elected representatives who are liable to them. The Constitution assures everyone of social, economic and political justice.
- ***"Republic"*** - This means that the head of state in India is an elected representative of the people and India is not ruled by a monarch or a nominated head of state. The President of India is elected indirectly by the people and wields power for a fixed term of 5 years.

(C) Distributory Part-

1. Social, Economic and Political Justice -

- ***Social Justice*** - The framers of the Constitution has made this arrangement of justice very intelligently. They visualized that there cannot be economic justice and political justice without social justice. There had been discrimination in the Indian society on these grounds of religion, race, caste and sex etc. They have accordingly made provision of social justice in the constitution which means that all citizens get equal rights without any discrimination. The State shall not discriminate against any citizen on grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex, and place of birth or any of them.
- ***Economic justice*** - Article 39 of Indian Constitution (Directive Principles of State Policy) says that-The state should make such policies which : (a) Provide the men and women with equal opportunities to earn a livelihood.(b) Equally distribute the material resources among the societies for the greater good.(c) Reduces the concentration of wealth and the means of production. This can be done by implementing the policies which affect the economic growth. (d) Ensure equal pay for men and women. As we all know, we still have a long way to go before achieving this milestone, hence proving the non-justifiability of these principles. (e) Make sure that people, men, women and children alike, are not forced to work under unfavorable conditions, be it physical or economic. They should not be forced to work in hazardous conditions. People should not have to take up work beyond their physical strength which put their life in harm's way. People are not forced to work for low pay due to economic problems. (f) Provide the children opportunities to lead a healthy childhood. The policies should provide children with facilities which promote their education. They should be protected against exploitation, be it physical or moral. The clause also states that the policies should minimize or prevent child abandonment.
- ***Political Justice*** - Political Justice means equal, free and fair opportunities to the people for participation in the political process. It stands for the grant of equal political rights to all the people without any discrimination. The Constitution of India provides for a liberal democracy in which all the people have the right and freedom to participate. The provisions of the adult franchise and right to constitutional remedies major steps to achieve political justice.

2. Liberty,Equality and Fraternity-

- ***Liberty***- Our Constitution believes in freedom of different nature---social, civil and political as articulated through the fundamental rights in the Constitution under Part III. In the Indian Constitution, citizens have been given freedom of expression, thought, belief and religion.
- ***Equality*** - This envisages that no section of the society enjoys special privileges and individuals are provided with adequate opportunities without any discrimination. All are equal in front of law.

- ***Fraternity*** - The Preamble declares that fraternity has to assure two things-- the dignity of the individual and the unity and integrity of the nation.

3. The Dignity of the Individual and Unity and Integrity -

- ***The Dignity of the Individual and Unity and Integrity*** -Our Constitution framers were familiar with the existing unity under the diversity of India. ***Unity*** refers to a feeling of brotherhood and a sense of belonging with the country among its people. It embraces psychological as well as territorial dimensions of National Integration. It leaves no room for regionalism, communalism, casteism etc., which hinders the Unity of the State.
- ***Integrity*** - The word ***'integrity'*** has been added to the Preamble by the 42nd Constitutional Amendment (1976). Its purpose is to ensure India's unity and integrity.

Important Points

- Sovereign Constitution
- Preamble Essence of Constitution
- World's Largest Constitution
- Written and Enacted Constitution
- Parliamentary System
- Fundamental Rights and Duties
- Directive Principles of State Policy
- Socialist State
- Secular State
- Adult Franchise
- Distinguished Document
- Remarkable Fusion of Unitary and Federal Elements Independent judiciary
- Mixture of Rigidity and Flexibility
- Advocate of World Peace
- Emergency Provisions
- Single Citizenship
- Welfare State
- Special Provisions for Welfare of Minority & Backward Classes

Important Points of Preamble

- A Brief Essence of Indian Constitution

Exercise

Multiple Choice Questions

1. Indian Constitution was adopted by the Constituent Assembly on -
   (A) 1 May 1947
   (B) 9 December 1946
   (C) 26 November 1949
   (D) January 26, 1950 ( )
2. Articles as contained in the Constitution of India are-
   (A) 150 (B) 395
   (C) 360 (D) 147 ( )
3. From which country's constitution are the Directive Principles of State Policy taken?
   (A) England (B) France
   (C) Ireland (D) Australia ( )
4. Under which Article of the Constitution President's rule is imposed in the State in case of failure of constitutional machinery in the State?
   (A) Article 352 (B) Article 356
   (C) Article 362 (D) Article 366 ( )
5. What words are added in the Preamble by the 42nd Constitution Amendment?
   (A) Republic
   (B) Socialist, Secular and Integrity
   (C) Democracy
   (D) Fraternity ( )
6. The nature of justice as mentioned in Preamble is -
   (A) Social Justice
   (B) Economic justice

(C) Political Justice

(D) All of the above ( )

Very Short Answer Type Questions-

1. How long did it take to prepare the Constitution of India?
2. How many schedules are there in the Constitution of India?
3. What is the significance of the Preamble of the Constitution of India?
4. How many amendments have been made in the Constitution of India so far?
5. 5."Preamble is the inspiration and life of the Constitution" Why?
6. Who appoints the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court?
7. Under which Article an emergency is applied in any part of the country in case of the armed rebellion?
8. By which constitutional amendment the word 'socialism' was added to the Preamble?

Short Answer Type Questions-

1. Describe any five salient features of the Constitution of India.
2. What does the adult franchise in the constitution mean?
3. What does the Secular State mean?
4. Write the Preamble?
5. Write about Articles related to emergency provisions in the constitution.
6. 6."Indian Constitution is a mixture of rigidity and flexibility". Comment in brief.
7. What does the Democratic Republic mean?
8. Explain the term Socialism as used in the Preamble.
9. What is the Doctrine of principled distance of Secularism?

Essay Type Questions-

1. Describe the main Salient Features of the Constitution of India.
2. *"The Salient Features of the Constitution of India have proved to be helpful in making India one of the world's most successful democracies."* Explain this statement in detail.
3. The Preamble of the constitution is the essence of the Constitution of India .Explain.

Answers to Multiple Choice Questions-

(1) C (2) B (3) C (4) B

(5) B (6) D

2. Fundamental Rights, Directive Principles & Fundamental Duties

"The aim of providing fundamental rights in the Constitution is to protect liberty, equality and justice of the citizens," Justice P N Sapru

The fundamental right is a form of rights. The fundamental rights were included in the constitution because they were considered essential for the development of the personality of every individual and to preserve human dignity. State cannot interfere in the fundamental rights.

2.1 Importance & Necessity of Fundamental Rights-

1. Provides protection to each individual- The fundamental rights are the cornerstone of democracy. The fundamental rights provide security cover for the physical, mental and moral development of every citizen.

2. Restricts authoritarianism of the government- In Kautilya's Arthashastra, it is clearly described that authoritarian rule of a king was unacceptable in Ancient India. There were several moral restrictions on the authority of the king and in no way could he go beyond the defined moral sanctity and abuse his powers. The object behind the inclusion of certain Fundamental Rights in a Constitution is to establish a *"Limited Government"*, i.e. a Governmental system in which absolute power is not vested in the hands of any of the organs of a State. The fundamental rights save people from abuse of authority of government and dictatorship of the majority party. The fundamental rights are superior to ordinary law. The fundamental rights cannot be limited or altered by any law.

3. Judicial protection- The courts can protect and safeguard the fundamental rights, if someone's rights are violated. When a citizen feels that his fundamental rights have been violated, he can move the court for redressal. The Supreme Court (Article 32) and the High Courts (Article 226) can issue necessary writs for the purpose. The Constitution of India has made the judiciary as *"the protector and guarantor of Fundamental Rights"*.

4. The pillar of democracy - The fundamental rights are essential for political liberty and proper functioning of democracy and in their absence democratic rule cannot be imagined. They include those basic freedoms and conditions which alone can make life worth living.

5. Catalysts of Equality- By providing fundamental rights to all the citizens, the constitution has established equilibrium in the country. All privileges have been abolished. The fundamental rights are shields and gauge of liberty and are established solely to protect vulnerable individuals from arbitrary imprisonment, intrusions on contractual freedom, takings of property and other forms of governmental abuse. Personal liberty can be secured simply by limiting the role of government in personal affairs of an individual. The fundamental rights therefore have psychological significance. In the famous *Golaknath's* case (1967), the Supreme Court held that the fundamental rights were outside the purview of

Parliament's power to amend the Constitution. No political philosopher of the present era can ignore them.

2.2 Fundamental Rights in Constitution of India -

Among all the Charters of Human Rights made by any state for the unity of the nation and interests of its common citizens, the most comprehensive charter is included in Part III of the Constitution of India. A total of 23 Articles of the Constitution of India are exclusively related to the fundamental rights. Part-III of the Indian constitution from Article 12 to 30 and 32 to 35 contains fundamental rights. Some of these Articles are exceptionally comprehensive. Especially, the Article 19, which contains 450 words, is quite elaborative. Fundamental rights are one of the forms of rights. While interpreting the fundamental rights in *Golaknath v. State of Punjab* (1967 AIR 1643, 1967 SCR (2) 762) case, former Chief Justice K. Subba Rao observed that *"Fundamental rights are the modem names for what have been traditionally known as 'natural rights'. They are the rights, which enable a man to chalk out his own life in the manner he likes best. Our Constitution, in addition to the well-known fundamental rights, also included the rights of minorities and other backward communities in such rights. The fundamental rights are given a transcendental position under our Constitution and are kept beyond the reach of Parliament."*

The Constitution of India provided 7 fundamental rights to the citizens of India, but the ***'right to property'*** was removed from the category of the fundamental rights and made a legal right by the 44th Constitutional Amendment. Article 19(1)(f), which guarantees the citizens the right to acquire, hold and dispose of property and Article 31 relating to compulsory acquisition of property have been omitted. It was, however, ensured that the removal of property from the list of fundamental rights would not affect the right of minorities to establish and administer educational institutions of their choice. These fundamental rights guarantee civil freedom to all the citizens of India to allow them to live in peace and harmony. These are the basic rights that every Indian citizen has the right to enjoy, irrespective of their caste, creed and religion, place of birth, race, color or gender. In this way, fundamental rights have been guaranteed in six broad categories-

1. Right to Equality (Art.14-18)
2. Right to Freedom (Art.19-22)
3. Right against Exploitatio n(Art. 23 and 24)
4. Right to freedom of religion (Art.25-28)
5. Cultural and Educational rights (Art. 29 and 30)
6. Right to constitutional remedies (Art.32)

1. Right to Equality (Article 14 to 18)-

In the constitution of India, the state gives every citizen equal treatment before the law, equal employment opportunities and also social equality. All the citizens enjoy equal privileges and opportunities and are protected against any discrimination by the State on the basis of religion, caste, race, sex, or place of birth. Right to equality includes :

- **Article 14 (Equality before law):** The State shall not deny to any person equality before the law or the equal protection of the laws within the territory of India. 'Equality before law' means that no person is above law and all are equal before law, every individual has equal access to the courts.
- **Article 15 (Prohibition of discrimination on grounds of religion, race, caste, sex or place of birth):**

  (1) The State shall not discriminate against any citizen on grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex, and place of birth or any of them.

  (2) No citizen shall, on ground only of religion, race, caste, sex, place of birth or any of them, be subject to any disability, liability, restriction or condition with regard to (a) access to shops, public restaurants, hotels and places of public

entertainment; or(b) the use of wells, tanks, bathing Ghats, roads and places of public resort maintained whole or partly out of State funds or dedicated to the use of general public.

(3) Nothing in this Article shall prevent the State from making any special provision for women and children.

(4) Nothing in this article or in clause (2) or article 29 shall prevent the State from making any special provision for the advancement of any socially and educationally backward classes of citizens or for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes.

- **Article 16 (Equality of opportunity in matters of public employment):** (1) There shall be equality of opportunity for all citizens in matters relating to employment or appointment to any office under the State. (2) No citizen shall, on grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex, descent, place of birth, residence or any of them, be ineligible for, or discriminated against in respect of, any employment or office under the State. (3) Nothing in this article shall prevent Parliament from making any law prescribing, in regard to a class or classes of employment or appointment to an office under the Government of, or any local or other authority within, a State or Union territory, any requirement as to residence within that State or Union territory prior to such employment or appointment.(4) Nothing in this article shall prevent the State from making any provision for the reservation of appointments or posts in favour of any backward class of citizens which, in the opinion of the State, is not adequately represented in the services under the State.(4A) Nothing in this article shall prevent the State from making any provision for reservation in matters of promotion to any class or classes of posts in the services under the State in favour of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes which, in the opinion of the State, are not adequately represented in the services under the State.(5) Nothing in this article shall affect the operation of any law which provides that the incumbent of an office in connection with the affairs of any religious or denominational institution or any member of the governing body thereof shall be a person professing a particular religion or belonging to a particular denomination.
- **Article 17 (Abolition of Untouchability):** "Untouchability" is abolished and its practice in any form is forbidden. The enforcement of any disability arising out of "Untouchability" shall be an offence punishable in accordance with law.
- **Article 18 (Abolition of Titles):** (1) No title, not being a military or academic distinction, shall be conferred by the State.(2) No citizen of India shall accept any title from any foreign State.(3) No person who is not a citizen of India shall, while he holds any office of profit or trust under the State, accept without the consent of the President any title from any foreign State.(4) No person holding any office of profit or trust under the State shall, without the consent of the President, accept any present, emolument, or office of any kind from or under any foreign State.

2. Right to Freedom(Art.19-22)

- **Article 19 (Protection of certain rights regarding freedom of speech, etc.)**

(1) All citizens shall have the right -

(i) to freedom of speech and expression;

(ii) to assemble peaceably and without arms;

(iii) to form associations or unions;

(iv) to move freely throughout the territory of India;

(v) to reside and settle in any part of the territory of India; and

(vi) to practice any profession, or to carry on any occupation, trade or business.

(2) Nothing in sub-clause (a) of clause (1) shall affect the operation of any existing law, or

prevent the State from making any law, in so far as such law imposes reasonable restrictions on the exercise of the right conferred by the said sub-clause in the interests of the sovereignty and integrity of India, the security of the State, friendly relations with foreign States, public order, decency or morality, or in relation to contempt of court, defamation or incitement to an offence.

(3) Nothing in sub-clause (b) of the said clause shall affect the operation of any existing law in so far as it imposes, or prevent the State from making any law imposing, in the interest of the sovereignty and integrity of India or public order, reasonable restrictions on the right conferred by the said sub-clause.

(4) Nothing in sub-clause (c) of the said clause shall affect the operation of any existing law in so far as it imposes, or prevent the State from making any law imposing, in the interests of the sovereignty and integrity of India or public order or morality, reasonable restrictions on the exercise of the right conferred by the said sub-clause.

(5) Nothing in sub-clause (d) and (e) of the said clause shall affect the operation of any existing law in so far as it imposes, or prevent the State from making any law imposing, reasonable restrictions on the exercise of any of the rights conferred by the said sub-clauses either in the interests of the general public or for the protection of the interests of any Schedule Tribe.

(6) Nothing in sub-clause (g) of the said clause shall affect the operation of any existing law in so far as it imposes, or prevent the State from making any law imposing, in the interests of the general public, reasonable restrictions on the exercise of the right conferred by the said sub-clause, and, in particular, nothing in the said sub-clause shall affect the operation of any existing law in so far as it relates to, or prevent the State from making any law relating to, (i) the professional or technical qualifications necessary for practicing any profession or carrying on any occupation, trade or business, or(ii) the carrying on by the State, or by a corporation owned or controlled by the State, of any trade, business, industry or service, whether to the exclusion, complete or partial, of citizens or otherwise. In addition to above provisions the constitution has also provides for individual fundamental liberties under Article-20, 21 and 22

1. **Article 20 (Protection in respect of conviction for offenses):**

(1) No person shall be convicted of any offence except for violation of a law in force at the time of the commission of the act charged as an offence, not be subjected to a penalty greater than that which might have been inflicted under the law in force at the time of the commission of the offence.(2) No person shall be prosecuted and punished for the same offence more than once.(3) No person accused of any offence shall be compelled to be a witness against himself.

2. **Article 21 (Protection of life and personal liberty):** No person shall be deprived of his life or personal liberty except according to procedure established by law.

- **Article 21A (Right to education):** The State shall provide free and compulsory education to all children of the age of six to fourteen years in such manner as the State may, by law, determine.

3. **Article 22 (Protection against arrest and detention in certain cases):** (1) No person who is arrested shall be detained in custody without being informed, as soon as may be, of the grounds for such arrest nor shall he be denied the right to consult, and to be defended by, a legal practitioner of his choice.(2) Every person who is arrested and detained in custody shall be produced before the nearest magistrate within a period of twenty-four hours of such arrest excluding the time necessary for the journey from the place of arrest to court of the

magistrate and no such person shall be detained in custody beyond the said period without the authority of a magistrate.(3) Nothing in clauses (1) and (2) shall apply (a) to any person who for the time being is an enemy alien; or(b) to any person who is arrested or detained under any law providing for preventive detention

2.3 Preventive Detention

Preventive Detention [Article 22(3)] means detention of a person without trial. It aims to prevent him from committing again and the detention takes place on the apprehension that he is going to do something again. Preventive detention should be carefully distinguished from punitive detention. Punitive detention is punishment for illegal acts done. Preventive detention on the other hand is action taken beforehand to prevent possible commitment of crime. Preventive detention thus is action taken on grounds of suspicion that some wrong actions may be done by the person concerned. The grounds for Preventive detention are :-

- security of state,
- maintenance of public order,
- maintenance of supplies and essential services and defence,
- foreign affairs or security of India.

The Article 22 (3) of the Indian constitution provides that, if a person is arrested or detained under a law providing for preventive detention, then the protection against arrest and detention under Article 22 (1) and 22 (2) shall not be available. A person may be taken to preventive custody only for 3 months at the first instance. If the period of detention is extended beyond 3 months, the case must be referred to an Advisory Board consisting of persons with qualifications for appointment as judges of High Courts. It is implicit, that the period of detention may be extended beyond 3 months, only on approval by the Advisory Board.

1. The National Security Act, 1980-

The National Security Act, 1980 dated 27th December, 1980 was enacted with object to make provisions for preventive detention in respect of the matters provided under it. Earlier it was an ordinance namely, The National Security Ordinance; 1980.It was enacted with object to make provisions for preventive detention in respect of the matters provided under it. In June 1984 the NSA was again amended through ordinance and extended to the whole of India except the State of Jammu and Kashmir. Some changes were made to make it more stringent. This act empowers the Central Government and State Governments to detain a person to prevent him/her from acting in any manner prejudicial to the security of India, the relations of India with foreign countries, the maintenance of public order, or the maintenance of supplies and services essential to the community it is necessary so to do. The act also gives power to the governments to detain a foreigner in a view to regulate his presence or expel from the country. A striking feature of the Act is that the government can detain a person for as long as it wishes to. This is made possible by the powers of the government to continue to detain a person even after the expiry or revocation of the original detention order on the plea that fresh grounds of detention have arisen. In economic sector, another law of the same category - **Foreign Exchange Regulation Act 1973 (FERA)** came in force from January 1, 1974. It was amended by the Foreign Exchange Regulation (Amendment) Act 1993 and later in 2000, was replaced by **Foreign Exchange Management Act**, 1999 (**FEMA**) .

2. Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act-

After repelling of The **Prevention of Terrorism Act**, 2002 (**POTA**) another law was enacted to tackle the terrorism at the national and international level. It is an Indian law aimed at effective prevention of unlawful activities associations in India. Many provisions of POTA have been included in it. Its main objective was to make powers available for dealing with activities directed against the integrity and sovereignty of India.

Evaluation of Preventive Detention Act-

"Preventive Detention Laws" in India as elsewhere have always been controversial and criticized on many grounds. They have been treated as draconian, anti democratic and the arch enemy of the rights to person liberty. Preventive Detention can only be tolerated in any democratic society in the most extreme circumstances. It must be used with the utmost restraint and retained only so long as it is strictly necessary. Preventive Detention envisages detention without trial which is against the basic canons of criminal jurisprudence. On many occasions these laws are grossly misused against the Political adversaries. Many believe that in country like India which is facing serious security challenges such as terrorism and separatism stringent laws are useful in present circumstances as they are required to effectively counter terrorism.

In A.K. Gopalan v. State of Madras [AIR 1950 SC 27], Patanjali Sastri, J explained the necessity of preventive detention in the following words: ***"This sinister-looking feature, so strangely out of place in a democratic Constitution, which invests personal liberty with the sacrosanctity of a fundamental right, and so incompatible with the promises of its Preamble, is doubtless designed to prevent the abuse of freedom by anti-social and subversive elements which might imperil the national welfare of the infant republic."***

3. Right against Exploitation (Art. 23 and 24)-

- **Article 23 (Prohibition of traffic in human beings and forced labour) :** (1) Traffic in human beings and *begar* and other similar forms of forced labour are prohibited and any contravention of this provision shall be an offence punishable in accordance with law. (2) Nothing in this article shall prevent the State from imposing compulsory service for public purposes, and in imposing such service the State shall not make any discrimination on ground only of religion, race, caste or class or any of them.
- **Article 24 *(Prohibition of employment of children in factories, etc.):*** No child below the age of fourteen years shall be employed to work in any factory or mine or engaged in any other hazardous employment.

4. Right to freedom of religion (Art.25-28)-

Article 25 (Freedom of conscience and free profession, practice and propagation of religion):

(1) Subject to public order, morality and health and to the other provisions of this Part, all persons are equally entitled to freedom of conscience and the right freely to profess, practice and propagate religion.

(2) Nothing in this article shall affect the operation of any existing law or prevent the State from making any law

(a) regulating or restricting any economic, financial, political or other secular activity which may be associated with religious practice;

(b) providing for social welfare and reform or the throwing open of Hindu reli- gious institutions of a public character to all classes and sections of Hindus.

Explanation I: The wearing and carrying of kirpans shall be deemed to be included in the profession of the Sikh religion.

Explanation II: In sub-Clause (b) of clause (2), the reference to Hindus shall be construed as including a reference to persons professing the Sikh, Jaina or Buddhist religion, and the reference to Hindu religious institutions shall be construed accordingly.

Article 26 (Freedom to manage religious affairs)

Subject to public order, morality and health, every religious denomination or any section thereof shall have the right

(a) to establish and maintain institutions for religious and charitable purposes;

(b) to manage its own affairs in matters of religion;

(c) to own and acquire movable and immovable property; and

(d) to administer such property in accordance with law.

Article 27 (Freedom as to payment of taxes for promotion of any particular religion):

No person shall be compelled to pay any taxes, the proceeds of which are specifically appropriated in payment of expenses for the promotion or maintenance of any particular religion or religious denomination.

Article 28 (Freedom as to attendance at religious instruction or religious worship in certain educational institutions):

(1) No religious instruction shall be provided in any educational institution wholly maintained out of State funds.

(2) Nothing in clause (1) shall apply to an educational institution which is administered by the State but has been established under any endowment or trust which requires that religious instruction shall be imparted in such institution.

(3) No person attending any educational institution recognised by the State or receiving aid out of State funds shall be required to take part in any religious instruction that may be imparted in such institution or to attend any religious worship that may be conducted in such institution or in any premises attached thereto unless such person or, if such person is minor, his guardian has given his consent thereto.

5. Cultural and Educational rights (Art. 29 and 30)-

Article 29 (Protection of interests of minorities):

(1) Any section of the citizens residing in the territory of India or any part thereof having a distinct language, script or culture of its own shall have the right to conserve the same.

(2) No citizen shall be denied admission into any educational institution maintained by the State or receiving aid out of State funds on grounds only of religion, race, caste, language or any of them.

Article 30(Right of minorities to establish and administer educational institutions):

(1) All minorities, whether based on religion or language, shall have the right to establish and administer educational institutions of their choice.

(1A) In making any law providing for the compulsory acquisition of any property of an educational institution established and administered by a minority, referred to in clause (1), the State shall ensure that the amount fixed by or determined under such law for the acquisition of such property is such as would not restrict or abrogate the right guaranteed under that clause.

(2) The State shall not, in granting aid to educational institutions, discriminate against any educational institution on the ground that it is under the management of a minority, whether based on religion or language.

Right to Education- With the 86th Constitutional amendment on 12th December 2002, Article 21A was amended by the Constitution in order to introduce Right to Education as a fundamental right. The Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education Act finally came into force on 1st April 2010. The Act provides for free and compulsory education to all children in the age group of six to fourteen years. It is now a legally enforceable duty of the Centre and the states, to provide free and compulsory education.

6. Right to constitutional remedies (Art. 32) -

Article 32 (Remedies for enforcement of rights conferred by this Part):

(1) The right to move the Supreme Court by appropriate proceedings for the enforcement of the rights conferred by this Part is guaranteed.

(2) The Supreme Court shall have power to issue directions or orders or writs, including writs in the nature of habeas corpus, mandamus, prohibition, quo warranto and certiorari, whichever may be appropriate, for the enforcement of any of the rights conferred by

this Part.

(3) Without prejudice to the powers conferred on the Supreme Court by clauses (1) and (2), Parliament may by law empower any other court to exercise within the local limits of its jurisdiction all or any of the powers exercisable by the Supreme Court under clause (2).

(4) The right guaranteed by this article shall not be suspended except as otherwise provided for by this Constitution.

Article 32 of the Indian constitution provides for constitutional remedies against the violation or transgression of fundamental rights. Article 32 which was referred to *"as the very soul of the constitution"* by Dr. Ambedkar, provides for constitutional remedies. Clause 2 of Article 32 provides that, *"The Supreme Court shall have the power to issue directions or order or writs including the writs in the nature of habeas corpus, mandamus, prohibition, quo warranto and certiorari, whichever may be appropriate for the enforcement of any of the rights conferred by"* fundamental rights. The citizens are given the right to move the Supreme Court in case of transgression of fundamental rights. The Supreme Court thus is constituted into a protector and guarantor fundamental rights. The right to constitutional remedy is itself a fundamental right. Besides the Supreme Court, the High Courts also have been given a role in the protection of fundamental rights. Under, Art. 226 of the constitution, High Courts also can issue writs for the enforcement of fundamental rights. But the jurisdictions of the Supreme Court and the High Courts in the matter of issue of writs are slightly different. The Supreme Court can issue writs only in case of infringement of a fundamental right in part III of the constitution. The High Courts on the other can issue writs against infringement of fundamental rights, as well as against contravention of ordinary law of redress grievances arising therefrom. Thus the area of High Courts, with respect to the power to issue writs is wider than that of the Supreme Court. However, competence of the High Courts to issue writs is limited within its territorial jurisdiction. The Supreme Court's area of competence is co-terminus with the territory of India as a whole.

In case of transgression of fundamental rights the Supreme Court or the High Courts may issue five kinds of writs.

1. Habeas Corpus : Habeas Corpus literally means that human person is sacred. Hence no man may be detained illegally. Whenever a man is detained, he must be produced before a court. This writ is a powerful safeguard against arbitrary arrest and detention.

2. Mandamus : meaning 'command', mandamus calls upon public servants to perform some duties. Thus mandamus is issued against dereliction of duty.

3. Prohibition : as the very term prohibition suggests, this writ is issued by the Supreme Court or the High Courts, to prohibit inferior courts under them to overstep their jurisdiction.

4. Certiorari : it enables a superior court of compels inferior courts to submit records of proceedings to the higher court.

5. Quo warranto : literally means *by what right*. This writ is issued to determine the legality of a person's claim to public office. The purpose of this writ is to prevent usurpation of a public office by an undesirable or, unqualified person.

Appreciation of Fundamental Rights-

The fundamental rights of the Constitution of India are criticized on the following grounds:

1. So many restrictions are imposed on the fundamental rights. It is said that the constitution handed over the fundamental rights by one hand and took them back by the other hand.
2. It is justified to postpone the fundamental rights at the time of emergency, but postponement of the fundamental rights even during the peace time questions their very existence. Especially in normal

circumstances, the system of preventive detention has been a subject of bitter criticism. Hari Vishnu Kamath while opposing these provisions and said in the Constituent Assembly, *"By this system we are establishing a totalitarian police state."*

3. The fundamental rights are not able to safeguard interest of citizens from the arbitration of the Legislature. The laws made by the Parliament and the Assembly are valid even if they are against the interests of the citizens.
4. Restrictions on Fundamental Rights have been made to prevent anti-national and anti-social activities in the constitution. In practical terms, they have been used to suppress the voices of political opponents.
5. Under the Fundamental rights, the Constitution of India has provided special protection for minorities, scheduled tribes, Scheduled Tribes, but it has been used for vote politics.
6. Rights against exploitation are designed to protect the interests of women, children, weaker sections and the poor workers but in practice due to illiteracy, unemployment and poverty, the exploitation of these classes have not been stopped.
7. Despite giving judicial protection to the fundamental rights, the present judicial process being prolonged, complex and expensive is not successful in protecting the interests of the common citizens.

Despite the above criticisms, the importance of fundamental rights has not diminished because the security of the nation is more valuable than the security of a person. The situation of encroachment of the fundamental rights is short-lived.

2.5 Directive Principles of State Policy-

One of the important features of our Constitution is the Directive Principles of State Policy. The Directive Principles of State Policy are in the form of guidelines to the future governments at the center as well as states. Though these principles are non-justifiable, they are fundamental in the governance of the country. The concept was borrowed from the Irish Constitution. They are guidelines for the future governments for creating a social order characterised by social, economic, and political justice, liberty, equality, and fraternity as enunciated in the constitution's preamble. Directive Principles of State Policy aim to establish social and economic democracy through a welfare state. They aim to create social and economic conditions under which the citizens can lead a good life. Dr Rajendra Prasad once said, "the aim of the Directive Principles of State Policy is to create a social order which promotes the welfare of the people." The Directive Principles of State Policy act as a code of conduct for the state executive and the legislature both. **Article 37 of The Constitution Of India provides that-** application of the principles contained in this Part The provisions contained in this Part shall not be enforceable by any court, but the principles therein laid down are nevertheless fundamental in the governance of the country and it shall be the duty of the State to apply these principles in making laws. In the words of L G Khedekar, "The Directive Principles of State Policy are those ideals which the government must try to implement in its policies." Articles 36-51 of **Part IV** of Indian **Constitution** deals with **Directive Principles** of **State Policy.**

2.6 Directive Principles of State Policy-

The Constitution of India provided for the Directive Principles of State Policy to establish a welfare state, a social order based on equality and to provide equal opportunities for the development to one and all. Part IV of the Constitution of India provides for the Directive Principles of State Policy. These provisions are policy directives related to education, health, social security, economic security and guidelines to the government. For the sake of convenience these principles are of studied in following four categories:

(A) Directive Principles and Economic Security-

The objective of the article 39 of the Indian constitution is to provide the **guidelines and a direction** to the state in terms of **policy making**. It specifies the area where the state has to work in order to grow as a welfare state where the interest of the individual is taken into consideration. All the policies which are to be established should be under the preview of this article as this is the pioneer of policy establishment. It can be better understood by referring to the lines of the article 39 mentioned below.

1. Article 39 lays down that(Certain principles of policy to be followed by the State): The State shall, in particular, direct its policy towards securing

(a) that the citizens, men and women equally, have the right to an adequate means to livelihood;

(b) that the ownership and control of the material resources of the community are so distributed as best to subserve the common good;

(c) that the operation of the economic system does not result in the concentration of wealth and means of production to the common detriment;

(d) that there is equal pay for equal work for both men and women;

(e) that the health and strength of workers, men and women, and the tender age of children are not abused and that citizens are not forced by economic necessity to enter avocations unsuited to their age or strength;

(f) that children are given opportunities and facilities to develop in a healthy manner and in conditions of freedom and dignity and that childhood and youth are protected against exploitation and against moral and material abandonment.

2. Article 41says that - The State shall, within the limits of its economic capacity and development, make effective provision for securing the right to work, to education and to public assistance in cases of unemployment, old age, sickness and disablement, and in other cases of undeserved want.

3. Article 42 says that-The State shall make provision for securing just and humane conditions of work and for maternity relief.

4. Article 43says that-. The State shall endeavour to secure, by suitable legislation or economic organisation or in any other way, to all workers, agricultural, industrial or otherwise, work, a living wage, conditions of work ensuring a decent standard of life and full enjoyment of leisure and social and cultural opportunities 5. Under Article 43 - the State shall endeavour to promote cottage industries on an individual or co-operative basis in rural areas. Two principles were added to the directive principle of state policy by 42nd Constitutional Amedment Act which were:

- Free legal aid to the poor

5. The participation of workers in the management of undertakings, establishments or other organisations engaged in any industry

6. Article 43A says that-The State shall take steps, by suitable legislation or in any other way, to secure the participation of workers in the management of undertakings, establishments or other organisations engaged in any industry.

7. Article 48 says that- The State shall endeavour to organise agriculture and animal husbandry on modern and scientific lines and shall, in particular, take steps for preserving and improving the breeds, and prohibiting the slaughter, of cows and calves and other milch and draught cattle.

8. 44th Constitutional Amendment Act (April 1979) added (in Article 38)

"The State shall, in particular, strive to minimise the inequalities in income, and endeavour to eliminate inequalities in status, facilities and opportunities, not only amongst individuals but also amongst groups of people residing in different areas

or engaged in different vocations."

(B) Directive Principles, Social Security and Education-

Some principles meant to raise the social and educational level of the people have been included in the constitution.

1. Article 44 says that -The State shall endeavour to secure for the citizens a uniform civil code throughout the territory of India
2. Article 45 says that -The State shall endeavour to provide, within a period of ten years from the commencement of this Constitution, for free and compulsory education for all children until they complete the age of fourteen years.
3. Article 46 says that -The State shall promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people, and, in particular, of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation.
4. Article 47 says that -The State shall regard the raising of the level of nutrition and the standard of living of its people and the improvement of public health as among its primary duties and, in particular, the State shall endeavour to bring about prohibition of the consumption except for medicinal purposes of intoxicating drinks and of drugs which are injurious to health.
5. 42nd Amendment Act added a new Article 48A which says that- The State shall endeavour to protect and improve the environment and to safeguard the forests and wild life of the country.

(C) Panchayatiraj, Ancient Heritage Sites, Justice and Directive Principles-

Recognizing the importance of democratic institutions at the grass root level, the Indian constitution laid down the directive principles of state policy to promote establishment of the Pachayatiraj institutions, to protect ancient heritage sites in and to establish justice in the society.

1. Article 40 says that the "State would initiate steps to organize village panchayats and endow them with such powers and authority as may be necessary to enable them to function as units of self government".
2. Article 49 says that- It shall be the obligation of the State to protect every monument or place or object of artistic or historic interest, declared by or under law made by Parliament] to be of national importance, from spoliation, disfigurement, destruction, removal, disposal or export, as the case may be.
3. Article 50 says that- The State shall take steps to separate the judiciary from the executive in the public services of the State.

(D) International Peace and Security & Directive Principles-

Article 51 contains principles as regards International Peace and Security which are as under.

Article 51 says that -The State shall endeavour to :-

(a) promote international peace and security;

(b) maintain just and honourable relations between nations;

(c) foster respect for international law and treaty obligations in the dealings of organised peoples with one another; and

(d) encourage settlement of international disputes by arbitration.

Above description of directive principles of state policy will help in establishing true democracy in India. By implementing these principles India will emerge as a welfare state in the spirit of the Preamble of the constitution.

Importance of Directive Principles

These principles play important role in development and progress of nation and society. The directive principles can be studied in the following manner.

1. Code of Conduct for Governance- Although, the directive principles are not enforceable in court but they have support of power

of public opinion which is the highest court of the democracy. No government which is accountable to people can afford to avoid these principles.

2.Prepares Structure of Welfare State- Dr. Ambedkar said in the Constituent Assembly that aim of the constitution is not to establish a political democracy alone but to establish a welfare state which also included economic democracy. These principles were considered powerful instruments by him for the transformation of India from a political democracy into an economic democracy.

3. Basis of Assessment of Governance- These principles were deemed fundamental in the governance of the country since it epitomized the hopes and aspirations of the Indian people and serve as parameters on which the success or failure of a government can be assessed.

4. Helpful in Execution of Constitution- The Directive Principles of State Policy are guidelines to the central and state governments of India. The governments must keep these principles in mind while framing laws and policies. It is also expected from the judiciary to give due importance to the directive principles of state policy in interpretation of the constitutional provisions.

5. Helpful in Social and Economic Transformation- Directive Principles of State Policy aim to create social and economic conditions under which the citizens can lead a good life. They also aim to establish social and economic democracy through a welfare state. They are helpful in economic establishing security and economic justice by providing adequate means of livelihood to both men and women, to prevent accumulation of wealth, and to safeguard and protect the rights of women and child labourers with a view to establish the social order based on equality. Similarly, they have contributed a great deal in improving the life standard of the people by providing health, education and employment.

2.7 Some Examples of Implementation of Directive Principles-

1. Land Reforms- The constitution of India has included the Land reform in State subjects in the Ninth Schedule. Earlier the farmers were exploited by the landlords under the *Jagirdari* system. The land reforms of 1951 have provided land holding rights to farmers. Part IV of the Directive Principles of State Policy also indirectly mandates the government to take measures for land reforms to achieve an egalitarian society.

2. Panchayatiraj and Local Self-Governance- In India, the Panchayati Raj generally refers to the system of local self-government in India. It was introduced in 1959. It was formalized in 1992 by the 73rd amendment to the Indian Constitution as constitutional institution by 73rd constitutional amendment which came into effect in 1993. In India, the Panchayati Raj now functions as a system of governance in which gram panchayats are the basic units of local administration. Similarly, Municipal institutions were formalized constitutionally by 74th constitutional amendment to make functioning of local self governance more effective.

3. Five Year Plans- The process began with setting up of Planning Commission in March 1950 in pursuance of declared objectives of the Government to promote a rapid rise in 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. The Planning Commission was charged with the responsibility of making assessment of all resources of the country, augmenting deficient resources, formulating plans for the most effective and balanced utilisation of resources and determining priorities. So far 11 five year plans have been implemented in various areas such as Agriculture, Water Resources, Animal breed improvement, Energy, Transport, Labour, Housing Security, Scientific Research and education.

4. Welfare of Weaker Sections- Directive Principles of State Policy aim at economic and educational upliftment of the SC and ST and other weaker sections of the society by making special provisions. The President can constitute a commission for exploring the states of socially and

instructively in backward classes. Article 46 provides that State shall promote with special care the educational and economic interests of weaker sections of the people and, in particular, Scheduled Castes/Scheduled Tribes and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation. It is in pursuance of this Article that special programmes for extending educational opportunities to Scheduled Cates and Scheduled Tribes have been taken up. In Chapter IV of Directive Principles of State Policy provides for Commissions for SC and ST, women and children, Labour, Human Right are some of the agencies which can protect the weaker sections, and provide social, economic and political justice for all round development of weaker sections. Accordingly, Commission for SC & ST consisting of seven members has been constituted as a constitutional body. It is empowered to investigate the matters related to exploitation of people of this section. Enforcing Equality and Removing Disability Untouchability Offences Act, 1955 is a milestone step towards achieving this goal. 30 percent seats have been exclusively reserved for women in Panchayatiraj and Municipal institutions of local self- government for the empowerment.

5. Social Security- The Directive Principles of State Policy and Fundamental Rights of the Indian Constitution provide basis for many Social Security benefits. Basing on these principles and rights, few Social Security laws and schemes are passed for the benefit of poor, weaker and unorganized sections of society. Old Age Pension Scheme, Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act-2005 are some of the leading national schemes for the social and economic security.

6. Nationalization of Major Industries- to achieve the objective of economic equality Life Insurance, Transport, Coal, Mining, Tourism and some of the leading banks have been nationalized.

7. Reforms in Judicial System-To provide cheaper and fast justice the state has provided for establishment of Fast Track courts and ***Lok Adalats*.**

8. Compulsory and Free Primary Education - At the time of independence the literacy rate of India was just 14 percent. The governments having realized the importance of education made all efforts to spread it to every citizen of the country. The Parliament of India passed the 86th constitutional amendment act in 2002. Accordingly 21A is inserted in the constitution which aimed at making right to education a fundamental right for children between 6 to 14 years of age. To accomplish above objective schemes such as Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan and Mid Day Meal programmes are being organized.

9. Change in Provisions Related to Right to Property- The most important change made by the 44th Amendment Act was the deletion of the Right to Property from the list of fundamental right and making it a legal right . It was a hindrance in the way of economic and social justice.

10. Equal Pay for Equal Work- In 1976, the Equal Remuneration Act was passed with the aim of providing equal remuneration to men and women workers and to prevent discrimination on the basis of gender in all matters relating to employment and employment opportunities.

The various actions taken by the centre and the state governments clearly indicate that the directive principles of state policy are essential to establish a secular, socialist and democratic state in India.

Fundamental Rights and Directive Principles-

Both are related to the welfare and development of the citizens and are committed to make the lives of people better but are basically distinct from each other.

1. Fundamental Rights are justifiable, that is they are legally enforceable by the courts in the case of their violation while directive principles are non justifiable and not enforceable by the courts for their violation.
2. Fundamental Rights are legal sanctions while the directive principles are moral sanctions.
3. Fundamental Rights are individual rights of the individual while the directive principles are guidelines and instructions for policy making.
4. Fundamental Rights are symbols of political

democracy while the directive principles are symbol of social and economic democracy. These have legal and political sanctions.

Relationship between Fundamental Rights and Directive Principles-

The Fundamental Rights and Directive Principles of State Policy are included respectively in Part III and Part IV of the Constitution. The framers of the Constitution included them with a special purpose of bringing about social and economic equality. The primary distinction between the Fundamental Rights and Directive Principles as visualized by the drafters of the Constitution was with regards to the question of enforceability. Part III of the Constitution was enforceable against the state but Article 37 expressly provided that Part IV was not enforceable in a court. The Fundamental Rights and Directive Principles of State Policy jointly contribute towards establishing democratic welfare state. Golaknath v. State Of Punjab, or simply the ***Golaknath case***, was a 1967 Indian Supreme Court **case**, in which the Court ruled that Parliament could not curtail any of the Fundamental Rights in the Constitution. ***The Kesavananda Bharati judgement*** 1973 (Kesavananda Bharati and Ors. v. State of Kerala) is a landmark decision of the Supreme Court of India that outlined the basic structure doctrine of the Constitution. It asserted through this doctrine that the constitution possesses a basic structure of constitutional principles and values. The Court partially cemented the prior precedent Golaknath v. State of Punjab, which held that constitutional amendments pursuant to Article 368 were subject to fundamental rights review, by asserting that only those amendments which tend to affect the 'basic structure of the Constitution' are subject to judicial review. At the same time, the Court also upheld the constitutionality of first provision of Article 31©, which implied that any constitutional amendment seeking to implement the Directive Principles, which does not affect the 'Basic Structure', shall not be subjected to judicial review. In 42nd Constitutional Amendment Act the Directive Principles were given priority over the Fundamental Rights. This resulted in the resurgence of the debate on the relationship between Fundamental Rights and Directive Principles. In *Minerva* ***Mills Ltd. v Union of India***, the court believed that the harmonious relation between Fundamental Rights and Directive Principles was a basic feature of the Constitution. It was stated that Part III and Part IV together comprised of the core of the constitution and any legislation or amendment that destroyed the balance between the two would be in contravention to the basic structure of the Constitution. The court reasserted that Parts III and IV are complementary to each other and together they constitute the human rights of an individual. Reading these provisions independently would be impossible, as that would render them incomplete and thereby inaccessible. **It established that the powers of parliament to amend the constitution are not unlimited. Presently,** the Fundamental Rights are being **interpretated in reference to the directive principles as they are complementary and supplementary to each other.**

Fundamental Duties

There is a special relationship between the fundamental rights and the duties. Rights and duties are supplementary to each other; the fundamental rights of one person may become the duties of another person. Therefore, having of the fundamental rights in the absence of fundamental duties is just not possible. Originally, in 1950 the constitution of India did not contain any list of fundamental duties and only the fundamental rights were mentioned. In other words, enjoyment of fundamental rights was not conditional on the performance of fundamental duties. The fundamental duties were added to the Indian Constitution by 42nd amendment of the constitution in 1976.Originally10 fundamental duties were added in Article 51A of the Part IVA of the constitution.

List of Fundamental Duties :

Art. 51A, Part IVA of the Indian Constitution, specifies the list of fundamental duties of the citizens. It says “it shall be the duty of every citizen

of India:

1. to abide by the constitution and respect its ideal and institutions;
2. to cherish and follow the noble ideals which inspired our national struggle for freedom;
3. to uphold and protect the sovereignty, unity and integrity of India;
4. to defend the country and render national service when called upon to do so;
5. to promote harmony and the spirit of common brotherhood amongst all the people of India transcending religious, linguistic and regional diversities, to renounce practices derogatory to the dignity of women;
6. to value and preserve the rich heritage of our composite culture;
7. to protect and improve the natural environment including forests, lakes, rivers, and wild-life and to have compassion for living creatures;
8. to develop the scientific temper, humanism and the spirit of inquiry and reform;
9. to safeguard public property and to abjure violence;
10. to strive towards excellence in all spheres of individual and collective activity, so that the nation constantly rises to higher levels of endeavor and achievement.

    Further, one more Fundamental duty has been added to the Indian Constitution by modifying Article 51A by 86th Amendment of the constitution in 2002.
11. Parent or guardian will have the duty to provide opportunities for education to his child, or as the case may be, ward between the age of six and fourteen years.

2.10 Criticism of Fundamental Duties-

1. No provision for punishment on the violation or non-observance of fundamental duties There is not any law or constitutional provision which provides for punishment on the violation and non-observance of these fundamental duties. There practically are non-enforceable.
2. **Extremely idealistic-** The concept of fundamental duty is inspired by highly idealistic ideas such as adopting national ideals, protecting the country's integrated culture and glorious tradition; scientific perspectives and humanism. Actually, these ideals are not being practiced.

It is a valid fact that it is not possible to use the fundamental rights meaningfully without complying with the fundamental duties. The fundamental duties have been added as ideals for our citizens. They are helpful in generating awareness about our national ethos and the spirit of nationalism. There was no political bias or party feeling behind the inclusion of them in the Constitution. It is believed that with the development of citizen consciousness, the citizens will get used to gradually follow the fundamental duties in the future. Fundamental duties should be followed by every citizen considering them as the highest religion.

Important Points

- The fundamental rights have been provided to the citizens by the constitution for their all-round development.
- The importance of fundamental rights to provide security to each person, to stop the arbitrary and dictatorial activities of the government, to provide judicial security, to protect democracy and to establish equality etc.
- A total of 23 Articles related to the fundamental rights are included in Part 3 of the Indian Constitution. Fundamental rights are described under Articles 12 to 30 and 32 to 35.
- The original constitution had 07 fundamental

rights, but the right to property was removed from this list by the 44th Amendment Constitution. Now there are only six fundamental rights - the right to equality, the right to freedom, right against exploitation, right to religious freedom, cultural and educational rights and the right to constitutional remedies.

- Criticism of fundamental rights - excessive restrictions imposed, can be banned even in peace time, compulsion to obey the law of the legislature, can be used to suppress political opponents, not effective against exploitation, lengthy and complicated judicial process act as obstacle in way of implementation.
- The Directive Principles of State Policy are in the form of guidelines to the future governments at the center as well as states.
- Article 36-51 of Part IV of the Constitution of India provides for the Directive Principles of State Policy.
- The Directive Principles of State Policy are studied in four categories:
  - *(A) Directive Principles and Economic Security*
  - *(B) Directive Principles, Social Security and Education*
  - *(C) Panchayatiraj, Ancient Heritage Sites, Justice and Directive Principles*
  - *(D) International Peace and Security & Directive Principles*
- **Importance of Directive Principles-**

  1. Code of Conduct for Governance-
  2. Prepares Structure of Welfare State
  3. Basis of Assessment of Governance
  4. Helpful in Execution of Constitution
  5. Helpful in Social and Economic Transformation
- Steps Taken by Government by Government of Implementation of Directive Principles-

  1. Land Reforms 2. Panchayatiraj and Local Self-Governance 3. Five Year Plans 4. Welfare of Weaker Sections 5. Social Security 6. Nationalization of Major Industries 7. Reforms in Judicial System 8. Compulsory and Free Primary Education9. Change in Provisions Related to Right to Property10. Equal Pay for Equal Work.
- By the 42nd Constitutional Amendment Act in the year 1976, IV'A' was added in the Part IV which contained 11 fundamental duties, but there is lack of effective law for making them enforceable.

Exercise

Multiple Choice Questions-

1. In which part of the Constitution of India fundamental rights are mentioned ?

   (A) Part I (B) Part II

   (C) Part III (D) Part IV ( )
2. On arrest of a person by the police in how much time he must be produced before to the nearest judge?

   (A) 12 hours (B) 24 hours

   (C) 36 hours (D) 48 hours ( )
3. From which constitution the Directive Principles of State Policy are borrowed?

   (A) USA (B) England

   (C) Ireland (D) Australia ( )
4. In which part of the Constitution of India the Directive Principles of State Policy are mentioned?

   (A) I (B) II

   (C) III (D) IV ( )
5. "that the citizens, men and women equally, have the right to an adequate means to livelihood." What type of the Directive Principles of State Policy is this?

   (A) Related to Social Security and Education

   (B) Related to Economic Security

   (C) Related to Justice

(D) None of Above ( )

6. By which constitutional amendment, the fundamental duties have been added to the Constitution?

(A) 44th Amendment (B)42ndAmendment

(C) 41st Amendment (D) 45th Amendment

( )

7. How many fundamental rights are presently there in the Indian Constitution?

(A) 05 (B) 06

(C) 07 (D) 08 ( )

8. When the Court issues an order to an officer to discharge his / her duties, it is called-

(A) Mandamus (B) Prohibition

(C) Writ of Certiorari (D) Quo warranto

( )

Very Short Answer Type Questions-

1. In which articles of the Constitution are the fundamental rights mentioned?
2. Which article is related to right to freedom?
3. Explain the importance of the Directive Principles.
4. Describe the various government schemes related to education carried out in implementation of Directive Principles.
5. In which part of the Constitution are the fundamental duties added?
6. To which fundamental right are the Articles 14 to 18 of the constitution related?
7. Which article is related to the right against the exploitation?

Short Answer Type Questions-

1. What does the fundamental right mean?
2. What provisions have been made regarding religious freedom in the fundamental rights?
3. Write comment on the Preventive Detention.
4. Explain the relevance of the National Security Act.
5. Write any of the 5 fundamental duties given in the Indian Constitution.
6. Describe the provisions given in the Constitution for the right to equality.
7. "The fundamental rights and fundamental duties are complementary to each other." Describe.

Essay Type Questions-

1. Describe any of the two fundamental while mentioning the fundamental rights given to citizens in the Indian Constitution.
2. What does the fundamental right mean? Describe the importance of right to equality.
3. Describe the Directive Principles of State Policy and also establish distinction between the Directive Principles of State Policy and the Fundamental Rights.
4. Describe in detail about the various government schemes carried out by the government in implementation of Directive Principles.
5. Describe the right to freedom provided by the Indian Constitution and explain whether the restrictions on freedom by laws such as preventive detention have ended the right to freedom.
6. Describe the fundamental duties as given in the Indian Constitution.

Answers to Multiple Choice Questions-

1. A	2. B	3.C	4. D
5. B	6.B	7.B	8. A

3. Main Elements of Indian Federal System

The system of governance based on ***the distribution and sharing of power at different levels*** is federalism. While Unitarianism ***"means the concentration of the strength of the state in the hands of one visible sovereign power", Federalism means the distribution of force of the state among a number of coordinate bodies each originating in and controlled by the Constitution."*** A federal government is a system that divides up power between a strong national government and smaller local governments. Under this system, there exists two tiers of governments one at the centre and second at its units level. The federal rule is usually formed in two processes. In the first process many sovereign and separate units form a large political unit by mutually joining it and then in the second process they are divided into different units in terms of the efficiency of governance. It is the formation of a political unity, with a central government, by a number of separate states, each of which retains control of its own internal affairs. The best examples of the first and second process are the United States and India respectively. Presently federal states of the USA, Australia, Switzerland, Russia, Canada and India are considered as successful. The Constitution of India gives a federal structure to the Republic of India. For Indian federation the word ***"Union of States"*** has been used instead of ***'federation'*** in the constitution of India. When the Indian federal constitution was implemented, a strong central government and 14 states / provinces were embodied in it. At present, besides having 29 states, the Indian federation also has 7 union territories in India which are governed by the centre.

3.1 Basic Elements of India's Federal System :

1. Clear Division of Government Powers-

In a federation, there should be clear division of powers so that the units and the centre are required to enact and legislate within their sphere of activity and none violates its limits and tries to encroach upon the functions of others. This requisite is evident in the Indian Constitution. Under Article 246 of the Constitution VIIth Schedule contains three Legislative Lists which enumerate subjects of administration, viz., Union, State and Concurrent Legislative Lists. The Union List consists of 97 subjects (items), the State List consists of 66 subjects (items) and the Concurrent List consists of 47 subjects (items). The Union Government enjoys exclusive power to legislate on the subjects mentioned in the Union List. The State Governments have full authority to legislate on the subjects of the State List under normal circumstances. And both the Centre and the State can legislate on the subjects mentioned in the Concurrent List. While residuary powers are reserved to are assigned to the Union by our Constitution (Art. 248). But in the event of a conflict between the Centre and the States, the Central Law will ultimately be recognized. Due to strong position of the Centre, India is called as the "indestructible union of destructive states" (Article3) and consider it to be a federalism with central dominance.

2. Impartial and Independent Judiciary -

It is imperative to have an independent and

impartial judiciary for any federal system. It is only through independent judiciary that 'rule of law' can be established in a country and disputes between the centre and the states can be resolved according to the provisions of the Constitution. There have been many such occasions when the judiciary has helped in protecting the federal structure by clarifying the constitutional position between the centre and the states and also resolved contentious issues where two or more states were involved. The Supreme Court has been placed on top of all the states. In India, the Constitution has provided for a Supreme Court and every effort has been made to see that the judiciary in India is independent and supreme.

3. Supremacy of the Constitution-

The supremacy of the Constitution has been established under Indian Unionism. Both the centre and the state receive their powers only from the constitution. It is supreme and not the hand-made of either the Centre or of the States. If for any reason any organ of the State dares to violate any provision of the Constitution, the courts of laws are there to ensure that dignity of the Constitution. It is upheld at all costs. Contrary to American federalism, only one constitution is provided for the entire diverse country. The units neither have the right to make a separate constitution (except the state of Jammu and Kashmir) nor to secede from Indian Union.

4. Single Citizenship-

Contrary to traditional federal arrangements, Indian citizenship is governed by the Constitution of India. It provides single citizenship for the entire country. This was provided keeping in view the pluralistic structure of the Indian society and also to prevent disruptive tendencies in future.

5. Provision of Rajya Sabha (Council of States) at Central legislature-

The Rajya Sabha is the Upper House of the Union Parliament of India. The Rajya Sabha has a crucial role in representing the interests of the States at the Centre. Unlike the U.S. Senate, the Upper House of India's Union Parliament is not constituted on the basis of equal representation to all states. Seats are allotted in proportion to the population of people of each State or Union Territory.

6. Post of Governor-

Governor is an important part of Indian federal system. The Constitution provides that the Governor of a State shall be appointed by the President of India (Article 155). The Governor is in a way a representative of the centre in the state. Theoretically the office of the Governor is not subordinate or subservient to the Government of India. He is a link between the Centre and the States under the Indian Constitution. But on some occasions he looks as the agent of the Centre. In actual practice the post of Governor has always been a contentious issue of dispute between the centre and the states. But it has its own usefulness in the matters concerning centre-state conflict.

7. Dominance of Unitary Elements-

The Indian federal system can be considered as basically centralized i.e. unitary dominance system. It is more tilted towards the Centre. During the single party dominance in the formative years of our federation it was necessitated to strengthen the Centre to safe guard India's unity and integrity. Although the Left and other disruptive ideologies have continued to encourage the divisive and disintegrating tendencies by opposing the unitary centralized tendencies. In reality, the Centre has been conferred with a decisive role to play through several provisions of the constitution. The Constitution has provided for a very strong and decisive centre in the matters concerning demarcation, reorganization and creation of new states, emergency situations, economic rights etc. The fact to be appreciated here is that these dual federalism provisions were deliberately incorporated to best fit a polyglot country like India.

3.2 Unitary Features of Indian Federation-

Despite having the federal characters, the India federal system is not considered a complete federal entity. It is more inclined towards the Centre. There are some provisions of the constitution of India

which by and large make it unitary. Unitary government is known as a centralized government. Unitary Features of Indian Constitution are given as under:

1. Single Constitution

Indian Constitution embodies not only the Constitution of the Union but also those of the States. There is only one Constitution for the Centre and States in India except the State of Jammu and Kashmir. Furthermore, the States of the Indian Union have a uniform Constitution. Unlike America and Switzerland which have both a state and federal Constitution, in India there is a single constitution for the entire country which has provisions in relation to the administration of the Centre and the states.

2. Residuary powers

While residuary powers are reserved to the states by American Constitution Indian Constitution has assigned the residuary powers to the Union Government. Residuary powers mean something that is not listed in any of the three lists. According to the, Article 248 of the constitution of India, the residuary power to legislate is with the Union Government, i.e., The Union legislature has exclusive power to make any law with respect to any matter not enumerated in the Concurrent List or State List. The judiciary plays a significant role here by determining that a particular matter falls under the residuary or not. This arrangement is also found in the Canadian Constitution.

3. Constitutional Amendments

The role of the states in constitutional amendment is limited. When considering the amendment of the Constitution we find that except in a few specific matters affecting the federal structure, the States need not even be consulted in the matter of amendment of the Constitution. The bulk of the Constitution can be amended by a Bill in the Union Parliament being passed by a special majority. State legislatures cannot initiate any Bill or proposal for amendment of the Constitution. Therefore, in the matters of constitutional reforms the centre being more powerful than the state is an indicator of unitary feature.

4. Division of Powers

In any Federation the demarcation of authority is to be very clear, and each political unit is required to enact within their activities and they cannot encroach upon the functions of the other units. Division of Powers in the Constitution is in favour of the Centre. Important subjects have been included In the Union List instead of the state list. The total number of subjects (items) included in the ***Union list*** are 97, while 66 subjects of lesser importance have been included in the ***State list***. In addition, there 47 subjects are included in the ***Concurrent list***. Matters of common importance are included in the Concurrent List. Centre or Parliament can make laws on the subjects listed in the Union List. The State Legislature makes the law on subjects listed in the state list. But in some special circumstances, the parliament can also make laws on the subjects listed in the state list The subjects included in the Concurrent List contains the powers which can be exercised by both the governments, in case of conflict between the federal and the state law regarding the concurrent subject, the central law prevails. The arrangements under the division of powers make the centre more powerful than the states. It is a feature of the unitary government. Moreover, the residuary powers are vested with the centre and not the states.

5. Emergency Powers

Generally, it is necessary to amend the constitution to make it unitary, but the Constitution of India can be made unitary without making an amendment in it. In the Indian Constitution ***federal system is prescribed for normal times***. But the constitution enables the federal government to acquire the strength of a ***unitary system in emergency***. During normal times it only gives directions in respect of specified matters to the state governments, but in emergencies, its power of giving directions extends to all state subjects. As per the articles 352, 356 and 360 in the Constitution of

India, President of India have been given extraordinary powers to declare an emergency to meet any threat to the country. These powers assigned to President of India in Constitution are called emergency provisions. According to Article 352, If the president of the state is satisfied with a grave emergency exists whereby the security of India or any part is threatened whether by war or external aggression or an armed rebellion, then he may proclaim a state of national emergency for the whole of India or a part of India. Article 356 provides that if the President, on receipt of a report from the Government of a state or otherwise, is satisfied that a situation has arisen in which the Government of the State cannot be carried on by the provisions of the Constitution; the President may issue a proclamation. Article 360 states that if the President is satisfied that a situation has arisen whereby the financial stability or the credit of India or any part thereof is threatened, President may declare a state of financial emergency. No emergency under Article 360 has been declared in India so far.

6. No Equality of State Representation in Rajya Sabha -

Generally, the second house in the federal system often represents the states on the basis of equality. The representation of territorial units is one of the classic functions of a second chamber. The Indian Constitution accords representation to the various States in the Rajya Sabha on the basis of their population unlike the United States Senate, which gives equal representation to all the States irrespective of their size. This means that the States with larger population send more representatives in comparison to the States with smaller population. This is a clear departure from the federal principle.

7. Single Citizenship

Dual citizenship is a practice in the US and Switzerland. Every citizen of the USA is also a citizen of his state. Dual citizenship is not a practice in the Indian Constitution. In spite of a dual polity, the Constitution of India, like that of Canada, adopted the system of single citizenship. There is only Indian Citizenship and no separate state citizenship (except the state of J&K). All citizens irrespective of the state in which they are born or reside enjoy the same rights all over the country.

8. Common Provisions

There are many common provisions under our constitution for the centre as well as the states which are applicable for the entire country. The provisions of the fundamental rights, common civil and criminal laws, Integrated Judiciary, All India services and the National Election Commission. In India there is only one Election Commission for the entire country All India Service was created to ensure an administrative uniformity through the country. The distinctive character of these services is that its members are recruited by the centre but they serve in various states. This arrangement is considered as anti-federal by many. However, considering the nature and scope of administration in India, such services are essential as they impart all India character to governance. Services of public servants are transferable. While serving under the states, a member of the All India Service can be removed only by the federal government. Also, the machinery for accounts, and audit in India is integrated. The provisions above make Indian federation unitary.

9. Integrated Judiciary-

The federal principle envisages dual system of courts, but in India, there is unified judiciary. The integrated judiciary is a typical feature of Indian federation. Unlike typical federations, in India Supreme Court is the apex court and all other courts are subordinate to it. The States don't have separate independent courts dealing specially with state matters. The Indian Constitution has established an integrated judicial system with the Supreme Court at the top and the state high courts below it. In US and Australia, on the other hand, there is a double system of courts whereby the federal laws are enforced by the federal judiciary and the state laws by the state judiciary. In India, every court functions under the Supreme Court. Appeals can be made against the judgment of High Court of the state in the Supreme

Court. Similarly, Appeals can also be made in the High Court against the judgment of the courts of lower jurisdictions. Therefore, the integrated judicial system is considered as an attribute of a unitary state and not a federal state.

10. States Have No Right to Separate from the Union -

States of Union of India do not have the right to separate from the Union. It is notable in this context that in the year 1963, by the 16th Amendment of the Constitution, it has been clarified that freedom of speech shall not be available for taking up the matters related to secession from the Union of India.

11. Consent of States Not Necessary to Change the Name or Alter the Boundaries of the State-

Unlike the US constitution, the constitution of India empowers the federal parliament to change the name or alter the boundaries of the states without the consent of states concerned. According to the Indian Constitution; federal parliament can also restructure states or change their boundaries without the consent of States. According to the normal procedure of such legislation can be done with a simple majority. The president only has to refer the bill to the respective state assembly, and even then its views need not be heeded by the parliament. It is commonly said that India is an "indestructible union of destructible states". Article 7 says that there is no need to get the consent of the Legislature of the State affected by Parliament. The Centre has the power to change the name or alter the boundaries of the state; it can also form one state out of another.

12. No Division of Public Services-

In the United States, both the union and state have their own administrative officers, who manage their own rules, regulations and methods for governance. Unlike the US there is no division of public services in India. but there is no such division between public servants in India. Most of the public servants are employed by the state. But they administer the laws that are created by both the union and the state applicable to their respective states. **Article 312** provides that an All India Service can be created only if the Council of State declares by a resolution supported by not less than a two-thirds majority that it is necessary in the national interest to create one or more such All India Services. The officers of the All India Services are recruited and trained by the Union Government and serve in the various State Governments as well as Centre. But these services are common to both the union and the state. Members of Indian Administrative Service appointed by the Union can either be employed under any department of the Union (e.g., Home or Defence) or under any state government. Services of public servants are transferable. Even after being employed under the Union, they apply laws/rules framed by both the union and the state that to the subjects under question. While serving under the states, a member of the All India Service can be removed only by the federal government. (IAS officers working under the central government can now be removed by on the approval of the Prime minister on the recommendation of Central Review Committee of DOPT).The State Government can initiate disciplinary proceedings for this purpose.

3.3 Tendencies of Indian Unionism

K.C. Wheare says: "The Indian Union is a unitary state with subsidiary federal features rather than a federal state with subsidiary unitary features." It is a ***'Quasi-federal'.*** Granville Austin agrees with this view when he describes the Indian federation as a new kind of federalism to meet Indian's peculiar needs. He calls it ***collaborative federalism***. Dr.Bhimrao Ambedkar also did not consider it as a strict federal structure .He said that Indian Constitution is federal with strong and indestructible Centre. William Morris-Jones held the view that Indian federalism was a kind of ***Co-operative federalism*** where bargaining took place between the centre and the states and also considered it a ***bargaining federalism***. Federalism in India has evolved to suit Indian context, which is typical in nature; hence it is a blend of both unitary as well as federal features. While the basic federal

features are inherent in the Constitution, rest of the features has been suitably modified to suit the Indian requirements. Many of the features were toned down to give fundamental importance for preservation of unity and integrity of country. Federalism in India has come up age reflecting greater degree of maturity, adjustment and sustenance. Coalition Politics, emergence of powerful regional parties, court judgements on federal disputes and globalization process have accelerated the pace of decentralization and greater degree of Federalism. The States` demand for partnership in Federal Policy making processes and steps in making global contracts in regard to foreign investment is a remarkable change. The emergence of Federal agencies and mechanism has added strength to Federal framework. The Federal politics also has witnessed growth of multi-culturalism and pluralism, leading to the realization of twin Federal ideas of `***shared rule***` and `***self rule`.*** Centres have decisive role in legislative, executive and judicial matters. Emergency Provisions under Articles 352, 356 and 360 have assigned immense powers to central government during various emergencies. It has become very powerful through institutionalized concentration of powers through the All India Services and the Finance Commission etc. The second aspect of this federalism with unitary soul is that due importance and participation have been given to states through many institutions. In the initial years, there were no disputes between the Centre and the States due to almost one-party dominance and centre prevailed over the states. Since 1967 the disputes between the Centre and the states have increased. Frequent use of Article 356 by centre was cause of tense relationship between the centre and the state. In 1990s onwards in the era of coalition governments, centre became weak and it played in the hands of regional ***Shatraps***. While, on one hand forces of globalization are at play, on the other, there are forces of localism also. Greater `***Fiscal Federalism***` and change in the pattern of distribution of revenues between the Centre and the States is another dimension. As regards, decentralization at the grass root level, happily, local self-Government is getting empowered day by day. Despite the centre being strong during the tenure of the present government, the interests of the states are being looked after it intends to provide adequate political and economic autonomy to the states. An integrated tax system-GST is likely to strengthen the much anticipated economic resources of the states. In the past, due to excessive pressure by the Centre and frequent misuse of Section 356, the demand for autonomy by the states, was gaining ground and relations between the centre and the states were somehow tense in all these years. Under regional pressure a commission had to be constituted in 1983 to resolve the matter (Sarkaria Commission). Presently, except for some water disputes, the relation between the centre and the states are harmonious and there is also coordination among the various states. Sarkaria Commission had also suggested not only strong centre alone but also but secure and self sufficed states in its report in 1985.

Subject wise Distribution of Powers :

Union list	-	97
State list	-	66
Concurrent list	-	47

Important Points

- The system of governance based on the distribution and sharing of power at different levels is federalism.
- The Indian Union is also known as Quasi-federalism and Collaborative federalism.
- India currently has 29 states and 7 union territories.
- The importance of the constitution of India has been given importance.
- ***Sarkaria Commission*** was constituted for the study of mutual relations of the Union and States.
- Under Article 356 of the Constitution, the President's rule can be imposed by the Centre

in the states.

Exercise

Multiple Choice Questions-

1. Presently, how many states are there in our country?
   (A) 29 (B) 30
   (C) 35 (D) 14 ( )
2. Who makes laws on the items of Union list -
   (A) State Government
   (B) Central Government
   (C) Panchayat (D) High Court ( )
3. Which provision of the Constitution provides for emergency?
   (A) 263 (B) 310
   (C) 356 (D) 74 ( )

Very Short Answer Type Questions-

1. How many items are there in the State list?
2. Which House represents the States in the Parliament?
3. Which institution resolves the disputes between the Central and the States?

Short Answer Type Questions-

1. What is a Single Citizenship?
2. What do you understand by "***Rule of Law"?***
3. What did the Sarkaria Commission belong to?

Essay Type Questions-

1. Write an explanatory article on the features of the Indian federal system.
2. Observe the new trends of India's federalism.

Answers to Multiple Choice Questions -

1. A 2.B 3.C

Unit - II

Governance in India

1. Parliament, Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha

Parliament

In any democratic regime, the government has three organs - the executive, the legislature and the judiciary. To ensure the government is effective and citizens' rights are protected, each organ has its own powers and responsibilities, including working with the other branches. The legislature has different names in different countries. It is ***Parliament*** in the UK, ***Congress*** in the United States, ***Diet*** in Japan, ***Bundestag*** in Germany, ***Shora*** in Afghanistan and ***Majlis*** in Iraq. The Parliament of India is called the parliament (***Sansad***), which is constituted under Article 79 of the Constitution. It says that "There will be a Parliament for the Indian Union, which will be formed by the President and two Houses, whose names will be Rajya Sabha and Lok Sabha." Therefore, the President besides being the constitutional head of the executive of the Union of India; it is also an integral part of the legislature or the parliament. This is in tune with the concept of parliamentary system. Some people believe that establishment of representative institutions in India such as democracy and parliament is contribution of the British, although this is not true. Representative bodies and democratic autonomous institutions have existed in India since ancient times. The introduction of the modern parliament can be traced to the Rigveda which mentions two organizations called 'Sabha' and 'Samiti.' The committee can be considered as a modern Lok Sabha, while the assembly used to be the organization of specific people, whose form was now similar to the Rajya Sabha.

1.1 Background-

Evolution of modern democratic institutions in the country was a gradual process which stemmed from the Indian struggle against the British rule. The process of parliamentary tradition in India was initiated in limited form during the British rule by various Acts which were largely not responsive. The elements of development of parliamentary system can be seen in all the acts passed from the Charter Act of 1833 to the Government of India Act of 1935. Indian Councils Act, 1892 aimed at giving further opportunities to the non-official and native elements to participate in the work of the Government. By the Act of 1892, number of members to the Legislative Council of the Governor General was increased to sixteen including four indirectly elected members. The first attempt, however, to introduce popular element was initiated by the Morley-Minto Reforms which were sought to be implemented through the Indian Councils Act, 1909.The maximum number of members was increased to 60 by the Act of 1909 and their rights were increased. The British, on the other hand, tried to break the Indian unity by introducing the communal system of representation in the elections. The Montagu Chelmsford Reforms led to the enactment of the Government of India Act, 1919 which was certainly a landmark in the constitutional

history of India. This Act introduced bicameralism for the first time. In which there was one State Council and the second was the Legislative Assembly and most of the members were elected in each house. After a lot of deliberations the Government of India Act, 1935 came into being which introduced federation and the provincial autonomy. Under the Act the Central Legislature was still made bicameral. The membership and rights of these two houses were also increased substantially, yet the form was still far away from being a responsible government. Moreover, it provided for very limited voting rights which were determined on the basis of property. Only fifteen percent of the people had the right to vote. Voters were divided into different classes on a communal and commercial basis. After independence, all anti-democratic elements of the British rule were repealed and a full-fledged parliamentary system of government with modern institutional framework in tune with the democratic principles was established in India by the Constitution of India.

1.2 Composition of Parliament-

According to Article 79 of the Constitution of India, the Parliament consists of President of India and the two Houses of Parliament known as Council of States (Rajya Sabha) and House of the People (Lok Sabha). As part of the legislature the President also has legislative powers which have been described under the legislative powers of the President. So now we will study the process of Parliament and the formation of the two houses and the functions and powers.

1.3 Qualifications and Disqualifications-

Qualifications- The Constitution has set the following qualifications-In order to be chosen as a Member of Parliament: a person (1) must be a citizen of India. (For a long time there has been demand in the country that the citizens born in India should only hold the highest positions of the country). There are also such provisions in many countries, although there is not even such a mention in the Indian Constitution. (2) must not be less than twenty-five years of age in the case of Lok Sabha and not less than thirty years of age in the case of Rajya Sabha. (3) He should have other such qualifications that are determined by the Parliament.

Disqualifications- The following grounds could disqualify a person for being chosen and for a person for being chosen and for being a Member of Parliament: (1) if he holds any office of profit other than an office declared by Parliament by law not to disqualify its holder; (2) if he is of unsound mind and stands so declared by a competent court; (3) if he is an Undischarged Insolvent; (4) if he is not a citizen of India or has voluntarily acquired the citizenship of a foreign State; and (5) if he is so disqualified by or under any law made by Parliament or the Tenth Schedule of the Constitution. No person can be a member of both houses of Parliament at one time. A person can contest from maximum two places for the Lok Sabha, if he is elected from both places then within a month he has to vacate one place. According to the Tenth Schedule of the Constitution, a Member of Parliament can be sacked from the membership if convicted of defamation. Apart from this, the member can also be sacked from the election if he is found guilty of a criminal offense or a corrupt conduct in election. Regarding the qualifications and disqualifications of Members of Parliament, it is also noteworthy that no educational qualification has been considered necessary, whereas in many states including Rajasthan, minimum educational qualification has been considered necessary to contest elections in local self-government.

1.4 Oath-

All the members of the Parliament, whom we call M.P. in common parlance, take oath before accepting his position. An oath of office is an oath or affirmation a person takes before undertaking the duties of an office, usually a position in government. The President administers the oath to the Speaker pro tem in the Rashtrapati Bhawan. The other three Members appointed by the President to assist him in administering the oath/ affirmation are administered

the oath/affirmation by the Speaker pro tem in the Lok Sabha.

1.5 Sessions of Parliament-

Article 85 of the Constitution empowers President to summon each House of the Parliament as he thinks fit. However he can summon the houses at intervals not be more than six month's gap between the two sessions. Thus, it is mandatory to Parliament meet at least twice a year as per constitution. The period during which the House meets to conduct its business is called a session. In India, the parliament conducts three sessions each year: Budget session: February to May Monsoon session: July to September Winter session: November to December. During the proceedings of Parliament, the house can be adjourned by the Presiding Officer (Speaker of Lok Sabha and Chairman of the Rajya Sabha). The President may from time to time-(a) prorogue the Houses or either House ;(b) dissolve the House of the People.

1.6 Quorum-

A quorum is the minimum number of members of a deliberative assembly (a body that uses parliamentary procedure, such as a legislature) necessary to conduct the business of that group. Article 100 of the Constitution of India stipulates that at least 10% of total number of members of the House must be present to constitute the quorum to constitute a meeting of either House of Parliament. For example, if the House (Lok Sabha) has the total membership of 545, at least 54 members must be present for the House to proceed with its business. For conducting the proceedings of the Rajya Sabha, at least 25 members in the House (Tenth of the total number of members 245 Part) must be present. If at any time during a meeting of a House there is no quorum, the Chairman has to either adjourn the House or suspend it until there is a quorum.

1.7 Language of Parliament-

Notwithstanding anything in Part XVII, but subject to the Article 348, business in Parliament shall be transacted in Hindi or in English: Provided that the ... acting as such, as the Case may be, may permit any member who cannot adequately express himself in Hindi or in English to address the House in his mother tongue.

1.8 Powers of Ministers and Advocate General in Parliament-

Article 88 of the Constitution mentions Every Minister and the Attorney-General of India shall have the right to speak in, and otherwise to take part in the proceedings of either House, any joint sitting of the Houses, and any committee of Parliament of which he may be named a member, but shall not by virtue of this article be entitled to vote.

1.9 Composition of Rajya Sabha-

The Rajya Sabha is known as the Upper House of Parliament, the permanent House or the House of the States. The Rajya Sabha is constituted under Article 80 of the Constitution which says that, (1) The Council of States shall consist of (a) twelve members to be nominated by the President in accordance with the provisions of clause (3); and(b) not more than two hundred and thirty eight representatives of the States and of the Union territories. Out of which two hundred and thirty-eight members represent the States and Union territories and twelve members are nominated by the President. Twelve members nominated by the President are from amongst the persons having special knowledge or practical experience in respect of such matters as literature, science, art and social service. The provision of persons to be nominated by the President in the Rajya Sabha is inspired by the constitution of Ireland. The actual strength of Rajya Sabha, at present, is two hundred and forty-five; out of which 229 members are elected from different states and 4 members from the union territories, while 12 members are nominated by the President. The Rajya Sabha is a permanent body and is not subject to dissolution. However, one-third of its members retire biennially. A member who is elected for a full term retains his membership for six years. He is eligible for re-election. The Fourth Schedule to the Constitution provides for allocation of seats to various States and Union territories. The

representatives of the States are elected by the elected members of State Assemblies in accordance with the system of proportional representation by means of the single transferable vote. The representatives of the Union territories in Rajya Sabha are chosen in accordance with laws enacted by Parliament. Thus, on one hand, 31 members of Rajya Sabha are elected from Uttar Pradesh alone, while only one member is elected from many states like Goa, Manipur, and Meghalaya. Ten members of the Rajya Sabha are elected from Rajasthan. As regards the Union Territories, only Delhi and Puducherry are represented in the Rajya Sabha, and not the rest. Thus, instead of giving equal representation to all the states similar to the Upper House of the US Congress, here in India the states are not equally represented in Rajya Sabha. The number of members from a state depends on its population.

1.10 Election of Members of Rajya Sabha-

According to the constitution, the representatives of the States and of the Union Territories in the Rajya Sabha are elected by the method of indirect election. The representatives of each State and two Union territories are elected by the elected members of the Legislative Assembly of that State and by the members of the Electoral College for that Union Territory, as the case may be, in accordance with the system of proportional representation by means of the single transferable vote. Therefore, the members of the Rajya Sabha are indirectly elected, as the members of Rajya Sabha from Rajasthan will be elected by 200 MLAs of the Rajasthan Legislative Assembly. There have been two amendments recently for the Rajya Sabha elections - the condition for the candidates to be resident of that state from where he wants to be elected was done away with and the voting system adopted in place of the secret ballot system. The Election Commission of India has the responsibility to elect the Rajya Sabha.

1.11 Tenure of Rajya Sabha

Rajya Sabha is a permanent House and is not subject to dissolution. The tenure of Rajya Sabha was not mentioned in the original constitution and left for the parliament to decide later .Accordingly; the tenure of the Rajya Sabha members was fixed for six years by the parliament under the Representation of Peoples Act 1951. A member who is elected for a full term serves for a period of six years. However, one-third Members of Rajya Sabha retire after every second year. The election held to fill a vacancy.

1.12 Officials of Rajyasabha-

According to Article 64 and 89 of the Constitution, the Vice-President of India is the ex-officio Chairman of the Rajya Sabha, although he is not a member of the Rajya Sabha. According to Article 89, (A) The Vice President of India shall be ex officio Chairman of the Council of States (B) The council of States shall, as soon as may be, choose a member of the council to be Deputy an thereof and, so often as the office of Deputy Chairman becomes vacant, the council shall choose another member to be Deputy chairman thereof. Thus, the Speaker of the Rajya Sabha is not member of Rajya Sabha but the Deputy Chairman is a member. When the Vice-President acts as the acting President of India or absent from the House, the Deputy Chairman conducts the proceedings of the Rajya Sabha.

1.13 Composition of Lok Sabha-

The Lok Sabha is the lower or the popular house of the Indian bi-cameral parliament. It is constituted according to article 81 of the Constitution. Lok Sabha is composed of representatives of the people chosen by direct election on the basis of the adult suffrage. Initially, the total strength of the Lok Sabha was determined 500. By the States Reorganization Act, 1956, the strength was increased to 520 which was a later further increased to 525. According to the 31st Constitutional Amendment Act, 1974, the maximum number of members of the Lok Sabha can be 552, of which (1) 530 members will be elected from different states. (2) 20 members will be elected

from Union Territories and not more than two members of the Anglo-Indian Community to be nominated by the Hon'ble President, if, in his/her opinion, that community is not adequately represented in the House. The total elective membership is distributed among the States in such a way that the ratio between the number of seats allotted to each State and the population of the State is, so far as practicable, the same for all States. But in reality, current strength of the Lok Sabha is 545, out of which 530 are elected from different states and 13 members from Union Territories while two members are nominated by the President. The representation of the states to the Lok Sabha is based on population. Therefore UP which is the most heavily populated State in India sends as many as 80 members while 25 are elected members for Lok Sabha from Rajasthan. Under Article 82 of the Constitution, the Parliament by law enacts a Delimitation Act after every census. After coming into force commencement of the Act, the Central Government constitutes a Delimitation Commission. This Delimitation Commission demarcates the boundaries of the Parliamentary Constituencies as per provisions of the Delimitation Act. The present delimitation of constituencies has been done on the basis of 2001. The present Constituencies carved out on the basis of 2001 census shall continue to be in operation till the first census after 2026. For the purpose of constituting the Lok Sabha, the whole country has been divided into 543 Parliamentary Constituencies, each one of which elects one member. The members of the Lok Sabha are elected directly by the eligible voters.

1.14 Election of Members of Lok Sabha-

There was many defects in the formation of the legislature during the colonial rule. At the plea of safeguarding the minorities, the British granted separate representation to the Muslims on communal grounds. The separate communal electoral system disrupted our political life. The Constituent Assembly had to fight a lot to end these problems. Most minority leaders wanted their communities to maintain a separate electoral system even in independent India. Sardar Patel persuaded the minority representatives to end the communal electoral system. Therefore, members of Lok Sabha in independent India are directly elected by adult franchise. According to Article 326, the adult citizens aged 18 years or above who are registered in the electoral roll will be elected to the Lok Sabha by voting. Different political parties field their candidates for Lok Sabha constituencies. An Independent candidate can also contest the election. The registered voters in that particular Lok Sabha constituency exercise their votes on the date set by the Election Commission of India, and the candidate who receives maximum votes is declared elected. Thus, it is not necessary for a candidate to get a certain percentage in the election. For example, if in a constituency there are 5 or more candidates and the candidate who received the maximum votes got just 25 percent of the votes polled; hewill be declared victorious, even if the remaining 75 percent of the votes were cast in opposition. Hence, there is no parity between the votes actually received by various political parties and the seats won by them. In the Lok Sabha elections held in 1984, Congress secured more than 400 seats out of 533 seats i.e. over 75 percent, even though it did not receive even 50 percent of the total votes. Some seats are reserved in Lok Sabha for the members of the Schedule Castes and Scheduled Tribes. As per the order issued by the Delimitation Commission in 2008, 412 are general, 84 seats are reserved for Scheduled Castes and 47 seats for the Scheduled Tribes .Earlier it was 79 and 41 for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes respectively.

1.15 Tenure of Lok Sabha-

According to Article 83 of the Constitution, the normal term of the Lok Sabha will be five years from its first meeting. But according to Article 85, the President, on the advice of Council of Ministers, may dissolve it before the expiry of five years. In the case of national emergency, its term can be extended for one year at a time. The term of the Lok Sabha was extended in 1976-77.But it will not exceed six months after the emergency is over. On several

occasions Lok Sabha was dissolved prior to the end of its term. The first Lok Sabha in India was formed in April, 1952, while the 16th Lok Sabha which is currently functioning was formed in May 2014.

1.16 Lok Sabha Speaker & Deputy Speaker-

According to Article 93 of the Constitution, the House of the People shall, as soon as may be, choose two members of the House to be respectively Speaker and Deputy Speaker thereof and, so often as the office of Speaker or Deputy Speaker becomes vacant, the House shall choose another member to be Speaker or Deputy Speaker, as the case may be. Speaker is elected by members of Lok Sabha from amongst themselves and remains in office till a new House is constituted through general elections. Speaker is by convention a member of the ruling party or alliance. Deputy Speaker is elected by members of Lok Sabha from amongst themselves and remains in office till the dissolution of Lok Sabha. The tradition is that Deputy Speaker is elected from the opposition party although there is no such constitutional or political obligation. The Speaker can submit his resignation to the Deputy Speaker and the Deputy Speaker can tender his resignation to the Speaker. As per Articles 94 and 96, both the Speaker and Deputy Speaker can be removed from office by the Lok Sabha by a resolution passed by an effective majority of the House in a session held fourteen days after the receipt of the notice. Speaker is also removed on getting disqualified for being Lok Sabha member under sections 7 & 8 of Representation of the People Act, 1951. The basic function of the Speaker is to preside over the house and conduct the meetings of the House in orderly manner. No member can speak in the House without his permission. He may ask a member to finish his speech and in case the member does not obey he may order that the speech should not be recorded. All the Bills, reports, motions and resolutions are introduced with Speaker's permission. He puts the motion or bill to vote. He does not participate in the voting but when there are a tie i.e. equal number of votes on both sides, he can use his casting Structure of Government vote. But he is expected to cast his vote in a manner so that his impartiality and independence is retained. His decisions in all parliamentary matters are final. He also rules on points of order raised by the members and his decision is final. He is the custodian of rights and privileges of the members. He disqualifies a member of his membership in case of defection. He also accepts the resignation of members and decides about the genuineness of the resignation. In case of joint sitting of Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha, the Speaker presides over the meeting. Under Article 110 (3) of the Constitution, if any question arises as to whether a Bill is a Money Bill or not, the decision of the Speaker of the House of the People thereon shall be final. Ganesh Vasudev Mavalankar was the first Lok Sabha Speaker and Madabhushi Ananthasayanam Ayyangar was the Deputy Speaker of Independent India.

1.17 Functions of Parliament-

Parliament of India has the cardinal functions of legislation, control of executive and ventilation of people's grievances. The legislative proposals are introduced mostly by the Government in order to fulfill the promises for which it has received the mandate of the people. Parliament, being the highest elected body, gives final approval to such proposals after discussing them fully and suggesting modifications, wherever felt necessary. Without the approval of Parliament, no Bill can reach the statute book.

1. Legislative Functions- Basically the Parliament is a law-making body of India and its primary function is to legislate, but it also plays a limited role in initiating the legislation. So its main task is to make laws. In federal system established in India, there is a division of power between the Centre (Union) and the States. The legislative powers have been divided into the union and the provinces. In the seventh schedule of the Constitution, There are three lists Union List, State List and the Concurrent List. Only Parliament can make laws on the subjects mentioned in the Union List. The Parliament can make legislation on any of

the subjects covered in the Union List. Along with the State Legislatures, the Parliament is empowered to make laws on the Concurrent List. In case, both the Centre as well as the States make a law on the subject mentioned in the Concurrent List then the central law prevails upon the state law if there is a clash between the two. Any subject not mentioned in any list i.e. residuary powers are vested with the Parliament. In some circumstances Parliament can also make legislation in relation to the subjects of the state list. As pointed out earlier basically the Parliament is a law making body. Any proposed law is introduced in the Parliament as a bill. After being passed by the Parliament and getting the President's assent it becomes a law. There are two kinds of bills, which come up before the Parliament: - (i) ordinary bill and (ii) money bill. The legislative procedure in each of these kinds of bills is given as under. The proposal to make a law is called a simple bill. This bill can be presented in any House of Parliament. If the bill is placed in the House by a member of the Council of Ministers, then it is called the Government Bill, whereas the bill passed by ordinary members is called private bill. Any bill not moved by a Minister is a Private Member's Bill, which means that the bill has been moved by a member of parliament but not a minister in the Government.

Ordinary Bills- The Bills pass through several stages. : -

(A) First Reading- With the introduction of the bill, the First Reading of the bill starts. This stage is simple. The Minister wanting to introduce a bill, informs the presiding officer. He/she puts the question of introduction to the House. When approved, normally by voice vote, the Minister is called upon to introduce the bill.

(B) Second Reading - This stage is the most vital stage. After general discussion the House has four options: - (i) it may straightaway take the bill into detailed (clause by-clause) consideration or (ii) refer it to a select committee of the House or, (iii) refers it to the Joint Committee of both the Houses or (iv) circulate it among the people to elicit public opinion. If the bill is referred to a select committee of the House or the joint select committee of both the Houses, the concerned committee examines the bill very minutely. Each and every clause is examined. The committee may also take the opinion of professionals and legal experts. After due deliberations, the committee submits its report to the House.

(C) Third Reading- After the completion of the second reading, the Minister may move that the bill be passed. At this stage normally no discussion takes place. The members may oppose or support the adoption of the bill, by a simple majority of members present and voting.

Bill in the other House- After the bill has been passed by one House, it goes to the other House. Here also the same procedure of three readings is followed. The following consequences may follow:- (A) It may pass it; then the bill is sent to the President for his assent. (B) It may pass the bill with amendments. The bill will be sent back to the first House. In such a case, the first House will consider the amendments and if it accepts the amendments then the bill will be sent to President for his assent. In case the first House refuses to accept the amendments, then it means there is a deadlock. (C) It may reject it.

Joint sitting of the two Houses- In order to remove the deadlock between the two Houses, the President may call for a joint sitting of the two Houses. Such joint sittings are very rare in India and till now only three times such meetings have taken place. They were convened on the occasion of passage of Dowry Prohibition Bill 1959, Banking Service Commission (Repeal) Bill, 1978, and Prevention of Terrorism Bill, 2002.

President's Assent to the Bill- After being passed by either the Houses or the Joint Sitting of both Houses, the bill is referred to the President for his assent. The President also has some options in this regard: - (i) He may give his assent and with his assent, the bill becomes a law. (ii) He may withhold his assent, but may suggest some changes. In such a case the bill is sent back to the House from where it

had originated. But if both the Houses pass the bill again with or without accepting the recommendations, the President has no option but to give his assent. Thus, with the signature of the President the complicated process of lawmaking ends. In fact it is the most important function of the Parliament. It is through law making that the Parliament carries out its responsibility towards people and also fulfills the social, economic needs of the country. But parliament is so far not to legislate for all citizens of the country. It is surprising to note that Parliament cannot make laws for the social and religious life of the Muslims and Christians of the country. They are privileged to have their own personal boards to determine the rules of their social life. Apparently, this provision contrasts the fundamental right of equality. Uniform civil code is the ongoing point of debate within Indian mandate to replace personal laws based on the scriptures and customs of each major religious community in India with a common set of rules governing every citizen. Not only that, Article 44 provides that the State shall Endeavour to secure for the citizens a uniform civil code throughout the territory of India. There are a number of cases where the Supreme Court has referred to Article 44 and the concept of uniform civil code, mainly to highlight the lackluster attitude of the executive and the legislature in the implementation of the directive.

2. Passing the Money Bill - The second important function of Parliament is to pass the Money Bill. Article 109 describes Special procedure in respect of Money Bills and Article 110 defines the Money Bill. Article 109(1) makes it mandatory that Money Bill can be introduced only in the Lok Sabha on the recommendation of the President. It cannot be presented in the Rajya Sabha. However, the recommendation of the President is not necessary in case of an amendment making provisions for the reduction or abolition of any tax. A Money Bill after having been passed by the Lok Sabha, and sent to Rajya Sabha for its recommendations, has to be returned to Lok Sabha by the Rajya Sabha, with in a period of fourteen days from the date of its receipt, with or without recommendations. It is open for the Lok Sabha, to either accept or reject all or any of the recommendations of the Rajya Sabha. If the Lok Sabha accepts any of the recommendations of the Rajya Sabha, the Money Bill is deemed to have been passed by both Houses with the amendments recommended by the Rajya Sabha and accepted by the Lok Sabha. If the Lok Sabha does not accept any of the recommendations of the Rajya Sabha, the Money Bill is deemed to have been passed by both Houses in the form in which it was passed by the Lok Sabha without any of the amendments recommended by the Rajya Sabha. In case a Money Bill is not returned by the Rajya Sabha to the Lok Sabha within a period of fourteen days from the date of its receipt, it is deemed to have been passed by both Houses in the form in which it was passed by the Lok Sabha after the expiry of said period. It is also worth noting that the money bill is essentially a government bill and not a private bill.

3. Function of Amending the Constitution - The Constitution is a tool to fulfill the social, economic and political needs of the country. The constitution needs to be changed as per the requirements of the country. The constitution of every country has provision for amendment in it. The Constitution is flexible or rigid largely depends on the amendment process. While the British Constitution is an example of the most flexible constitution, the Constitution of the USA is considered a rigid constitution. The Constitution of India provides for a distinctive amending process when compared to the Constitutions of other nations. It can be described as partly flexible and partly rigid. The Parliament is competent to amend the Constitution. Amending the Constitution of India is the process of making changes to the nation's fundamental law or supreme law. The procedure of amendment in the constitution is laid down in Part XX (Article 368) of the Constitution of India. This procedure ensures the sanctity of the Constitution of India and keeps a check on arbitrary power of the Parliament of India. Both the Houses have equal powers so far as amendment of the Constitution is concerned. A bill to amend the

Constitution may originate either in the Rajya Sabha or in the Lok Sabha. Unless it is passed by both the Houses with the required majority, the amendment cannot be effective. As per the procedure laid down in the Constitution, Constitution Amendment Bills can be of three types viz., (i) requiring simple majority for their passage in each House; (ii) requiring special majority for their passage in each House i.e., a majority of the total membership of a House and by a majority of ***not less than two-thirds*** of the members of that House present and voting (article 368); and (iii) requiring special majority for their passage and ratification by Legislatures of not less than one-half of the States by resolutions to that effect passed by those Legislatures (proviso to clause (2) of article 368). Article 368 governs last two types or the categories of amendments. The second category includes amendments that can be effected by Parliament by a prescribed '***special majority'***; and the third category of amendments includes those that require, ***in addition to such "special majority", ratification by at least one half of the State Legislatures***. Any such amendment, which is related to changes in the executive power of the Union and the States, changes in the legislative relations of the States, representation of States in Parliament and amendment in Article 368 itself etc. are governed by the last category, in which in addition to such "special majority", ratification by at least one half of the State Legislatures is also necessary. Constitution Amendment Bill under article 368 can be introduced in either House of Parliament and has to be passed by each House by special majority. There is no provision for a joint session in it. After a Bill has been passed by both Houses, it is presented to the President for his assent. The president cannot refuse to sign it. Thus, there are three types of bills the ordinary bill, money bill and Constitution Amendment Bill. On the General and money Bill the Lok Sabha has more powers than the Rajya Sabha and as regards the Constitution Amendment bill both houses have equal rights. Constitution Amendment Bill will not be deemed to be passed if one House passes the bill but the second house does not pass it.

The clause 2 of Art 368 also specifies certain situations in which apart from above mentioned special majority ratification by more than half of the number of States is required, they are: Election of the President, extent of executive power of the Union & State, provisions dealing with the Supreme Court, provisions dealing with High Courts in the States & Union territories, distribution of legislative power between Centre and State, representation of States in Parliament, Seventh schedule and the Article 368 itself.

Functions of Control over the Executive

Parliament also exercises control over the executive. The control is exercised by it at different levels. In the democratic system, the government is accountable to the people and they exercise their control over it through their voting rights. In a parliamentary system of government there is a close relationship between the legislature and the executive. But the task of controlling the executive on daily basis is exercised through the Parliament which is composed by representatives of the people. Moreover, the executive is responsible to the legislature for all its acts. Prime Minister and his Council of Ministers are responsible to the Parliament individually as well as collectively. The Parliament can dislodge a ministry by passing a vote of no confidence or by refusing to endorse a confidence motion. In India this has happened several times. But the no-confidence motion or the confidence motions are the extreme ways of maintaining the accountability of the Parliament over the executive. They are employed in exceptional cases. Parliament also maintains its control over executive in a routine manner through several ways. The members of Parliament can ask questions and supplementary questions regarding any matters connected with the affairs of the Central Government. The first hour of every working day of Parliament relates to the ***Question Hour*** (Starred, Unstarred and Short Notice), in which the Ministers have to answer the questions raised by the members. If the members are not satisfied with the Government's answer then they ***may demand***

separate discussion on the subject. The Parliament also exercises control over the executive through ***several motions***. For example calling ***attention notice*** or ***adjournment motion*** are such ways by which some recent matters of urgent public importance are raised. The government always takes these motions very seriously because the government's policies are criticized severely and their likely impact on the electorate whom the government would have to face ultimately. If the motion is passed then it means that the government is censured. Parliament performs another important function of ***highlighting people's grievances***. Various procedural devices available to members of Parliament afford ample opportunities for ventilating people's grievances. But the biggest strength of Lok Sabha to exercise control over the executive or the Council of Ministers is its power to pass the trust motion and no-confidence motion. The Constitution provides that the Council of Ministers shall be collectively responsible to Lok Sabha. The Prime Minister presents the motion of the vote of confidence and urges the members to pass it by voting in favor of it. The Government of the day has to go, if a Motion of No-Confidence is passed by Lok Sabha. Another method by which Parliament exercises check over the executive is through its control over finances. With this Parliament is the biggest platform for discussion in the country. Various schemes for development and welfare are discussed in detail in Parliament. The Parliament also have role in the election of the President, the Vice President etc. and their removal from the post.

Important points

- Parliament of India is constituted under Article 79 of the Constitution.
- Parliament consists of two houses-the Rajya Sabha and the Lok Sabha.

Qualification to Become a Member of Parliament

- He must be a citizen of India, must not be less than twenty-five years of age in the case of Lok Sabha and not less than thirty years of age in the case of Rajya Sabha. He should have other such qualifications that are determined by the Parliament.
- A session of Parliament must be convened within a period of six months.
- ***Quorum of the House means*** - one-tenth of the total number of members. At present, 55 members are Quorumfor Lok Sabha and 25 members for Rajya Sabha.
- In our parliament Rajya Sabha is the upper house and the Lok Sabha is the lower house.
- 12 members in Rajya Sabha and 2 members in the Lok Sabha are nominated by the President.
- There are 10 members in Rajya Sabha and 25 members in Lok Sabha from Rajasthan.
- Vice-President of India is the ex-officio Chairman of the Rajya Sabha.
- Speaker and Deputy Speaker of the Lok Sabha are elected from within the members themselves.
- The most important task of Parliament is law-making.

Exercise

Multiple Choice Questions-

1. What is the main function of our Parliament?
   (A) Enforcing the law
   (B) Lawmaking
   (C) Punishing those who break the law
   (D) Electing Panchayats ( )
2. The two houses of Parliament are-
   (A) Rajya Sabha and Lok Sabha
   (B) Lok Sabha and Legislative Assembly
   (C) President and Legislative Assembly
   (D) Advocate General and President ( )
3. The Money bill is first presented in-
   (A) Rajya Sabha

(B) Vidhan Parishad

(C) Lok Sabha

(D) Gram Panchayat ( )

4. How many members of Rajya Sabha can be elected to from Rajasthan?

(A) 25 (B) 15

(C) 250 (D) 10 ( )

Very Short Answer Type Questions-

1. How many houses are there in the Parliament of India?
2. What is the minimum age of Lok Sabha member?
3. How many members are nominated to Rajya Sabha by the President?
4. Who elects the Speaker of Lok Sabha?
5. Of which house, Vice-President is the ex-officio Chairman?

Short Answer Type Questions-

1. Describe the qualification to become a Member of Parliament.
2. Write two functions of Parliament.
3. Write a comment on Money Bill.
4. What is the Constitution Amendment Bill?
5. What do you understand by quorum?

Essay Type Questions-

1. Explain the formation and structure of Indian Parliament.
2. Explain the law-making process of Parliament.
3. "The Indian Parliament is one of the most powerful legislatures of the world," Elaborate the powers and functions of parliament in the light of above statement.

Answers to Multiple Choice Questions-

1. B 2. A

3. C 4. D

2. Union Executive, Election and Power of President and Position & Functions of Prime Minister

President

President of the three parts of the government, the executive body is responsible for implementing and administering the policies and laws enacted by the legislature. The legislative branch of government is responsible for enacting the laws of the state. The executives are not the same everywhere and may vary from country to country. The judicial branch is responsible for interpreting the constitution and laws and applying their interpretations to controversies brought before it. The distinction between parliamentary and presidential form of governance is mainly based on the different types of executive and the mutual relationship between the executive and the legislature. A parliamentary system is a system of democratic governance of a state where the constitution provides that the executive branch derives its democratic legitimacy from its ability to command the confidence of the legislative branch, typically a parliament, and is also held accountable to that parliament for its tenure and actions. In a parliamentary system, member of the executive must also be a member of the legislature and the head of state is usually a different person from the head of government. Japan, Germany, Italy, Britain, India are examples of parliamentary form of government. On the contrary, in the presidential system, the President is the head of both the state and the government and it is the focal point of all the powers of governance. America, Brazil etc. are examples of presidential system, while France, Russia, Sri Lanka etc. are countries with semi-presidential systems.

2.1 Nature of Executive

In the Parliamentary system established in India the President is the formal and constitutional head of the executive. The Prime Minister as the head of the Council of Ministers is the actual executive. The federal structure of Indian polity rests on the principle of parliamentary form of government which makes the executive accountable to the legislature. The President is a figure of prestige and dignity. He is the first citizen of the country and holds the highest position in the protocol. Article 52 of the Constitution provides that "there shall be President of India." According to Article 53 (1) the executive power of the Union shall be vested in the President and shall be exercised by him either directly or through officers subordinate to him in accordance with this Constitution. The Union executive consists of the President, the Vice-President, and the Council of Ministers with the Prime Minister as the head to aid and advise the President.

2.2 Election of the President

According to the Constitution, The President is elected by an Electoral College, which consists of the elected members of both Houses of Parliament and the elected members of the Legislative Assemblies of all the States and also of NCT of Delhi and the Union Territory of Puducherry. As per Article 55(3) of the Constitution of India, the election of the President shall be held in accordance with the system of proportional representation by means of single transferable vote and the voting at such election shall be by secret ballot. In order to be

victorious in this method, the candidate has to get one vote more than half of the total valid votes cast. It is called minimum quota. The President shall hold office for a term of 5 years from the date on which he enters upon his office. He shall, however, continue to hold office notwithstanding the expiry of his term, until his successor enters upon his office. (Article 56).The president can contest again. The President may address his resignation letter to the Vice President and tender his resignation. According to Article 61 (Procedure for impeachment of the President)

(1) When a President is to be impeached for violation of the Constitution, the charge shall be preferred by either House of Parliament

(2) No such charge shall be preferred unless-(a) the proposal to prefer such charge is contained in a resolution which has been moved after at least fourteen days notice in writing signed by not less than one fourth of the total number of members of the House has been given of their intention to move the resolution, and(b) such resolution has been passed by a majority of not less than two thirds of the total membership of the House

(3) When a charge has been so preferred by either House of Parliament, the other House shall investigate the charge or cause the charge to be investigated and the President shall have the right to appear and to be represented as such investigation

(4) If as a result of the investigation a resolution is passed by a majority of not less than two thirds of the total membership of the House by which the charge was investigated or cause to be investigated, declaring that the charge preferred against the President has been sustained, such resolution shall have the effect of removing the President from his office as from the date on which the resolution is so passed. An election to fill a vacancy in the office of President occurring by reason of his death, resignation or removal, or otherwise shall be held as soon as possible after, and in no case later than six months from, the date of occurrence of the vacancy; and the person elected to fill the vacancy shall, subject to the provisions of Article 56, be entitled to hold office for the full term of five years from the date on which he enters upon his office.

2.3 Qualifications for Election to President-

According to Article 58 of the Constitution of India, a candidate should fulfill the following eligibility conditions to contest the election to the Office of President :-

1. Must be a citizen of India,
2. Must have completed 35 years of age,
3. Must be eligible to be a member of the Lok Sabha,
4. Should not be holding any office of profit under the Government of India or the Government of any State or under any local or other authority subject to the control of any of the said Governments. [Explanation: For the purposes of this article, a person shall not be deemed to hold any office of profit by reason only that he is the President or Vice-President of the Union or the Governor of any State or is a Minister either for the Union or for any State.] In order to prevent non-serious persons from contesting the elections, there have also been provisions for proposers and approvals from the Electoral College. Dr. Rajendra Prasad was the first President of India. He was elected twice to the post of President of India.

2.4 Election Procedure of the President-

The President of India is elected by an electoral college consisting of the elected members of both Houses of Parliament i.e. Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha and of the State Legislative (Vidhan Sabhas). Nominated members of State Assemblies and the two Houses are not allowed to participate in the presidential election as they have been nominated by the President himself. Issuing whips to garner votes for a particular candidate is also prohibited.In the Electoral College for the election of President

special emphasis is given on two points. Firstly, it is tried that parity between the votes of the elected members of Parliament on one side and elected members of Legislative Assemblies of all the States on the other is obtained in proportion to the population of each state. Secondly, parity in votes of members of legislative assemblies of all the states is also obtained. A system has been devised to determine the value of vote of each Member of Parliament and Legislative Assembly, so as to ensure equality. To obtain the value of votes of each member of the legislative assembly the total population of the state is divided by the number of elected members to the legislative assembly, further divided by 1000. (The population data is taken from the 1971 census. This census will be used until 2026).

The formula as given below is helpful in determining the value of vote of each member of Legislative Assembly of a state-

The value of vote of each MLA =

$$\frac{\text{Total population of the State}}{\text{No. of elected members of State Legislative Assembly}} \div 1000$$

In other words the total population of the State is divided by the number of elected members of the State Legislative Assembly, and the quotient is divided by 1000.

Example : Let us suppose that the population of Rajasthan is 2, 57, 65,806 and the number of members of State Vidhan Sabha is 200.

The value of votes each Legislature will be :

$$\frac{2,57,65,806}{200} \div 1000 = 128.82 = 129$$

[As the remainder .82 is more than 50%, it is rounded off to 1]

The value of each vote of a Member of Parliament is determined by adding all the votes of members of the State Legislative Assemblies including the Legislative Assemblies of Union Territory of Delhi and Puducherry and divided by total number of elected members of both houses of the Parliament.

Value of each vote of a Member of Parliament =

$$\frac{\text{Total votes of state Legislative Assemblies}}{\text{Elected Members of Parliament (LS+RS)}}$$

Example : The votes of all the State Legislative Assemblies are added. Let us suppose that the total number of votes of all the Legislators is 5,44,971 and the total number of elected members of Parliament is 776.

Value of votes of each Member of Parliament =

$$\frac{5,44,971}{776} = 702.28 = 702$$

At both the stages if the remainder is less than 50% of the divides, it is ignored. But when the remainder is 50% or more, one vote is added to the quotient.

Single Transferable Vote System:

The election of the President is held through single transferable vote system of proportional representation. Unlike a traditional ballot, where the voter casts one vote only for his selected candidate, a presidential election ballot does not follow this system. What it follows is the Single Transferable Vote system. Under this system names of all the candidates are listed on the ballot paper and the elector gives them numbers according to his preference. Every voter may mark on the ballot paper as many preferences as there are candidates. If there are five candidates for example, the voter will give five preferences. It is mandatory to give a first preference as the vote will be declared invalid in its absence. However, if the voter doesn't give other preferences, the vote will be considered valid. Thus the elector shall place the figure 1 opposite the name of the candidate whom he chooses for first preference and may mark as many preferences as he wishes by putting the figures 2, 3, 4 and so on against the names of other candidates. The ballot becomes invalid if first preference is marked against more than one candidate or if the first preference is not marked at all. First preference votes of all the candidates are sorted out and counted. To be declared elected a candidate must get more than

50% of the total valid votes polled. This is known as Quota. The Quota is determined by totaling the total number of votes polled divided by the number of candidates to be elected plus one. In this case, since only the President is to be elected, so division is done by 1+1. One (01) is added to the quotient to make it more than 50%.

At the first count only first preference votes are counted. If any of the candidates reaches the quota, he is declared elected. In case no candidate reaches the quota, then the 2nd preference votes of the candidate getting the least number of first preference votes are transferred to other candidates. Thus the candidate getting the least number of votes is eliminated. If after counting, a candidate reaches quota, he is declared elected as the President. In case no candidate reaches quota, even at this stage, then the votes of next candidate getting the least number of votes are transferred to the others. It continues till any one candidate gets the quota of votes.

Let us understand it with the following example. Suppose there are four candidates, A, B, C, and D, and total value of votes is = 1,40,000.

The Minimum Quota required for winning is =

$$\frac{1,40,000}{1+1} + 1 = 70001$$

The results of the first preference counting are: A: 30,000 B: 20,000 C: 40,000 D: 50,000. As no candidate has acquired the minimum quota in the first counting, now in this case, candidate B will be eliminated and his votes will be distributed to the rest of the candidates on the basis of the second preference. Post this, suppose,

A gets 5000 votes, C gets 10000 votes and D gets 5000 votes. The new results are:

A: 35,000, C: 50,000 and D: 55, 000

As no candidate has reached the quota i.e. 70001, the process of elimination and adding his votes to remaining candidates is repeated. Here candidate 'A' getting the least number of votes gets eliminated and his votes transferred to the other candidates. Supposing as a result of transfer of votes of 'A', 'C' gets 11,000 and 'D'19,000. Now the position would be as follows:

C= 50,000 + 11,000 = 61,000

D =55,000 + 19,000 = 74,000

Since 'D' reaches quota he is declared elected as the President.

Before entering upon the office the President has to take an oath of office in the presence of the Chief Justice of India.

2.5 Salary/Privileges/Immunities and Other Facilities-

The office of the President is very august and the Constitution attaches to it may privileges and immunities. According to Article 361, he is not answerable to any court for the exercise and performance of the powers and duties of his office, or for "any act done or purporting to be done by him" in the exercise and performance of those powers and duties. The ambit of this immunity is very extensive. The second privilege is that no criminal proceedings whatsoever can be instituted against the President. Thirdly, no process for the arrest or imprisonment of the President can issue from, any court during his term of office. Fourthly, no civil proceedings in which relief is claimed against the president shall be instituted during his term of office in any court. Civil proceedings against the President against things done by him in his personal capacity can be done only with a prior 2 months' notice. Upon the death of the former President, his wife will receive half of the pension received by the retired President and a government house for the lifetime.

2.6 Powers & Functions of President-

According to the Constitution of India, the President as constitutional head of the state is the highest office-bearer of the country.

The Powers of the President can be divided into two parts- General Powers and The Emergency Powers.

General Powers

1. Executive Powers

(i) Head of the Union : As said earlier, the

President is at the head of the Union Executive. Consequently, all executive powers are exercised in his name. The executive power of the Union to be exercised by the President is extended to the matters with respect to which Parliament has power to make laws and to conclude treaty and agreement.

(ii) Appointments : The President appoints the Prime Minister and with his advice the other Ministers of the Union Council of Ministers. As head of the executive, the President appoints the Attorney General of India, Governors of States, the Judges of the Supreme Court and the High Courts, Ambassadors to the foreign countries, the Auditor General of India, the Chairman and members of the Union Public Service Commission, and many other high officials, such as the members of Finance Commission, Election commission, Union Public commission etc. But here too, as in all other appointments, the President can seldom use his discretion. He is, ordinarily, duty-bound to summon the leader of the political party which secures a majority in the Lok Sabha to become the Prime Minister and form the Ministry. He enjoys some discretionary powers in the certain matters only under exceptional circumstances. When no single political party wins a clear majority and, as a result, no government can be formed without a coalition of parties; the President can exercise his discretion judiciously in appointing the Prime Minister. Such situations have arisen in the past when India ushered into an era of coalition politics. It may so happen that no single party is able to secure a requisite majority to form the government at its own and under such circumstances the President may be required to exercise his discretionary powers in appointing the Prime Minister and also in formation of government. Normally the Union Council of Ministers remains in office for five years, unless dissolved earlier for any reason. The President must be satisfied that the Council of Ministers enjoys the confidence of the majority of the Lok Sabha. In case of any doubt he can ask the Council of Ministers to prove its majority in the Lok Sabha.

(iii) Power to Grant Pardon : Under Article 72 of the Constitution of India President has power to grant pardons, reprieves, respites or remissions of punishment or to suspend, remit or commute the sentence of any person convicted of any offence

(a) in all cases where the punishment or sentence is by a court Martial;

(b) in all cases where the punishment or sentence is for an offence against any law relating to a matter to which the executive power of the Union extends;

(c) in all cases where the sentence is a sentence of death.

(iv) As Supreme Commander- As head of State, the President is the supreme Commander of the Armed Forces of India and is entitled to declare war or conclude a treaty.

(v) The right to get information- The President has the right to get information about the proceedings of the Council of Ministers. According to Article 78 It shall be the duty of the Prime Minister

(a) to communicate to the President all decisions of the council of Ministers relating to the administration of the affairs of the union and proposals for legislation;

(b) to furnish such information relating to the administration of the affairs of the Union and proposals for legislation as the President may call for; and

(c) if the President so requires, to submit for the consideration of the Council of Ministers any matter on which a decision has been taken by a Minister but which has not been considered by the Council.

All these powers of the President are formal and in practice he acts upon the advice of the Council of Ministers. Only in particular political circumstances he uses his discretion in making some decisions. Formally the Prime Minister is appointed by the President, but he cannot appoint anyone on his own. In the Parliamentary system, he has to appoint the Leader of the majority party in the Lok Sabha as the Prime Minister, but when no party gets

a clear majority after the election, the President often may sometimes decides it on a political basis. After the elections in 1998, the Bharatiya Janata Party coalition was the largest and close to the majority, yet the President told the leader of the coalition, Mr. Atal Bihari Vajpayee "to present documents related to political parties in support of his claim." He even asked Vajpayee to get confidence vote in the Lok Sabha within just ten days of his taking office as Prime Minister. In contrast, after the 1991 election, Narasimha Rao's Congress government received more support from the President, whereas it was a minority government.

2. Legislative Powers-

In Indian Parliamentary practice, the President is the nominal executive or a Constitutional ruler. He is an integral part of Indian Parliament. Parliament consists of the President and two Houses the House of the people (Lok Sabha) and the Council of States (Rajya Sabha). He performs legislative functions in this capacity. The President has the power of to summon and prorogue both the House of Parliament. He can also dissolve the House of the People before the expiry of its term. Under Article 85, (1) The President shall form time to time summon each House of Parliament to meet at such time and place as he thinks fit, but six months shall not intervene between its last sitting in one session and the date appointed for its first sitting in the next session (2) The President may from time to time-

(a) prorogue the Houses or either House;

(b) dissolve the House of the People

The Constitution of India empowers the President to deliver an address to the Parliament at the commencement of the first session every year. He may also send messages to Parliament. The President nominates two members to the Lok Sabha from the Anglo-Indian Community and twelve members to the Rajya Sabha from among the persons who have acquired special knowledge in art, science, literature and social service.

Under Article 111, a public bill cannot become an act without the assent of the President. A bill passed by the Union Parliament is sent to the President for his assent. The President may give his assent to the bill or may withhold his assent from the bill or he may return the bill to Parliament for its reconsideration. If the bill is again passed by both Houses of Parliament, the President shall have to give his assent. It is called limited veto of the President. A pocket veto is a legislative manoeuvre that allows a president or other official with veto power to exercise that power over a bill by taking no action Contents. In 1986, President Zail Singh exercised the pocket veto with respect to Indian Post Office (Amendment) Bill.

Under Article123, the President may issue an ordinance when the Parliament is not in session. It has the same force as the law or Parliament. But it must be placed before the Parliament when it again assembles. If it is then approved by both the Houses of Parliament, it will cease to operate after six weeks of the date of meeting of Parliament. And the President can call a joint session of both Houses of Parliament to resolve a constitutional deadlock over a public bill. Facts as Above, establishes that the President is a vested with legislative powers besides his being a constitutional head.

3. Financial Powers

The President of India enjoys extensive powers. No money bill can be introduced in Parliament without the recommendations of the President. As per Article 112(1), the President shall in respect of every financial year cause to be laid before both the Houses of Parliament a statement of the estimated receipts and expenditure of the Government of India for that year. Under Article 113, (1) So much of the estimates as relates to expenditure charged upon the Consolidated Fund of India shall not be submitted to the vote of Parliament, but nothing in this clause shall be construed as preventing the discussion in either House of Parliament of any of those estimates (2) So much of the said estimates as relates to other expenditure shall be submitted in the form of demands for grants to the House of the People, and

the House of the People shall have power to assent, or to refuse to assent, to any demand, or to assent to any demand subject to a reduction of the amount specified therein(3) No demand for a grant shall be made except on the recommendation of the President. Under Article 117 (1) A Bill or amendment making provision for any of the matters specified in sub clauses (a) to (f) of clause (1) of article 110 shall not be introduced or moved except on the recommendation of the President and a Bill making such provision shall not be introduced in the Council of States: Provided that no recommendation shall be required under this clause for the moving of an amendment making provision for the reduction or abolition of any tax. With the permission of the President, supplementary, additional and other demands are made. The President appoints the members of the Finance Commission and the Comptroller and Auditor General. He submits the representations made by them before the Parliament. Based on the recommendation of the Finance Commission, President divides the income received from income tax and other taxes between the centre and the states.

4. Judicial Powers

The President has some judicial power. He cannot be punished by any court. According to Article 72, the President has the power to pardon, reprieve, and respite, remit, suspend and commute sentences of convicted persons. By exercising his power to pardon, the President of India can set free any offender who has been tried and convicted. By reprieve is meant a stay of execution of the sentence pending a proceeding for pardon etc. Respite means that a lesser sentence is awarded instead of the punishment prescribed. The President can exercise these powers in three types of cases first, with respect to all cases where punishment is awarded by military courts. He exercises this power in his capacity as the Supreme Commander of Indian Armed Forces. Secondly, He can exercise this power where the punishment is related to the offence against such laws as are within the executive power of the Union. Thirdly, the President has the power to grant pardon in cases of punishment to death. The powers of the President's to grant pardon will not have any effect on the related power of the governors of the states and the military officers of the military courts. The President will use this power on the advice of his ministers.

2.7 Emergency Powers

Articles 352 to 360 as mentioned in the part 18 of the Constitution of India deal with the emergency provisions. There are 3 types of Emergencies:

1. National Emergency (Article 352)-

emergency due to war, external aggression or armed rebellion. According to Article 352, (1) If the President is satisfied that a grave emergency exists whereby the security of India or of any part of the territory thereof is threatened, whether by war or external aggression or armed rebellion, he may, by Proclamation, made a declaration to that effect in respect of the whole of India or of such part of the territory thereof as may be specified in the Proclamation Explanation. Under Article 352, National Emergency has been declared in our country three times. The national emergency was for the first time proclaimed in 1962 in the wake of the Chinese invasion. This emergency was also used by the government to tide over the situation arising out of the Indo-Pak war of 1965. The emergency was finally lifted in January, 1968. The second emergency was declared on 3 December 1971 in the wake of the second India-Pakistan War and was lifted on 21 March 1977 (originally proclaimed during the Indo Pakistan war, and later extended along with the third proclamation "the security of India" having been declared "threatened by external aggression"). The third national emergency was declared on June 25, 1975 on grounds of internal disturbance and was revoked on March 21, 1977.

2. Failure of Constitutional Machinery in States

Article 356 - According to Article 356, If the president is satisfied on receipt of a report from the governor or otherwise that a situation has arisen in which the Government in a state cannot be carried in

accordance with the provisions of the Constitution, he is empowered to proclaim an emergency by dissolving the Council of Ministers of the state. This is also called President's rule in common parlance.

The proclamation would have to be placed before the parliament for approval within two months where approval by both the Houses is necessary. However, even if Parliament has approved the proclamation, it will normally cease to operate 6 months after the Parliamentary approval. In any state, it can continue for one year when either emergency under Article 352 is underway and the Election Commission certifies that it is not possible to conduct elections in the state. But in no situation President's rule in any state cannot continue beyond three years. In reality, this provision was also misused on many occasions in the past on political basis. President's Rule in India was imposed 115 times till date. The Central Government tries to dismiss the governments of opposition parties in the states through this article. This trend has also affected the interaction between the Centre and the States. By 1967, when the Central Government and Congress had ruled most of the states, President's rule came into force only for seven times, but after that as soon as the opposition parties started forming governments, this was article widely used. In many cases, the Supreme Court cancelled the declaration of President's rule and ordered the reinstatement of the state government, proving that the use of this article is done more for political reasons than other reasons.

3. Financial Emergency:

Article 360 : If the President is satisfied that a situation has arisen whereby the financial stability or credit of the country or any part of it is threatened, he may declare a financial emergency. Proclamation in this case also has to be approved by the Parliament as in the case of two other cases of emergency. During the Financial emergency, the executive authority of the Union shall extend to giving of the directions to any state to observe such canons of financial propriety as may be specified in the direction or any other direction, the president may deem necessary for the purpose. Such directions may include those requiring the reduction of salaries and allowances of the Government servants and even those of the Judges of Supreme Court and High Courts. Financial emergency has never been proclaimed in India.

It is thus clear that constitutionally the President enjoys extensive powers in normal times and also during the emergency. But he is not the real user of these powers. Due to constitutional provisions and traditions, he must act according to the advice given to him by the Council of Ministers, headed by the Prime Ministers, so that refusal to act according to such advice will render him liable to impeachment for violation of the Constitution. President, we should note the constitutional Limitations under which he is to exercise his executive powers.

The President is a ceremonial figure and owes respect as constitutional head of the State. He, however, is not a symbol of power.

Powers of President	
General Powers	Emergency Powers
1. Executive 2. Legislative 3. Financial 4. Judicial	1. National Emergency(Art.352) 2. Constitutional Failure in the States(Art.356) 3. Financial Emergency(Art.360)

Prime Minister-Position & Functions

In our country, the Prime Minister is one of the most important institutions. The Indian Constitution has various provisions facilitating the parliamentary system. India is a federal (or quasi-federal) democratic republic with a parliamentary system of government largely based on the UK model. There are two heads (executives) i.e. nominal head (The President) and real head (The Prime Minister). Here, ministers are members of both legislature and

executive. According to Article 53 the executive power of the Union shall be vested in the President and shall be exercised by him either directly or through officers subordinate to him in accordance with this Constitution. According to Article 74 (1) there shall be a Council of Ministers with the Prime Minister at the head to aid and advise the President who shall, in the exercise of his functions, act in accordance with such advice: Provided that the President may require the council of Ministers to reconsider such advice, either generally or otherwise, and the President shall act in accordance with the advice tendered after such reconsideration. Article 74 also indicates that the President will not have any independent executive power and he cannot use his powers independently. He is obliged to follow the advice of the Prime Minister and the Council of Ministers. Our Indian parliamentary system is based on the model of the Westminster system and all executive powers are used by the Prime Minister. The prime minister is also the chief adviser to the President of India and head of the Council of Ministers. The first Prime Minister of India was Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru, and Narendra Modi is the 15th Prime Minister of India. The Prime Minister occupies a unique position of power and prestige. However, his power and prestige largely depends on his personality and the majority of his party in the Lok Sabha.In India there have been towering and powerful Prime ministers such as Pandit Nehru, Indira Gandhi and Narendra Modi and we also had relatively weak and less powerful Prime ministers in the era of coalition politics such as H.D Deve Gowda and Inder Kumar Gujral. It is compulsory for the prime minister to be a member of either the Lok Sabha or any of the Rajya Sabha. If he is not a member of any house when he was appointed a Prime Minister, he has to get elected and be member of either of the house within six months from the date of his appointment as Prime Minister.

2.8 Formation of Council of Ministers-

Article 74 (1) of the Constitution of India provides that Prime Minister will be appointed by the President and on his advice other ministers of his Council of Ministers are appointed. The appointment of the Prime Minister is the first step towards of the Council of Ministers.

2.9 Appointment of Prime Minister-

Article 75 (1) states that the Prime Minister shall be appointed by the President. This is a carte blanche power given to the President. The President has the power to appoint anyone as the Prime Minister. Thus, even a non-Member of Parliament can also be appointed as the Prime Minister.

2.10 Appointment of Ministers & Allocation of Portfolios-

Under Article 75(1) of the Constitution of India, the President appoints the Prime Minister and other Ministers of the Council of Ministers, on the advice of the Prime Minister. He also allocates the portfolios or the departments to his ministers. The Prime Minister sends a list of his ministers to the President for approval. President administers oath of office and secrecy to the Prime Minister and his Cabinet ministers. The Council of Ministers of present government headed by Prime Minister Narendra Modi comprises of 78 ministers that includes him.

2.11 Types of Ministers-

The three categories of Council of Ministers in order of their rank are :

1. Cabinet level Minister - A cabinet is a body of high-ranking ministers of important portfolios, typically consisting of the top leaders of the executive branch. The Cabinet Ministers have a right to attend meetings of the Cabinet. They determine the policy and programme of the Government. This is the highest level of an independent department. The Cabinet Minister is an independent in charge of the department.

2. State level ministers - These ministers are second ranking ministers and do not participate in the cabinet meetings. They may or may not hold an independent charge of any portfolio. The Prime

Minister may or may not consult them. Some of them can also be given independent charge and in this capacity they can be head of the concerned department. They are mostly affiliated with the cabinet minister.

3. Deputy Ministers - These are the third-level ministers. They neither hold independent charge of any department and nor do they participate in Cabinet deliberations. These ministers of the state assist the cabinet ministers in performance of duties of their department.

In recent years, the tradition of appointment of parliamentary secretary is also in vogue. However, neither is he given any constitutional power nor any administrative responsibility is entrusted to him. The Prime Minister appoints him and also administers the oath of the office. His job is to help the ministers of the departments in Parliament.

2.12 Size of Council of Minister-

91st Constitutional Amendment Act (which was passed by Parliament and approved by President in 2004) came into force on July 7, 2004 provides that the size of the council of ministers in the union government and in a state government cannot be more than 15 per cent of the total number of members of the Lower House of the Parliament or State Legislature respectively. According to the Indian Constitution, the total number of ministers in the council cannot exceed 15 per cent of the total number of members of the Lok Sabha. Narendra Modi's council now has strength of 78, which is near the maximum limit prescribed limit of 82.

2.13 Tenure-

According to Article 75 of the Constitution, "the Ministers shall hold office during the pleasure of the President." The Prime Minister and the Council of Ministers remain in office till the time they get the faith of the Lok Sabha. Generally, the term of the Council of Ministers is followed with the tenure of the Lok Sabha.

2.14 Oath-

Prior to their accepting their post the Prime Minister and other members of the Union Council of Ministers administers two types of the oath before the President-(i)The oath of office and(ii) The oath of secrecy. One is related to position and second to confidentiality. Oath is administered to be obedient and honest in discharge of duties. Confidentiality means that every person will keep the Cabinet's decision secret.

2.15 Role and responsibilities of Prime Minister and Council of Ministers-

Link between President & Council of Ministers-The Prime Minister is the leader of both the Council of Ministers and the Lok Sabha. He is a link between the President and the Council of Ministers. It is the obligation of the Prime Minister to inform about the decisions taken in the Council of Ministers. It is the the prime minister who informs the President about the administration of the Union government and the information of legislative and other proposals to the President.

2.16 Allocation of Portfolios-

The Prime Minister allocates the departments to his fellow ministers and also divides the work in different offices and departments. The Prime Minister coordinates work between various ministries and departments through the Cabinet Secretariat.

2.17 In Charge of Ministers-

The Prime Minister keeps certain departments or portfolios which have not been allocated to other Ministers with himself. He is in charge of the departments / ministries generally held by him.

2.18 Leader of the Cabinet-

The Prime Minister summons and presides over the various meetings of the cabinet. He also determines what business will be discussed in these meetings.

Link between Parliament & Cabinet- The Prime Minister also acts as a link between the parliament and the cabinet. He is the main spokesman from the government in Parliament. He

is also a leader of the Lok Sabha. It is the responsibility of the Prime Minister to declare important policy decisions. The prime minister can intervene in the general debate in the Parliament and keep its side to clarify the government's policy.

As an Official Delegate- Prime Minister's various delegations represent India in high level meetings with its counterparts in the international forums and organizations. The Prime Minister addresses the nation on issues of national importance on the television and radio on different occasions.

Powers & Rights of Prime Minister- Prime Minister of India is one of the most powerful heads of the governments of the World's Sovereign States. However, it is interesting to note that the Constitution has not made any specific provisions as regards his powers and the position, though; he is the most powerful functionary of the Union government. The only provision in the Constitution is that the President shall exercise his powers on the aid and advice of the Council of Ministers with the Prime Minister at the head, and that advice will be binding.

1. The Prime Minister of India is one of the most powerful heads of government of the world; he is the head of the government, while the President is the head of the State. All important decisions related to the Union Council of Ministers and other policy making bodies are taken under its supervision. The Prime Minister is the Ex-officio Chairman of the NITI and the National Development Council.
2. He is the real head of the government. He advises the President to appoint his ministers and allot their departments, change their portfolios accept or reject their resignation.
3. He presides over all the meetings of the Council of Ministers and ensures that the Council of Ministers will work on the principle of collective responsibility.
4. He communicates its decisions to the President regarding the administration and legislative proposals.
5. He can again lay before the Council of Ministers for the consideration of the decision taken by any minister on the request of the President.
6. The Prime Minister provides leadership in the functioning of the Parliament. All government bills are prepared in under his supervision and according to its advice.
7. He also oversees the functions of the departments of the Ministers under his supervision and removes differences between the Ministers and maintains a consensus in the entire administration.
8. In the Parliament, the Prime Minister is the Chief Spokesperson of the Government. The official declaration related to government policy comes only in the jurisdiction of the Prime Minister.
9. He gives advice to the President in relation to all important appointments.
10. He acts as the link between the President and the Council of Ministers. If, due to any reason, he submits his resignation, the entire Council of Ministers stands dissolved. As and when the necessity arises, he may recommend to the President that the Lok Sabha be dissolved and fresh general elections be held.
11. The Prime Minister works as a contact form between the Lok Sabha and the Rajya Sabha. It gives advice to the President as to when the Parliament session is to be convened, when it should be suspended and dissolved. He also ensures that which bill should be presented in the parliament and how to respond and reply to the opposition according to the cabinet decision.
12. The Prime Minister takes important decisions related to the foreign Policy and represents India in the foreign countries.

Important Points

- According to Article 53 of the Constitution, all the executive powers of the Union are vested in the President.
- The President is elected by the elected members of the parliament and the state legislative assemblies.
- The minimum age of the presidential candidate is 35 years.
- The powers and functions of the President can be classified into two parts General Powers and the Emergency Powers.
- General Powers contain - executive powers, legislative powers, judicial powers and appointment related and discretionary powers.
- Emergency Powers of the President- The powers to impose emergency during war or external aggression as outlined in Article 352. Powers to impose President's rule on the constitutional failure of the state's administration as mentioned in Article 356.Powers to impose the financial emergency as mentioned in the Article 360. *Under Article 75 of the Constitution, the leader of the majority party in Lok Sabha is appointed by the President as the Prime Minister. The President has some discretionary powers in this regard.
- There are three types of ministers in the Union Council of Ministers - Cabinet Ministers, Ministers of State and Deputy Ministers. The Prime Minister can also appoint Parliamentary Secretary to manage the work.

Exercise

Multiple Choice Questions-

1. Which of the following must be the qualification to become the President of India?
   (A) He must be a citizen of India
   (B) He must be of 35 years of age or above
   (C) He must be qualified to become a member of the Lok Sabha
   (D) All of the above ( )
2. The President's power to pardon donot include -
   (A) Commuting a death penalty to a life sentence.
   (B) Commuting a life imprisonment into death sentence.
   (C) Completely absolving the person of the crime and letting him go free Indian
   (D) A delay allowed in the execution of a sentence of death penalty. ( )
3. Under the provisions of which of the Article of Constitution of India, the emergency has not been proclaimed till date -
   (A) Article 352 (B) Article 356
   (C) Article 360 (D) Article 75 ( )
4. Which of the following is not a part of the Council of Ministers?
   (A) Cabinet Minister
   (B) Parliamentary Secretary
   (C) Ministers of State
   (D) Deputy Minister ( )
5. Under which Article of the Constitution, the Prime Minister is appointed by The President?
   (A) Article 75
   (B) Article 74
   (C) Article 356
   (D) Article 53 ( )

Very Short Answer Type Questions-

1. In whom the executive powers of the Union of India are vested?
2. Who was the first President of our country?
3. Who was the first woman president of India?
4. Who appoints the Prime Minister?
5. Write two key powers of the prime minister.

Short Answer Type Questions-

1. Describe the election procedure of the

presidential election in India.

2. Write a comment on the executive powers of the President.
3. Explain the rights of the President under article 356.
4. What are the privileges of the President?

Essay Type Questions-

1. Explain in detail about the election and general powers of the President.
2. "Will the emergency powers of the President not make him a dictator someday?" Discuss the emergency powers of the President in context of above statement.
3. "The Prime minister is the key stone of the cabinet arch; all the powers revolve around it." Write an essay on the powers of the Indian Prime Minister in the context of the statement.

Answers to Multiple Choice Questions-

1. D	2. B	3. C
4. B	5. B	

3. Judiciary - Composition of Supreme Court, Functions and Judicial Review

Supreme Court

The Supreme Court of India is one of the most powerful courts in the world. Judiciary has played an important role in interpreting and protecting the Constitution of India since 1950. Judiciary is very important for the protection of rights. In every society, disputes may arise between the individuals, groups and between individual groups and the government. All these disputes should be resolved by an independent organization on the basis of *'rule of law'*. The term rule of law refers to a principle of governance in which all persons, institutions and entities, public and private, including the state itself, are accountable to laws that are publicly promulgated, equally enforced and independently adjudicated, and which are consistent with international human rights norms. The *'rule of law'* is a common law applicable to all the rich and poor, women and men, and the backward and forward. The judiciary protects the *'rule of law'* and also ensures the supremacy of law. The judiciary protects the rights of an individual, resolves disputes in accordance with the law, and ensures that the democracy is not replaced by the dictatorship of any individual or group. It is important for the judiciary to be free from any political pressure. Keeping the judiciary free from any intervention and ensuring its freedom is a big challenge. The Indian Constitution has ensured the independence of the judiciary through a number of measures. In the case of the appointment of judges, the legislature has not been included. This ensured that there was no role of party politics in these appointments. To be appointed as a judge, a person should be an expert in law and have an adequate experience of legal practice. The political views or allegiances should not be the criteria for appointment as a judge. The tenure of the judges is fixed. They remain on the post till their retirement. The judges can be removed from their post (though exceptionally) through impeachment in peculiar circumstances.. Apart from this, their tenure cannot be reduced. Due to the safety of the tenure, the judges can do their job without any fear or discrimination. The constitution has set a very difficult process to remove the judges. The Constitution makers believed that if the process of removal of the judiciary would be difficult then judges would be more secure. The judiciary is not financially dependent on the legislature or executive. Article 125 of the Indian constitution leaves it to the Indian parliament to determine the salary, other allowances, leave of absence, pension, etc. of the Supreme Court judges. However, the parliament cannot alter any of these privileges and rights to the judge's disadvantage after his/her appointment. Judges' actions and judgments cannot be individually criticized. If somebody is found guilty of contempt of a court, then the judiciary has the right to punish him. It is believed that right of contempt of a court will be useful in protecting the judges from the criticism. Parliament can only discuss the conduct of judges when they are considering impeachment motion against them. This leaves the judiciary free from fear of criticism and enables it to function independently.

3.1 Appointment of Judges

Judges of the Supreme Court and High Courts are appointed by the President under Articles 124(2)

and 217 of the Constitution. The President is required to hold consultations with such of judges of the Supreme Court and of the High Court as he may deem necessary. It therefore means that the actual powers regarding the appointments are vested with the Council of Ministers. The matter repeatedly appeared before the Supreme Court between 1982 and 1998.Initially the court thought that the role of the Chief Justice was purely limited to consultations alone. The court later admitted that it was must for the President to accept the advice of the Chief Justice in this regard. Finally the Supreme Court came forward with a new arrangement of *"Collegiums System."* Collegiums system is a process through which decisions related to appointments and transfer of judges in Supreme Court and High Court, and not by an Act of Parliament or by a provision of the Constitution. *The Supreme Court collegium* is headed by the Chief Justice of India and comprises four other senior most judges of the court. A *High Court collegium* is led by its Chief Justice and four other senior most judges of that court. Names recommended for appointment by a High Court collegium reaches the government only after approval by the CJI and the Supreme Court collegium. Thus, the Supreme Court established *"the principle of collective advice"* in relation to the recommendation for the appointments. The group of senior judges of the Supreme Court has lot of influence as regards the appointments. In this way, the Supreme Court and the Council of Ministers play an important role in the appointment of the Judiciary.

Striking Down of the New System of Appointment in the Supreme Court and High Courts as Unconstitutional by the Supreme Court-

The Supreme Court struck down the Constitution (Ninety-ninth Amendment) Act, 2014 that enabled the constitution of the National Judicial Appointments Commission terming it as unconstitutional. It also restored old the Collegiums system. The Court declared that the Collegiums of judges would have exclusive authority to select candidates for appointment as judges of the Supreme Court and the High Courts.The decision of the Supreme Court has virtually created rift between the Central Government and the Supreme Court. The five-judge bench of the apex court has unfairly refused to allow the government to appeal against its flawed judgment. The reality is that judges have decided to award themselves the right to decide who their brethren should be, with no external checks. The present government wanted to bring a new system for appointment of judges to prevent the tendency of nepotism. The collegiums system is flawed and criticized for creating empire within an empire (imporium in imperio) in the Supreme Court. Another criticism which emerged against the collegiums system was that the collegium instead of promoting pure merit seemed to make appointments which did not always reflect the splendour of the superior judiciary. For this purpose, The Constitution (One Hundred and Twenty- First Amendment) Bill, 2014 was introduced in the Lok Sabha by the Central Government on August 11, 2014 which said that there was a need for a broad based National Judicial Appointment Commission (NJAC), for making recommendations for selection of judges. The Bill sought to enable equal participation of Judiciary and Executive, ensured that the appointments to the higher judiciary were more participatory, transparent and objective. The Commission was established by amending the Constitution of India 99th Constitutional Amendment Act-2014 and the 121st Constitution Amendment Bill, 2014 were passed by the Lok Sabha on 13 August 2014 and by the Rajya Sabha on 14 August 2014. The NJAC Bill and the Constitutional Amendment Bill, was ratified by 16 of the state legislatures in India. On receipt of the approval of more than half the State Legislatures as necessitated under Article 368 (2) of the Constitution, the President of India assented to it by according his sanction on 31 December 2014. The NJAC Act and the Constitutional Amendment Act came into force from 13 April 2015. After the approval of the President's approval, the Constitution was amended in the Gazette on 31 December 2014 as 99 Constitutional Amendment

Act, 2014 and National Judicial Appointments Commission Bill 2014 National Judicial Appointment Act 2014. The Central Government had fixed the date of effect of these Acts on April 13, 2015. As per the amended provisions of the constitution, the Commission would have consisted of the following six persons: Chief Justice of India (Chairperson, *ex officio*), two other senior judges of the Supreme Court next to the Chief Justice of India - *ex officio,* the Union Minister of Law and Justice, *ex-officio,* two eminent persons (These two eminent persons would have been nominated by a committee consisting of the Chief Justice of India, Prime Minister of India, and Leader of Opposition in the Lok Sabha (or where there is no such Leader of Opposition, then, the Leader of single largest Opposition Party in Lok Sabha), provided that of the two eminent persons, one person would be from the Scheduled Castes or Scheduled Tribes or OBC or minority communities or a woman. The eminent persons shall be nominated for a period of three years and shall not be eligible for re-nomination. It is notable that the above constitutional amendment was struck down by the Constitutional Bench of the Supreme Court. Due to tussle between the judiciary and the the government the new appointments for many vacant positions in the Supreme Court and the High Courts have been held up.

3.2 Removal of Judges from Office

It is very difficult to remove the judges of the Supreme Court and the High Court from their post. The procedure relating to the removal of a judge of the Supreme Court is regulated by the Judges Inquiry Act, 1968, by the process of impeachment. There are two grounds for removal - proved misbehaviour or incapacity. A judge of the Supreme Court can be removed from his office by an order of the President. The President can issue the removal order after an address by the Parliament, supported by a special majority of each House of Parliament (that is, a majority of the total membership of that House and a majority of not less than two thirds of the members of that house present and voting), has been presented to the President in the same session of Parliament for such a removal. It is clear that the process of removal of a judge is extremely difficult and no judge can be removed till the members of Parliament have a consensus. It is also worth mentioning that while the executive has an important role in his appointment, the legislature has the power to remove them. It is ensured that the independence of the judiciary remains and the the balance of power is also maintained. So far, only one proposal to remove a judge has come to the Parliament for consideration. So far, no judge of the Supreme Court has been impeached. The only case where an impeachment motion was initiated and the Inquiry Committee found the judge guilty was of Justice V Ramaswami of the Supreme Court (1991-1993). But, this motion was defeated in the Lok Sabha. In this case, although two-thirds of the members voted in favour of the motion, the judge could not be removed because a majority of the total number of members of the House could not be received on the proposal.

3.3 Structure of Judiciary

Indian Constitution establishes an integrated judicial system. This means that unlike other federal countries of the world, India does not have separate provincial-level courts. The pyramidical structure of the judiciary in India has the Supreme Court as the apex or the highest court followed by the high court at state level and the district and subordinate courts the lower level. The lower courts functions under the supervision of the courts above them.

Supreme Court of India-

- Its decisions are binding on all courts.
- It can transfer Judges of High Courts.
- It can move cases from any court to itself.
- It can transfer cases from one High Court to another.

High Court-

- It can hear appeals from lower courts.
- It can issue writs in case of breach of Fundamental rights of any citizen.

- It can deal with cases within the jurisdiction of the State.
- It can exercises superintendence and control over courts below it.

District Courts-

- It can hear cases at district level.
- It can consider the appeal made on the decisions of the lower courts.
- It can decide cases involving serious criminal offences.

Subordinate Courts-

- It can consider cases of civil and criminal nature

3.4 Jurisdiction of the Supreme Court-

Supreme Court of India is one of the most powerful courts in the world. It must function within the limits set by the Constitution. The functions and responsibilities of the Supreme Court are described in the Constitution. The **Supreme Court** has original, appellate and advisory **jurisdiction**.

1. Original Jurisdiction-

The **original jurisdiction** means that the Supreme Court can directly hear the cases of some lawsuits. It can be directly approached with regard to such matters without contacting any other court of law. In such cases, hearing first in the lower courts is not necessary. The laws related to federal relations are directly heard by the Supreme Court. Its exclusive original jurisdiction extends to any dispute between the Government of India and one or more States or between the Government of India and any State or States on one side and one or more States on the other or between two or more States, if and in so far as the dispute involves any question (whether of law or of fact) on which the existence or extent of a legal right depends. In any federal system, mutual legal disputes may arise between the centre and the states and also among the different states. It is responsibility of the Supreme Court to resolve these disputes. This is called original jurisdiction because only the Supreme Court can hear these cases of federal nature. The hearing of such cases is not done in the High Court nor subordinate courts. By applying original jurisdiction, the Supreme Court can not only resolve the disputes that may emerge between the centre and the states and also between the different states, but also interprets the powers of the union and state governments conferred to them by the constitution

2. Powers Related to Writ Petition

In addition, Article 32 of the Constitution gives an extensive original jurisdiction to the Supreme Court in regard to enforcement of Fundamental Rights. It is empowered to issue directions, orders or writs, including writs in the nature of *habeas corpus*, *mandamus, prohibition*, *quo warranto* and *certiorari* to enforce them. The Supreme Court has been conferred with power to direct transfer of any civil or criminal case from one State High Court to another State High Court or from a Court subordinate to another State High Court. The Supreme Court, if satisfied that cases involving the same or substantially the same questions of law are pending before it and one or more High Courts or before two or more High Courts and that such questions are substantial questions of general importance, may withdraw a case or cases pending before the High Court or High Courts and dispose of all such cases itself. Under the Arbitration and Conciliation Act, 1996, International Commercial Arbitration can also be initiated in the Supreme Court.

3. Appellate Powers

Supreme Court is the highest Court of Appeal. Any person can appeal in the Supreme Court against the decision of the High Court. Appellate jurisdiction means that the Supreme Court will reconsider the entire lawsuit and re-examine its legal issues. The appellate jurisdiction of the Supreme Court can be invoked by a certificate granted by the High Court concerned under Article 132(1), 133(1) or 134 of the Constitution in respect of any judgement, decree or final order of a High Court in both civil and criminal cases, involving

substantial questions of law as to the interpretation of the Constitution. Appeals also lie to the Supreme Court in civil matters if the High Court concerned certifies : (a) that the case involves a substantial question of law of general importance, and (b) that, in the opinion of the High Court, the said question needs to be decided by the Supreme Court. In criminal cases, an appeal lies to the Supreme Court if the High Court (a) has on appeal reversed an order of acquittal of an accused person and sentenced him to death or to imprisonment for life or for a period of not less than 10 years, or (b) has withdrawn for trial before itself any case from any Court subordinate to its authority and has in such trial convicted the accused and sentenced him to death or to imprisonment for life or for a period of not less than 10 years, or (c) certified that the case is a fit one for appeal to the Supreme Court. Parliament is authorised to confer on the Supreme Court any further powers to entertain and hear appeals from any judgement, final order or sentence in a criminal proceeding of a High Court. The High Courts also have an appellate jurisdiction against the judgment of the courts under them. The Supreme Court has also a very wide appellate jurisdiction over all Courts and Tribunals in India in as much as it may, in its discretion, grant special leave to appeal under Article 136 of the Constitution from any judgment, decree, determination, sentence or order in any cause or matter passed or made by any Court or Tribunal in the territory of India.

4. Advisory Jurisdiction

In addition to the original and appellate jurisdiction, the Supreme Court also has the advisory jurisdiction. The Supreme Court has special advisory jurisdiction in matters which may specifically be referred to it by the President of India under Article 143 of the Constitution. The President of India can refer any subject relating to the public interest or to the interpretation of the constitution to the Supreme Court for consultation. However, neither the Supreme Court is obliged to give advice on the subject nor is the President obliged to accept the advice of Court. Then, what is use of this advisory jurisdiction? It has two uses - first, the government gets an interim relief by asking for the legal opinion of the court before taking any action on any important or contentious issue. It can be helpful in avoiding legal dispute at later stage. Secondly, the government can make appropriate amendments in its proposed judgment or bill by considering the advice of the Supreme Court.

3.5 Judicial Activism

Many people believe that *judicial activism* or *public interest litigation* have made revolutionary changes in the functioning of the judiciary and made it people oriented. T*he Indian judiciary had gone through several phased changes since its inception from the positivist era to the golden era of judicial activism.* **Judicial activism** refers to court rulings based on a judge's political or personal considerations, rather than existing laws. Judicial activism is a "philosophy of judicial decision-making whereby judges allow their personal views about public policy, among other factors, to guide their decisions. Supreme Court of India started off as a technocratic court in the I950s but slowly started acquiring more power through constitutional interpretation. Its transformation into an activist court has been gradual and imperceptible. The main instruments of judicial activism in India have been the public interest litigation or the petitions of public interest reflecting social behaviour. After all, what is a *'PIL'* and when and how did it came into being? In the normal process of law a person approaches the court only when some personal loss is caused to him. Meaning thereby that if his rights are violated by someone or he becomes involved in a dispute he can knock the door of the court to get justice. This concept changed around 1979. Initiating the process in 1979, now the Supreme Court and High Courts also decided to hear a case which was not filed by the actual victim but by others on behalf of the aggrieved. Since these cases were mostly related to issues of public interest, the lawsuits were named as the public interest litigations. At the same time, the Supreme Court also considered the laws related to prisoners' rights. This led to the flood of such

lawsuits, in which citizens and volunteer organizations, who have a sense of public service, demanded the intervention of the judiciary on various issues related to the protection of the rights, the betterment of the lives of the poor, the protection of the environment, and the public interest. Public interest litigation has become the most effective means of judicial activism. Judicial activism connotes the assertive role played by the judiciary to force the other organs of government to discharge their assigned constitutional functions towards the people. It has held reinforcing the strength of democracy and reaffirms the faith of people in rule of law. Judicial activism may have been force upon the judiciary by an insensitive and unresponsive administration that disregards the interest of the people and that the nation does not suffer because of the negligence on the part of the executive and legislature. The judiciary began to consider the complaints published in the newspapers as basis of litigation rather than considering the issues directly brought to the court by filing a proper case by someone. This new role of the judiciary earned huge popularity in the form of judicial activism. Dealing with the issues such as removing air and noise pollution, corruption and reforming the election etc is not really the job of judiciary. These functions are meant to be performed by the administration under the supervision of the legislature rather than the judiciary. Therefore, it is believed that judicial activism is disturbed the equilibrium among the three organs of the government. Since Parliament and Executive have well-defined powers under the Constitution and these need to be respected by the judiciary. Legality and legitimacy are important concepts and go hand in hand. If there is excess of judicial overreach, then the legitimacy of judgments will be obliterated. The basis of democratic governance is that every part of the government respects each other's powers and jurisdiction. Excessive judicial activism can be very damaging to democratic system. But in most cases it has been experienced that judicial activism has positive effects on public interest.

3.6 Judiciary and Rights

The judiciary has been entrusted with the responsibility of protecting the rights of an individual. The Constitution provides two ways in which the Supreme Court can remedy the violation of rights. First, it can restore fundamental rights by issuing writs of *Habeas Corpus; mandamus* etc. *(article 32).* The High Court also has the power to issue such writs *(article 226).* Secondly, the Supreme Court can declare the concerned law as unconstitutional and therefore non-operational (article 13). Judiciary together these two provisions of the Constitution establish the Supreme Court as the protector of fundamental rights of the citizen on the one hand and interpreter of Constitution on the other. The second of the two ways mentioned above involves judicial review. **Judicial Review** refers to the power of the judiciary to interpret the constitution and to declare any such law or order of the legislature and executive void, if it finds them in conflict with the Constitution of India.

3.7 Judiciary and Parliament-

Besides being active on the matter of rights, the court has also been active in seeking to prevent subversion of the Constitution through political practice. Thus, the areas which were not within the scope of judicial review, such as powers of the President and Governor were also brought under the purview of the courts. There are many examples in which the Supreme Court actively involved itself in the administration of justice giving directions to executive agencies. Thus, it gave directions to CBI to initiate investigations against politicians and bureaucrats in the Hawala case, the Narasimha Rao case, illegal allotment of petrol pumps case etc. The Indian Constitution is based on a delicate principle of limited separation of powers and checks and balances. This means that each organ of the government has a clear area of functioning. The Indian Constitution is based on a unique principle of limited sharing of power, constraints and

equilibrium. This means that every part of the government has a clear working area. Parliament is supreme in making laws and amending constitution, the executive is supreme in implementing them and solving judiciary disputes and ensuring that the laws made are favourable to the constitution. Despite this clear work split, the confrontation between the parliament and the judiciary and the executive and the judiciary has been characteristic of Indian politics. Immediately after the constitution was enacted, a dispute arose over the power of Parliament to curb the right to property. The Parliament wanted to impose certain restrictions on the right to keep property so that land reform could be implemented. The court ruled that Parliament cannot limit the fundamental rights. The Parliament then tried to amend the Constitution. But the court said that fundamental rights cannot be limited even by the amendment of the Constitution.

Conclusion-

Judiciary in India is also known for its independence. It has time and again interpreted the Constitution and protected the rights of the citizens through its various decisions. In fact, democracy is based on a very delicate balance between the legislature and the judiciary and both of them have to work within the periphery of the constitution.

Important Points

- The Supreme Court is the third and most powerful balancing organ of the Government.
- The Supreme Court is responsible for the interpretation of the constitution and the protection of civil rights.
- The Supreme Court can take cognizance on any issue related to public interest.
- It is not mandatory for the government to accept the advice given by the Supreme Court in form of consultation.
- India does not have an independent provincial court like federal states, but there is a provision for the Supreme Court, High Courts and District Courts under the three-tier structure.
- The Supreme Court covers original, writ, appellate and advisory jurisdiction.

Exercise

Multiple Choice Questions-

1. Which one of the following is not involved in the process of appointment of judiciary?

   (A) President (B) Legislature

   (C) Chief Justice (D) Lokayukta ( )

2. The Supreme Court's consultative jurisdiction means -

   (A) to advise the government before making every new law.

   (B) to advise on legal issues to be presented before the legislature.

   (C) to advise the President of India on his seeking for a consultation on any question of public interest or constitution.

   (D) to advise on PILs. ( )

3. Which one of the following is the most powerful means of safeguarding the public interest in the present time?

   (A) PIL petition

   (B) Mercy petition

   (C) Revision petition

   (D) Inspection petition ( )

4. Which one of the following statements about the Supreme Court is not correct?

   (A) The order of the Supreme Court is binding on all the courts.

   (B) It can demand any lawsuit for hearing.

   (C) It can open a new bench of the Supreme

Court anywhere in the country.

(D) It can transfer judges of High Courts.

( )

Very Short Answer Type Questions -

1. Who has the right to interpret the principle of balance of power among three organs of government?
2. Where is the trial of lawsuits related to federal relations directly undertaken?
3. What is the petition as regards the judicial activism called?
4. What can the court do to maintain the originality of the Constitution?

Short Answer Type Questions-

1. What is the meaning of judicial activism?
2. What is the appellate jurisdiction?
3. What are the main areas covered in the original jurisdiction?

Essay Type Questions -

1. Explain the powers and functions of the Supreme Court.
2. Judicial activism and public interest litigations are related to each other. Prove it.

Answers to Multiple Choice Questions-

1. A 2. C 3. A 4. C

4. State Administration and Local Self Government- Present Perspective with Reference to 73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendments

State Administration

India is a sovereign, socialist, secular and democratic republic, which is federal in structure with unitary facilities. The President is the constitutional head of the state while the Prime Minister in his council of ministers is the head of the government. The federal system is different from the other federation because it is a "Union of States" and not a true federation. In this form the state and central governments shall be both separate and independent. There shall exist coordination between the two types of governments and that shall function in accordance with the principles of the constitution. Similarly, in the states for the governor's constitutional head of that state and the chief minister in his Council of Ministers is the head of the government. Parliamentary system in the states is adopted on the similar lines of one adopted in India. Similar to that, the governor is a formal executive whereas the chief minister is the real executive. As the prime minister is real executive at the centre, in the same way the chief minister is the real executive in the state. The governor is a constitutional head and the nominal executive of the state in the same manner as the President is at the center. The entire business of the government is carried out in the name of the governor. Part VI of the Constitution deals with state administration. The Governor shall be appointed by the President for a term of five years and he shall hold office during the pleasure of the President. The executive power of the state shall be vested in the Governor. These powers shall be exercised by him either directly or through the officers subordinates to him. In the state administration there shall be a council of ministers and the functions of the council of ministers is to aid and advise the Governor in the exercise of his functions. Article 153 of the Constitution of India cites the post of the governor. Article 154 of the Constitution of India states that - The executive power of the State shall be vested in the Governor and shall be exercised by him either directly or through officers subordinate to him in accordance with this Constitution. Article 155 states that The Governor of a State shall be appointed by the President by warrant under his hand and seal. The leader of the majority party in the Assembly is appointed chief minister by the governor. Like the center, the administrative structure of the governor is divided into departments. A government department is the largest subdivision of its administrative structure. The department is headed by a politician and an administrative officer is appointed for consultation and technical advice. He is responsible for the implementation of policies. The use of the word "Union of States" in the Constitution of India in place of 'federation' indicates that in India, state administration cannot go against the national stream despite all its autonomy. State administration has been further divided into different districts. The main responsibility of the district administration is to maintain law and order and to collect revenue. The responsibility of the District Collector is to take responsibility for the execution of the entire public welfare policies in practice. The responsibility of

establishing a public-welfare state in India also lies with the District Collector. District administration has become more important with the provisions of 73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendments. The District Collector is now the Chief Architect and Coordinator of the democratically decentralized structure of India. He is also called the middleman between the local self-government and the district administration.

4.1 Characteristics of State Administration-

1. Independent Existence of State Administration
2. Lack of separate constitution
3. Under Central Administration during Emergency
4. Dependent on Centre
5. State Administration Represents Development Administration
6. Based on Public Participation
7. Secretariat- Pivot of State Powers
8. The Chief Administrators selected from All India Services.
9. Governor's Representative of President in the State
10. Local Administration Remains under State Administration

4.2 Governor as Constitutional Head of the State -

In our Parliamentary System, The executive authority of a state is vested in the Governor; and Governor is the constitutional head of the state in the same way as President is the Constitutional head of the Union. He is the Chief Executive official and nominal head of the state and perceived as the Constitutional head of the state in the backdrop of federalism. The Executive power of the state is vested in him and all executive actions are taken in his name in accordance with the Constitution. The real executive powers are used by the Council of Ministers of the state; headed by the Chief Minister.

4.3 The Position of Governor -

In the beginning, the role of the governor was largely ceremonial and limited to formalities. However, the change in the political situation and circumstances made this post very powerful and dignified. The theoretical exposition of the position of Governor under the Constitution of India still remains to be a utopia. Commenting on the post of governor, Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya once said- "The duties of a Governor lay more in getting visitors and invitees to tea, lunch and dinner. Sometimes, he found that either the husband or the wives were separately invited. If both the husband and wife came, the children were kept out for their nuisance value." The Union Government utilizes the Governors for its own political ends. A few of them came to regard themselves as the agents of ruling party rather than the guardians of federal democracy. Similar to arrangements made at the Union government, the Council of Ministers of the state headed by the Chief Minister is the real head of state. According to Article 163 (1) of the Constitution, there shall be a Council of Ministers with the Chief Minister at the head to aid and advise the Governor in the exercise of his functions, except in so far as he is by or under this constitution required to exercise his functions or any of them in his discretion.Article163(2)- If any question arises whether any matter is or is not a matter as respects which the Governor is by or under this Constitution required to act in his discretion, the decision of the Governor in his discretion shall be final, and the validity of anything done by the Governor shall not be called in question on the ground that he ought or ought not to have acted in his discretion.

Article163 (3) - The question whether any, and if so what, advice was tendered by Ministers to the Governor shall not be inquired into in any court.

Causes of Changing Role of Governor-

- Weak personality of Chief Ministers
- Lack of clear majority of the state government but with a simple majority.
- Fragmentary trend of alliance

- Tendency of political defection and instability
- Emergence of powerful Regional parties
- Causes of Nomination of Governor -
- He is to be a sentinel of the Constitution in the state in the parliamentary system of governance at Centre and State both
- He is to be a nominal head vested with nominal executive power and to make way for Chief Minister to be a real executive in the state.
- He is to establish unity and integrity in the Union and States in a country full of diversities.
- He is to be an independent and impartial arbitrator and decision maker, who is supposed to act as a formal channel of communication between the Union and the State.
- He is to keep a watch on the functioning of the administrative machinery and every organ of the State. Governor while acting in such capacity in the larger interests of people acts as an observer of the Union.

4.4 Some Traditions Related to the Appointment of the Governor-

Generally a resident of the same state is not appointed as a governor in a state. A Governor is appointed on the advice of the Union Council of Ministers, or in reality on the advice of the Prime Minister. For the President to consult the Chief Minister of the concerned state, before the appointment of a Governor is not a constitutional requirement. But a healthy convention grew up that the Chief Minister as head of the Council of Ministers is consulted. But in the case of appointment of several Governors, this convention has not been obeyed. A Governor may be simultaneously assignee to more than one state. Senior politicians, the bureaucrats and the military officers are mostly appointed as governors to the states. As per the advice of the Administrative Reforms Commission, a person should be appointed the governor only once.

4.5 Recommendations of Sarkaria Commission in Respect of Governor-

Recommendations on Appointment of Governor:

- should be an eminent person;
- must be a person from outside the State;
- must not have participated in active politics at least for some time before his appointment;
- he should be a detached person and not too intimately connected with the local politics of the State;
- he should be appointed in consultation with the Chief Minister of the State, Vice-President of India and the Speaker of the Lok Sabha;

4.6 Powers of Governor-

The Governor is the head of a state just like the President is the head of the republic. The powers and functions of the Governor of Indian State resemble that of the President of the Union of India. In the words of Durga Das Basu, "The powers of the governor and the President are the same, except for the diplomatic, military and emergency powers."

The Governor is appointed by the President of India. He holds office during the pleasure of the President. Under the Constitution of India, the Governor of a State possesses wide powers and functions executive, legislative, financial and judicial.

The powers of Governor are as follows:

1. Executive Powers - According to Article 154(1) of the Constitution, The executive power of the State shall be vested in the Governor and shall be exercised by him either directly or through officers subordinate to him in accordance with this Constitution. According to Article 166 of the Constitution (Conduct of business of the Government of a State) (1) All executive action of the Government of a State shall be expressed to be taken in the name of the Governor (2) Orders and other instruments made and executed in the name of the Governor shall be authenticated in such manner as may be specified in rules to be made by the

Governor, and the validity of an order on instruction which is so authenticated shall not be called in question on the ground that it is not an order or instrument made or executed by the Governor (3) The Governor shall make rules for the more convenient transaction of the business of the Government of the State, and for the allocation among Ministers of the said business in so far as it is not business with respect to which the Governor is by or under this Constitution required to act in his discretion. According to Article 163 of the Constitution, there will be a Minister-Council for giving assistance and advisory to the governor, whose chairperson will be the Chief Minister.

According to Article 164 (Other provisions as to Ministers (1) The Chief Minister shall be appointed by the Governor and the other Ministers shall be appointed by the Governor on the advice of the Chief Minister, and the Ministers shall hold office during the pleasure of the Governor: Provided that in the States of [Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand], Madhya Pradesh and Orissa, there shall be a Minister in charge of tribal welfare who may in addition be in charge of the welfare of the Scheduled Castes and backward classes or any other work. (2) The Council of Ministers shall be collectively responsible to the Legislative Assembly of the State (3) Before a Minister enters upon his office, the Governor shall administer so him the oaths of office and of secrecy according to the forms set out for the purpose in the Third Schedule (4) A Minister who for any period of six consecutive months is not a member of the Legislature of the State shall at the expiration of that period cease to be a Minister (5) The salaries and allowances of Ministers shall be such as the Legislature of the State may from time to time by law determine and, until the Legislature of the State so determines, shall be as specified in the Second Schedule The Advocate General for the State. The Governor appoints the Advocate General of the State. He appoints the Chairman and members of the State Public Service Commission. The appointment of the High Court judges is consulted with the governor. The Governor appoints the District Judges from the High Court Advisory. Article 167 (a) of the Constitution says it shall be the duty of the Chief Minister of each State to communicate to the Governor of the State all decisions of the Council of Ministers relating to the administration of the affairs of the State and proposals for legislation. Under Article 167(b), the Chief Minister is also required to furnish such information relating to the administration of the affairs of the State and proposals for legislation as the Governor may call for; and Under Article 167(c), if the Governor so requires, to submit for the consideration of the Council of Ministers any matter on which a decision has been taken by a Minister but which has not been considered by the Council. Article 161 of the Constitution of India confers on the Governor of a State the right to grant pardons, remissions, reprieves or commute the sentence of any person convicted of any offence against any law relating to a matter to which the executive power of the State extends. In case the Governor feels that the Anglo-Indian community has not been adequately represented in the Vidhan Sabha, he or she can nominate one member of the community to the Legislative Assembly of the state. A member of the governor's state assembly can nominate an Anglo-Indian; if he understands that he is not adequately represented in the Legislative Assembly. The governor (in states which have two houses) can nominate 1/6 members in the Legislative Council, on the basis of their special knowledge / practical experience and contributions in education, literature, art, science, cooperative movement or social service.

2. Legislative Powers- Article 168 provides that for every State there shall be a legislature. The governor summons the sessions of both houses of the state legislature and prorogues them. The governor can even dissolve the Vidhan Sabha. These powers are formal and the governor while using these powers must act according to the advice of the Council of Ministers headed by the Chief Minister. The Governor gives his speech in the legislative assembly at the beginning of the session and in the first session of the year. The Governor has the right to address the Legislature and send a message to the

Legislature in relation to any important bill. The Governor's approval is necessary on any bill passed by the Legislature. The Governor can approve or refuse the bill, or it may hold that bill for the President's acceptance. The Governor can return the General Bill with his suggestions to the Legislature. If the Legislature passes the bill again with or without reconciliation, the governor will have to give approval. Under Article 213The Governor has the power to promulgate an ordinance when the Legislative Assembly is not in session, and a law has to be brought into effect immediately. However, the ordinance is presented in the state legislature in the next session, and remains operative for a total of six weeks, unless it is approved by the legislature.

3.Financial Powers - He causes to be laid before the State Legislature the annual financial statement which is the State Budget. No money bill can be submitted in the assembly without prior approval of the governor. In case it is not a money bill, the Governor holds the right to send it back to the Vidhan Sabha for reconsideration. But if the Vidhan Sabha sends back the Bill to the Governor the second time, then he has to sign it. Further no demand for grant shall be made except on his recommendation. The governor can also present the demand for supplementary grant. He can also make advances out of the Contingency Fund of the State to meet any unforeseen expenditure, but the acceptance of the Assembly for the expenses incurred by him is necessary. Moreover, he constitutes the State Finance Commission. The Governor lays before the State Legislature, the annual financial statement and also makes demands for grants and recommendation of 'Money Bills'. The Governor constitutes the State Finance Commission. He also holds the power to make advances out of the Contingency Fund of the State in the case of any unforeseen circumstances.

4.Judicial Powers - According to Article 161, The Governor has the power to grant pardons, reprieves, respites or remission of punishments or to suspend, remit or commute the sentence of any person convicted of any offence against any law relating to a matter to which executive power of the State extends. He is also consulted by the President in the appointment of the Chief Justice and the Judges of High Court of State. He appoints the District Judges. Under Article 361 (2) of the Constitution *"no criminal proceedings whatsoever shall be instituted or continued against the President or the Governor of a State, in any court during his term of office"*.

5. Allowing the Trial of Ministers - The Supreme Court has given important provisions in its verdict on November 5, 2004, that if there is a prima facie case established against a minister, then the governor can allow him to sue; even if the Council of Ministers has refused to allow it.

6.Other powers - Some other powers of the Governor are as follows-

- A situation may arise when in the opinion of the Governor there is the breakdown of the constitutional machinery in the State. In such a case, the Governor may report thesituation to the President for imposition of the President's Rule in that State. As the Governor exercises this power on his/her own, it is called the discretionary power of the Governor. In case the Governor's report is accepted by the President, and he/she proclaims emergency under Article 356, the State Council of Ministers is removed, and the State Legislative Assembly is either dissolved or put under suspension. During such emergency, the Governor rules on behalf of the President.
- In case no political party wins a clear majority in the Vidhan Sabha of the state, the Governor holds the power to use his discretion to select the Chief Minister.
- In the States of [Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand], Madhya Pradesh and Orissa, there shall be a Minister in charge of tribal welfare who may in addition be in charge of the welfare of the Scheduled Castes and backward classes or any other work.
- The Governor of Assam uses the right of

discretion in respect of disputes arising out of the division of income generated from the mines between the Government of Assam and the Zila Parishads of this primitive area.

Chief Minister & the Council of Ministers-

The Chief Minister is the real executive of the state. Constitutionally there is clear cut division of powers between the chief minister and the Governor. He is appointed by the Governor. The person who commands the majority support in the State Legislative Assembly (Vidhan Sabha) is appointed as the Chief Minister by the Governor. The other Ministers are appointed by the Governor on the advice of the Chief Minister. The portfolios to the members of the Council of Ministers are allocated by the Governor on the advice of the Chief Minister. The Council of Ministers shall be collectively responsible to the Legislative Assembly of the State and individually responsible for the Governor. The ministers included in the Council of Minister's must belong to either House of the State legislature. A person who is not a member of the State legislature may be appointed a minister, but he ceases to hold office if he is not elected to the State legislature within six months of his appointment. The Chief Minister has power to remove any Minister from office. Under the Constitution, the Ministers stay in office during the pleasure of the Governor, but in reality they stay in office during the pleasure of the Chief Minister. If the Chief Minister is not happy with any Minister, he can ask the latter to resign. He decides the date and place of the Cabinet meetings. Chief Minister presides over the Cabinet meetings. He coordinates the functioning of different ministries. He guides the functioning of the Cabinet. The final approval and disapproval of the Cabinet decisions is the prerogative of the Chief Minister.

4.7 The Chief Minister &Governor-

The Chief Minister is the real executive whereas Governor is the constitutional head of the state. The Chief Minister is the main link between the Council of Ministers and the Governor. The Chief Minister is appointed by the Governor on the basis that he has the power of majority in the Legislative Assembly. In situation of hung Assembly the governor can exercise self-discretion in the selection and appointment of the Chief Minister when there is no clear majority with any of the political parties. Under Article 167(Duties of Chief Minister as respects the furnishing of information to Governor)-It shall be the duty of the Chief Minister of each State(1) to communicate to the Governor of the State all decisions of the council of Ministers relating to the administration of the affairs of the State and proposals for legislation; (2) to furnish such information relating to the administration of the affairs of the State and proposals for legislation as the Governor may call for; and (3) if the Governor so requires, to submit for the consideration of the Council of Ministers any matter on which a decision has been taken by a Minister but which has not been considered by the Council. On the instructions of the Governor, the Chief Minister will keep it before the Council of Ministers for consideration.

4.8 The Chief Minister and the State Legislature-

The chief minister is the leader of the majority party in the assembly. He is the leader of the house. He advises the governor to convene and prorogue a session of the Legislative Assembly. He can advise the governor to dissolve the assembly during his majority in the house. He declares government policies in the legislature. He presents perspective of his government during the debate of Confidence or the No confidence motion or can appoint some minister for the purpose.

4.9 State Council of Ministers-

In India, there is a parliamentary system of governance in the states similar to the one at Center. In this scheme, the Council of Ministers headed by the Chief Minister is the real executive.

Organization

Article 163(1) says that-there shall be a

Council of Ministers with the Chief Minister at the head to aid and advice the Governor in the exercise of his functions. The governor constitutes and also dissolvesthe Council of Ministers on the advice of Chief Minister. The Chief Minister can dissolve the Council while he enjoys majority in the Assembly. The Chief Minister also decides about the size of his Council of Ministers. The three-tier system of ministry is composed of Cabinet, State and Minister of State ranks. Sometimes Parliamentary Secretaries are also appointed. All these must be a member of the Legislature or they have to get the membership of the Assembly within the 6 months from the date of appointment. The Chief Minister distributes portfolios and the division of work is also done by him. Generally the members of the Legislative Assembly areappointed ministers. 91st Amendment Act states that -the size of the Council of Ministers should not be more than 15% (Fifteen Percent) of the total members of the Assembly.

4.10 Powers and Functions of the Chief Minister-

Chief Minister is the head of the Council of Ministers of his State. The constitutional position of the Chief Minister is more or less similar to that of the Prime Minister. The Chief Minister plays an important role in the administration of the State. We can discuss his functions as follows :

1. Chief Minister is the real head of the State Government. Ministers are appointed by the Governor on the advice of the Chief Minister. The Governor allocates portfolios to the ministers on the advice of the Chief Minister.
2. Chief Minister presides over the Cabinet meetings. He alsoensures that the Council of Ministers will work on the principle of collective responsibility. He coordinates the functioning of different ministries. He guides the functioning of the Cabinet.
3. The Constitution provides that the Chief Minister shall communicate to the Governor all decisions of the Council of Ministers relating to the administration and the affairs of the State and proposals for legislation.
4. If the Governor so requires, the Chief Minister submits for consideration of the Council of Ministers any matter on which a decision has been taken by a minister but which has not been considered by the Cabinet.
5. The Chief Minister provides leadership in the functioning of the legislature. All government bills are prepared in accordance with its inspection and advice and the time of division of the house and draft of the program and the timing of government and personal work is decided.
6. He also oversees the functions of the departments of the Ministers under his supervision and removes differences between the Ministers and maintains a consensus in the entire administration.
7. The Chief Minister is the Chief Speaker of the State Legislature. The official declaration related to the government policy comes only in the jurisdiction of the Chief Minister
8. The Advocate General gives advice to the Governor, regarding the members of the State Public Service Commission and other important appointments.
9. He acts as a link between the governor and the Council of Ministers. If a minister wants to meet the governor or the governor wants to talk to any minister, then it has to give prior information to the Chief Minister.
10. The Chief Minister also acts as a contact form between the Assembly and the Legislative Council. He gives advice to the governor as to when the session of the legislature should be called, when it should be suspended and dissolved. He also ensures that which legislation should be written in the legislature and how to face the protest of the opposition according to the cabinet decision.
11. He is the leader of the ruling party in the legislature. He has to maintain discipline among his party members in the legislature.

For this purpose, he appoints a whip whose directive is to be obeyed by the legislators belonging to his party.

4.11 Position of Chief Minister-

Chief Minister is the state's head of the State and the real executive. He selects members of his Council of Ministers. He distributes different portfolios among them. He can also remove any minister or make changes in his departments as per the requirement. He is responsible for ensuring the principle of collective responsibility. He acts as a link between the Council of Ministers and the Governor and the Legislature and the Governor.

Local Self Government

The concept of local self-government is known to Indian since ancient times. During the vedic age, there existed village assemblies known as 'Sabha' and 'Samiti'. Gradually cities and Towns came into prominence. They also enjoyed greater level of autonomy in administration as witnessed during the Mauryan and Gupta period. The system of local self-government in its modern sense was revived during the British period. In a democratic country power is decentralized and shared at different levels. Apart from the Central and State Government, the administration at the local level is handled by the local government in urban as well as rural areas. The local Self-Government ensures effective people's participation and ensures overall development. India is a federal republic with three spheres of government: central (Union), State and Local. The 73rd and 74th constitutional amendments give recognition and protection to local government and in addition each state has its own local government legislation. The local self-government exists at two levels in our country. The first form is rural local government known as 'Panchayati Raj' and the second form is urban local government. Panchayati Raj system has existed in India since ancient times. There was a great deal of local self-government in the villages in the Chola Empire. Historian Altaker has called the Indian villages as small republics. Afterindependence, Balwant Rai Mehta committee was appointed in 1957 to make recommendations for the revitalization of the Panchayati Raj system and define its role in the development process. It recommended the implementation of ***"three-tier Panchayati Raj System"*** in the whole country. Rajasthan was the first state to implement the recommendations of the Balwant Rai Mehta committee. It was inaugurated by the then Prime Minister, Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru in Nagaur district on October 2, and 1959.In the first decade of 1960s, the Panchayati Raj was adopted in different states of the country but these institutions formed by the states did not have the similarities in the number of levels, their tenure, methods of election etc. In Rajasthan three- tier Panchayati Raj system as suggested by the Mehta Committee was adopted.

4.12 Committees Constituted for Reforms in Panchayati Raj System-

1. Ashok Mehta Committee (1977)

The committee was constituted by the Janata government of the time to study Panchayati Raj institutions. Out of a total of 132 recommendations made by it, the most important ones are :

1. The two-tier system of Panchayati Raj system should be adopted.The Gram Panchayat to be replaced by Mandal Panchayats.
2. All officers, including the District Collector, should be kept under the ZillaParishad.
3. Elections of the institutions should be conducted on the party basis. Political parties should participate at all levels in the elections.
4. Reservation should be given to the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and the women of the society.
5. Role of voluntary organizations should be increased in the Panchayati Raj system.

2. G.V.K. Rao Committee (1985)

The G.V.K. Rao Committee was appointed by Planning Commission to once again look at various aspects of PRIs. The Committee was of the opinion that a total view of rural development must be taken in which PRIs must play a central role in handling people's problems. It recommended the following

Recommendations

1. Gram Panchayats should be given more financial powers.
2. State Finance Commission should be constituted.
3. Tenure of institutions should be 8 years.

3. L. M. Singhvi Committee- 1986

The committee recommended the constitutional status of Panchayati Raj. The Central Government made an effort by the 64th Constitution Amendment Bill, but the bill could not be passed from the Parliament.

4. P. K. Thungan Committee- 1988

The committee also recommended the constitutional status of these institutions. The Thungan Committee recommended that the Zilla Parishad should be the most effective level in the Panchayati raj system. The Committee recommended for a detailed list of subjects for Panchayati raj to be incorporated in the Constitution and setting up of the State Finance Commission to lay down the principles for devolution of financial resources to PRIs.

73rd Constitutional Amendment Act

This Amendment was passed by Parliament in 1992, which came into effect on 24 April 1993. A Joint Parliamentary Committee under the chairmanship of Nathuram Mirdha, an MP from Nagaur was appointed to examine the Bill and report to the Parliament. The Parliament took up the bill and JPC Report on December 1st, 1992. The Bill became the Seventy Third Constitution Amendment Act finally on April 23, 1993 with the assent of the President to the Bill. The Panchayati Raj Day is celebrated on 24th April.

4.13 Main Features-

The three-tier system - 73rd Constitutional Amendment Act provides for three-tier institutional structure for all states. Accordingly, the structure adopted in our state becomes clear from this chart.

Level	Name of elected institution	Elected official
Village	Gram Panchayat	Sarpanch
Block	PanchayatSamiti	Pradhan
District	ZilaParishad	ZilaPramukh

4.14 Direct Election

The Act provides for direct election of Ward Panch and Sarpanch at village level, Mandal member at the block level and the members of Zila Parishad. In addition, it also provides that Chairpersons at the block level and district level which are called Pradhan and Zila Pramukh respectively, will be elected from the elected members. The post of Chairman at the Zila and Block levels should be filled by indirect election.

4.15 Provision of Reservation-

The Act provides for reservation of one-third seats for women in all institutions. The Act also provides for reservation for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in proportion to their population. This Act also authorizes the State Legislatures to make provision for reservation for the backward classes in these institutions.

4.16 The Fixed Tenure of the Panchayats -

Act provides that tenure of Panchayati Raj institutions shall be five years, if dissolved earlier, fresh elections to be held within six months. Act also provides that it is necessary that the new institutions must to be constituted within the period of 6 months. Minimum age for contesting elections to the Panchayati Raj institutions is twenty one.

4.17 State Election Commission-

State Election Commission is to be set up in each State to conduct regular and fair elections to Panchayati Raj institutions. The State Election Commission monitors the process of preparing this

voter lists from the time of declaring the officials as elected and giving an oath. The state's governor appoints the state election officer / commissioner. The terms and conditions of its appointment are also decided by the governor. In the service of the state election officer / commissioner, there will be similar ways of discharging the High Court Judge of the High Court.

4.18 The Formation of the State Finance Commission-

For the review of the financial condition of the Panchayat Raj institutions, the Finance Commission will be constituted, after every 5 years. Article 243I of the Indian Constitution prescribes that the Governor of a State shall, as soon as may be within one year from the commencement of the Constitution (Seventy-third Amendment) Act, 1992, and thereafter at the expiration of every fifth year, constitute a Finance Commission to review the financial position of the Panchayats and to make recommendations to the Governor as to -

A. The principles which should govern

1. The distribution between the State and the Panchayats of the net proceeds of the taxes, duties, tolls and fees leviable by the State, which may be divided between them under this Part and the allocation between the Panchayats at all levels of their respective shares of such proceeds;
2. The determination of the taxes, duties, tolls and fees which may be assigned as, or appropriated by, the Panchayats;
3. The grants-in-aid to the Panchayats from the Consolidated Fund of the State;

B. The measures needed to improve the financial position of the Panchayats;

C. Any other matter referred to the Finance Commission by the Governor in the interests of sound finance of the Panchayats. Article 243Y of the Constitution further provides that the Finance Commission constituted under Article 243 I shall make similar recommendation vis-a-vismunicipalities. The Governor is required to cause every recommendation made by the State Finance Commission together with an explanatory memorandum as to the action taken thereon to be laid before the Legislature of the State. This Commission recommends the Governor to review the financial status of these institutions, the sources of income, distribution of funds, grants received by the state government, taxes, collections etc.

4.19 Audit of Accounts-

State Government can make provisions for audit of accounts of the Panchayats. In order to strengthen these Panchayati RajInstitutions, 11th schedule has been added in the Constitution by the 73rd Constitutional amendment. It contains 29 items which increase the jurisdiction and power of these institutions.

ELEVENTH SCHEDULE
(Article 243G)

1. Agriculture, including agricultural extension.
2. Land improvement, implementation of land reforms, land consolidation and soil conservation.
3. Minor irrigation, water management and watershed development.
4. Animal husbandry, dairying and poultry.
5. Fisheries.
6. Social forestry and farm forestry.
7. Minor forest produce.
8. Small scale industries, including food processing industries.
9. Khadi, village and cottage industries.
10. Rural housing.
11. Drinking water.
12. Fuel and fodder.
13. Roads, culverts, bridges, ferries, waterways and other means of communication.
14. Rural electrification, including distribution of

electricity.

15. Non-conventional energy sources.
16. Poverty alleviation programme.
17. Education, including primary and secondary schools.
18. Technical training and vocational education.
19. Adult and non-formal education.
20. Libraries.
21. Cultural activities.
22. Markets and fairs.
23. Health and sanitation, including hospitals, primary health centres and dispensaries.
24. Family welfare.
25. Women and child development.
26. Social welfare, including welfare of the handicapped and mentally retarded.
27. Welfare of the weaker sections, and in particular, of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes.
28. Public distribution system.
29. Maintenance of community assets.

As part of the Directive Principles of State Policy, Article 40 (Organisation of Village Panchayats) says that -The State shall take steps to organize village Panchayats and endow them with such powers and authority as may be necessary to enable them to function as units of self-government.

74th Constitutional Amendment Act

The constitution 74th Amendment Act 1992, relating to Municipalities (Urban local Government) was passed by the parliament in 1992.It received the assent of the president of India on 20th April 1993. The Act seeks to provide a common framework for the structure and mandate of urban local bodies to enable them to function as effective democratic units of local Self Government. Constitution of three types of municipalities:

1. Nagar Panchayat- First,Nagar Panchayats which are also known as municipalities in Rajasthan are created in towns with populations of 10 thousand to 1 lakh, whose chief is called Chairman. This base of population is variable from time to time. These are created for a transitional areas (the area which is fast changing from rural to urban area) or for a very small urban areas. The tenure of Nagar Panchayat is five years.

2. Municipal Council- second, municipal councils are usually established in the cities with population of one lakh to 3 lakh. It is divided into several wards. A councilor is elected directly by the public from each ward. The head of municipal councils is called president or chairperson. Its tenure is five years.

3. Municipal Corporation-Third, Municipal Corporation is established in big cities with population of more than 3 lakh. Municipal corporations are created for larger urban areas. Its tenure is 5 years. But they can be dissolved before the fixed term by vote of no confidence. The 74th Constitution has made it is a constitutional obligation for the state government to hold elections within a period of 6 months. Municipal councilors are directly or indirectly elected (by councilors), or whatever is prescribed by the state government's legislation.

18 subjects are included in twelfth Schedule (Article 243 W) of the Constitution for these urban bodies powerful and effective, which are as follows:

1. Urban planning including town planning.
2. Regulation of land use and construction of buildings.
3. Planning for economic and social development.
4. Roads and bridges.
5. Water supply for domestic, industrial and commercial purposes.
6. Public health sanitation, conservancy and solid waste management.
7. Fire services.
8. Urban forestry protection of the environment and promotion of ecological aspects.

9. Safeguarding the interests of weaker sections of society, including the handicapped and mentally retarded.
10. Slum improvement and upgradation.
11. Urban poverty alleviation.
12. Provision of urban amenities and facilities such as parks, gardens, playgrounds.
13. Promotion of cultural, educational and aesthetic aspects.
14. Burials and burial grounds, cremations, cremation grounds and electric crematoriums.
15. Cattle pounds, prevention of cruelty to animals.
16. Vital statistics including registration of births and deaths.
17. Public amenities including street lighting, parking lots, bus slops and public conveniences.
18. Regulation of slaughter houses and tanneries.

In addition to these three levels of urban local governance in Rajasthan there are also Notified Area Committee, Town Area Committee, Cantonment Board, Township, and Special Purpose Agency.

Important Points

- Local decentralization is the proper medium of decentralization of powers.
- L.M. Singhvi Committee recommended constitutional status to Panchayati Raj.
- On April 24, 1993, 73rd Amendment to the Constitution which isrelated to Panchayati Raj system came into effect.
- In the three-tier structure of the Panchayati Raj, the Gram Panchayat at the village level, the Panchayat Samiti at the Block level and the District Council work at the district level.
- The State Election Commission organizes free and fair elections of local bodies.
- 73rd and 74th Amendmentsare related to Panchayati Raj Institutions and the Urban Bodies respectively.
- The head of the municipal corporation is called mayor or ***Mahapor***.
- It is a constitutional obligation for the state government to hold elections within a period of 6 months.
- No constituency can be held without representation for more than six months.

Exercise

Multiple Choice Questions

1. Under which Article of the Constitution of India, the President of India appoints the Governor of the State-
   (A) Article 154 (B) Article 155
   (C) Article 160 (D) Article 356 ( )
2. State's Actual Executive Power lies in -
   (A) Chief Minister (B) Governor
   (C) Speaker of the Assembly
   (D) Leader of the Opposition ( )
3. The Constitutional Head of the State is -
   (A) Finance Minister
   (B) Governor
   (C) Chief Minister
   (D) Vidhan Sabha Speaker ( )
4. Under which Article, the Chief Minister of the State is required to furnish information to the governor -
   (A) 167 (1) (B) 163 (1)
   (C) 162 (1) (D) 155 (1) ( )
5. In which of the districts of Rajasthan, the first phase of the *Three Tier Panchayati Raj System* was initiated on October 2, 1959?
   (A) Jodhpur (B) Nagaur
   (C) Jhalawar (D) Bikaner ( )
6. Which historian named the Indian villages as the Mini-Republics?
   (A) Altaker (B) Vice-Chancellor
   (C) James Tod (D) Ashok Mehta ( )

7. Which of these organizations is not related to rural self-government?
   (A) Gram Panchayat
   (B) Panchayat Samiti
   (C) Municipal Council
   (D) District Council ( )
8. A third of the posts for women in Panchayati raj institutions were reserved in the constitution of the constitution -
   (A) 72nd Amendment Act
   (B) 73rd and 74th Amendment Act
   (C) 75th Amendment Act
   (D) 43rd Amendment Act ( )
9. The elected head of the Municipality is called -
   (A) Chairman (B) President
   © Commissioner (D) Mayor ( )

Very Short Answer Type Questions

1. Who is the nominal executive of the state?
2. Who gives advice to the Governor?
3. The Governor administers the Chief Minister to whom?
4. To what the words "Union of States" used in the Constitution of India indicate?
5. Which Amendment Act of the Constitution of India prescribes that Council of Ministers in a State shall not exceed fifteen per cent of the total number of members of the Legislative Assembly?
6. What levels of local governance exists in Panchayati Raj system?
7. When is the *'Panchayati Raj Day'* celebrated?
8. Which is the smallest elected institution in rural local government?
9. Name the largest organization of urban self-government?
10. Which institution conducts the elections of the local bodies?

Short Answer Type Questions

1. Describe the five characteristics of the state administration.
2. Describe the main recommendations of the Sarkaria Commission in relation to the appointment of the Governor.
3. Describe the relationship between the Chief Minister and the Governor.
4. Comment about the formation of the State Council of the Council.
5. Comment briefly on the relations between the Chief Minister and the State Legislature.
6. What were the two major recommendations of the Ashok Mehta Committee? Describe.
7. What are the three levels of three-tier Panchayati Raj structure?
8. Describe any two tasks of the State Finance Commission.
9. What does Article 40 of the Constitution provide?
10. What are the three units of urban local governance?

Essay Type Questions:

1. Write an Article on State Administration.
2. Describe in detail about the relationship between the Governor and Chief Minister and also explain the functioning of state administration.
3. What is local governance? Publish the key recommendations of the committees constituted for strengthening
4. Explain the Three-Tier Structure of Panchayati Raj.
5. What are the main functions of Panchayati Raj Institutions mentioned in the 11th Schedule of the Constitution?
6. What are the functions of local administration of our cities? Describe.

Answers to Multiple Choice Questions

1. B 2. A 3.B 4.A 5.B
6.A 7.C 8.B 9.D

Unit-III

1. Casteism and Communalism

"Casteism is an over-riding blind and supreme group loyalty that ignores the healthy social standards of justice, fair play, equity and universal brotherhood." -Kaka Kalelkar

"Casteism is the loyalty to the sub caste translated into political". - K. M. Panikkar

Casteism

Caste is a social structure which is prevalent in India since ancient times. Despite accepting democracy and modern Western political institutions, tendency of casteism in politics is not yet over. In fact, Vote politics has further increased and strengthened this phenomenon. Vote-Politics has increased the role of casteism. On the other hand castes have become a structural device for participation in Democratic Politics through which the hitherto marginalised groups got opportunity to participate and represent themselves in politics.

1.1 Nature of Caste and Casteism-

Caste is one of the oldest surviving social institutions in India. In ancient times, it emerged in form of ***Varna System*** - as a unique and peculiar social system in order to regulate various diverse sections of the society. It was initially based on the principles of ***Karma*** and ***occupation***. The ***Varna System*** was considered favourable in the contemporary social and political conditions because it helped in the systematic coordination and regulation of multi-ethnic diverse society. In the course of time, due to various reasons, this system became distorted and turned into a caste system. With variety of defects, this discriminatory and divisive tendency first developed in the form of caste system and then as casteism in modern times. Casteism as a negative political force is detrimental to national interests and poses a serious challenge to India's unity and integrity. By taking advantage of this situation, the British started using this discriminating social system to meet their vested political interests.By taking advantage of precarious social situation, the British for larger colonial interests, provoked it more. The British also tried to impose a separate electoral system for Dalit class, which Gandhiji opposed. The contentious issue was, however, settled by Poona Pact that was accorded between Gandhiji and Dr.Ambedkar. In order to ensure the proper representation of these classes, the arrangement for reservation of seats was accepted. Ambedkar left the insistence of a separate election and matter was finally resolved. The purpose of separate electorates was to create division among upper and lower castes in Hindus, which both Mahatma Gandhi and Ambedkar, understood.

The modern form of Indian politics evolved after independence. It was believed that establishing a democratic system would automatically end casteism in the country, but it did not happen. Contrary to this belief, it has not only penetrated in the society but also in the politics. Since

independence, casteism has played an important role in the Indian political system. KN Menon's has rightly said that,"After the independence, caste influence has increased in the political arena of India." Morris Jones says, "Importance of politics for the caste and importance of the caste for politics have increased now than earlier".

The desire to gain power and to retain it has strengthened casteist sentiments in Indian politics. The desire of political parties and people's representatives to capture power and win election through caste oriented vote banks has increased the involvement of caste in electoral politics. Politicians have mostly encouraged this negative phenomenon in politics than dissipating it. Caste and religion have in recent years emerged as rallying points to gain electoral support. Unfortunately there is a tendency to play upon caste and religious sentiments and field candidates in elections with an eagle eye on the caste equations and communal configurations. Besides affecting economic, social, cultural and religious spheres, casteism has also influenced politics in India.

1.2 Meaning -

Caste in Indian society refers to a social group where membership is decided by birth. Members of such local group are endogamous, i.e. they tend to enter into marital relationships among themselves. **Caste** is a form of social stratification characterized by endogamy, hereditary transmission of a lifestyle which often includes an occupation, status in a hierarchy, and customary social interaction and exclusion. Although caste systems exist in various regions, its paradigmatic ethnographic example is the division of Indian society into rigid social groups, with roots in India's ancient history and persisting until today. However, the economic significance of the caste system in India has been declining as a result of urbanization and affirmative action programs. Caste is a social group that considers itself different from others, which has its own characteristics, pursue some traditional business and members of the group are married only within the peripheries of such group. Caste is a 'Closed Class.' Traditionally the members of a caste were related to a similar occupation, the son used to adopt the occupation of his father and they had marriage relations inside the group. Caste is basically a characteristic of Hindu society, but now it has expanded to Muslim and Christian societies also.

1.3 Role of Caste in Indian Politics-

Role of Caste in Indian politics is very important. According to Jaiprakash Narayan, "the caste is an extremely important party in India. Caste plays a variety of roles in Indian politics.

In Indian politics, the role of caste can be studied under the following points.

1. Role of caste in the decision-making process-

In India, most of the organizations which are formed on the on caste basis try to influence the decision-making process of governance. Caste blocs, who enter the voting chambers through political parties of their choice, naturally seek administrative power and inequitable share in the goods and services provided by the state. Since every political party has a core caste constituency, apart from the other satellite castes and sub-castes, they receive their share of power. While scheduled castes and scheduled tribes organizations want to increase the time limit for their reservation rights, the castes who have not received reservation, are agitating for getting the reservation benefits, there are some castes which have been trying to get themselves involved in the list of reserved castes. In order to meet their demands, they try to influence governance in different ways. The Gujjar Reservation Movement forced the government to decide for 5 percent reservation for them. Caste organizations try to influence the decision process according to their own interests and to prevent the decisions which are adverse to their interests. Politics is, after all, distribution of economic assets and political power among various contenders and stakeholders and determines which group gets what,

when and how much. This is the essence of caste politics. This phenomenon is essentially democratic because those who were marginalised for centuries and did not receive their due from the society for their contribution now demand and get their due share.

2. Selection of candidates of political parties on caste basis

Although there is hardly any instance in India of a political party being totally identified with any particular caste group, yet there are cases of certain casteslending strong support to particular political parties. Thus while political partiesstruggle among themselves to win different caste groups in their favour by making offers to them, caste groups too try to pressurize parties to choose its members for candidature in elections. Candidates come to be selected not in terms of accomplishments, ability and merit but on the appendages of caste, creed and community. Ultimately caste becomes the deciding factor on selection. While political parties struggle among themselves to win different caste groups in their favour by making offers to them, caste groups too try to pressurize parties to choose its members for candidature in elections. Political parties always keep caste equations in mind while selecting and making final decisions about their candidates. In the area in which there is dominance of an upper caste, the candidate of the same caste is fielded. On several occasions, after the two major parties have already fielded their candidates from a particular dominant caste, the third party field the candidate from the the second largest caste to take the benefit of sharing of the votes of first-two. Political parties also take care of caste equation in their internal organizational elections and appointments.

3. Caste oriented voting behavior

Voting behavior reflect the ways in which people tend to vote in public elections and why they vote in that particular way. It also reflects the voter's choices, preferences, ideologies, concerns, alternatives etc. Caste has deep roots in the Indian society. Caste occupies distinct position in moulding the voting behaviour in India and this happens in spite of the adoption of several provisions which prohibits discrimination on the basis of caste. The political parties in India formulate their policies and election strategies always keeping in mind the caste factor. Even the candidates are selected keeping the caste factor in mind. Election campaigns are made in such a way that it makes the voters to feel their respective caste identities. Caste oriented slogans are deliberately made and recited to please and induce the voters to vote for the candidates belonging to their caste. The recent Jat stir, agitation of Patel community of Gujarat and Gujjar agitation testify how deep seated are the feelings of people towards their caste and their groupings on the basis of caste. However the issue based politics is gradually becoming a determinant of voting behaviour at least in the urban areas and among the educated citizens.

4. Caste representation in the formation of the Council of Ministers -

When a political party gets majority in the elections, it is required to form the government. In process of formation of government the winning party takes special care of caste equilibrium while allocating portfolios in the cabinet. To keep caste equations in their favor, political parties try to balance the representation of various caste in the government. While distributing portfolios and allocating important posts at all level beginning from Panchayati institutions to state and central level profit and loss are taken care of. Sometimes when a particular caste does not get an adequate representation, the political party in government is criticized by caste organizations.

5. Caste as a Pressure Group-

Pressure groups are those informal organisations that come into existence for the protection of special interests and influence the activities of the government by different methods. Caste organizations work as pressure groups in the Indian political system. Caste plays an improtant role in Indian politics. Neither the states nor the center is left with this contemprory pattern of caste based politics. It is a pattern which has been seen in

all the state irrespective of their educational achievement, relative prosperity. To safeguard their caste interests, they pressurize the government to make such decisions which are conducive to their interests and also coerse and prevent it from taking decisions which are against their interests. Organizations of deprived castes continue to put pressure on the government to maintain reservation. According to Mayor, "Caste organizations have emerged as the important pressure groups with political motives".

6. Caste and Administration -

In addition to provisions for reservation in representative organizations in India, arrangements for caste reservations have also been made even in the administration. Besides the Scheduled Tribes, and Schedduled Tribes, 27 percent reservation is also provided to other backward classes. It is believed that local level administrative officers in India are influenced by the leaders of the region's principal and organized castes while making decisions. On the basis of caste, reservation is being demanded. Jat in Haryana, Patidar in Gujarat, Brahmin in Rajasthan etc. are demanding reservations on caste basis.

7. Caste in State politics -

Caste has a more active role in state politics rather than All-Indian politics. Politics of Bihar, Uttarprands, Tamil Nadu, Kerala, Andhra Pradesh, Rajasthan etc can not be analyzed without caste maths. Uttarprands and Bihar have become examples of caste politics. In Uttar Pradesh, Mayawati does politics of dalit votes.

8. Caste support in election campaign -

Political parties and candidates openly use caste in campaigning. In UP, Bihar and Rajasthan all major political parties resort to caste tactics to woo and appease voters.

9. The Rise of Political Elites On the Basis of Caste -

The new democratic system offered equal opportunities to lower castes. As a result some of these groups have acquired higher positions in the caste groups and also succeeded in getting a good place in politics. Such people may not be using caste card openly in politics but they always have soft cornor for the caste they belonged to and mostly lobby for the interests of their caste brethren. Consequently, the social composition of the political elite in terms of caste has undergone a sea change.

1.4 The Chacteristics of Politics of Caste in India

(1) Caste associations or organizations have increased caste political ambition. Caste leaders take political advantage by raising their support in the caste by raising issues of caste interest.

(2) In spite of progress in education, urbanization, modernization and democratic system, the tendency of casteism has not dissipated from Indian politics rather it has strengthened.

(3) In a particular region, one dominant caste is politically more influential and powerful.

(4) Relationship between caste and polintics is not static but dynamic and it changes with change in time and circumstances.

(5) Apart from politicization of caste, politics is becoming caste centric especially at local level.

1.5 Positive Impacts -

Casteism has also made positive impact in politics.

(1) The relationship between caste and politics has made people work in a formula. People living far away come in contact with each other in the caste panchayats. Due to the technique of developed communication, they maintain contact with each other. Help in one another's problems. In order to get maximum benefit from governance, we try to maintain unity in our caste. This creates a sense of social and unity among people. That same spirit of socialism and unity creates a positive effect in the national context.

(2) Caste politics has created political activism among more people. People began to be active in politics to protect their rights and their interests in the caste. Started working for social service. People active in ethnic groups also become active in politics.

(3) Due to ethnic activism, the importance of the castes in the society also increased which was previously the political power of social and economic power. They started benefiting from their number strength in democracy. Political awareness was also encountered among such castes. Their participation in governance has increased.

(4) Racism caused a change in the social structure. Caste politics influenced the culture of society. The lower castes follow higher castes in all communities of food, dress, lifestyle, and ethics, therefore equality increases in these areas. In the society, cultural unity is established.

(5) According to Rudolph and Rudolph, caste politics has reduced the differences between the castes and there has been similarity between members of different castes.

(6) Due to Caste differtiation, no religious cummunity can emerge as a intregrated majority cummunity. Therefore in India democracy did not degenerate into dictator-ship of the majority like in many newly independent Afro-Asian Countries.

1.6 Negative Effects -

D.R. Gadgil is of the opinion that caste influence is not helpful in the development of democracy. According to Dr. Ashirvadam, whatever the benefits of the caste in the past, it poses obstacles in the progress of the country today. Casteism creates tension and conflict in society. Government works under pressure and stereotype gets promoted. National interests are compromised at the cost of narrow caste interests. Casteism is against democracy. In Indian politics the tendency of casteism has increased after independence and all parties resort to it. Caste exercises its impact in the political field by specific caste groups coming together to vote *en bloc* for a candidate of their own caste, without considering the merits and demerits of the candidate, by appointing the members of influential caste or caste group or groups in the party as well as in the constituency and to offices of profits. A caste, wishing to exercise political power must have a considerable number of its members elected. This involves putting pressure on some particular party and different castes struggling against each other in a bid to have a majority of their caste candidates elected. The electoral field witnesses both competition as well as alliances between various caste groups in order to get a substantial number of their caste-men elected. Caste, therefore dominates the political field, especially at the lower level.

(1) Casteism is harmful for the spirit of brotherhood and unity. Conflicts arise in society and polity due to the conflicting caste interests of various segments. Social harmony is threatened. In recent years, During the Gujjar agitation, tensions arose in some areas between Gujjars and Meena castes.

(2) In environment of the caste oriented society, there is no place for peace. The castes struggle for narrow vested interests sometimes leads to unrest in the country and society.The government may also take inappropriate political decisions under the influence of caste and vote politics. Sometimes caste opriented decisions of government may create an atmosphere of unrest and mutual disbelief.

(3) In many political parties, in place of ideological polarization there occurs the determination of policies and programmes as well as the nomination of electoral candidates and the extension of support to them on caste consideration. Voting on the basis of caste is the result of this tendency. Most suitable politicians lose the election due to voting on caste patterns. For the winning politicians,

caste loyalty becomes more important than their responsibility towards the entire society. It is fatal to both the society and the state. This caste phenomenon help in promotion of inefficient and incapable politicians taking to important government business and it is country which ultimately suffers. The emergence of regional parties and the 'withering away of national outlook and spirit' thus set off another crisis. Candidates come to be selected not in terms of accomplishments, ability and merit but on the appendages of caste, creed and community.

(4) Due to casteism, the reverence and devotion of the citizens are divided. They show more devotion towards the caste they belonged to and it diminishes their dedication towards the nation. People start giving priority to caste interests rather than the national interests. These tendencies create obstacles in the unity, brotherhood and development of the country.

(5) Due to casteism, political parties are also formed on the basis of caste. Bahujan Samaj Party, Samajwadi Party and Rashtriya Janata Dal were basically formed on caste lines. For the development of healthy democracy, political parties should have been formed on the basis economic and political ideologies; but the principles and ideas have become secondary to caste sentiments.

(6) Casteist thinking promotes conservatism, in which scientific and progressive approach cannot sustain and country suffers the most.Its growth is adversely affected.

(7) It may develop the sense of insecurity among the people of minority caste or the community.

(8) Governments work under the pressure of large and powerful ethnically knit caste organizations and avoid making free and fair decisions in the larger interests of the whole society.

(9) Sometimes the movement or struggle of ethnic organizations may take violent turn and indulge in unlawful activities resulting in break down of the law and order and damage to the national property. It causes huge loss to the industrial development and trade.

(10) Casteism is against the democratic sentiments. It is damaging to the democratic values like liberty, equality and fraternity. It encourages divisive tendencies and narrow interests in the society which inturn results in rifts and conflicts among various social groups.

(11) Promote Vote Bank Politics Many political parties and their leaders in India have openly indulged in caste-based vote bank politics. They continue to support improper, inappropriate and unjustified demands of various caste organizations to make them their vote bank. This tendency is fatal to the national interests. National interests are compromised and caste interests get more importance.

Conclusion

In the modern Indian society, caste discrimination has spread everywhere like fierce diseases like Canser and AIDS and its diagnosis is impossible and hence evaluating role of caste in Indian politics is a daunting task. It not only creates rift in the society, but also obstructs the path of national unity. When 'disparate' political groups with caste-based ideologies compete for space in governance, national goals take a back seat. The more serious repercussion of this development is the political violence that has resulted in many parts of the country. Caste based politics and casteism are eroding the 'unity' principle in the name of regional autonomy. Exploiting caste sentiments and playing off one caste combination against the other with a political axe to grind, perhaps even more than religious bigotry is the very anti-thesis of rationalism, but the monster of casteism has all of a sudden mysteriously gained wide respectability as a means of empowerment of the subaltern India.

The famous sociologist MN Srinivas is of the opinion that "Traditional caste system has influenced progressive and modern political

systems in such a way that these political institutions have not been able to work in their original form."

In words of Dr. Gadgil, "the caste has proved to be more dangerous than regional pressures; it is one of the biggest obstacles in the way of fostering unity among the people of India."

Casteism is a hindrance to the polity, society and the country. It is not in tune with democratic spirit which considers an individual to be an entity and not a caste or group. A healthy democracy should be free from caste politics and the politics must also be free from caste influences.

Communalism

1.7 Meaning and Definition -

When any religious, cultural and linguistic groups or communities deliberately underline the distinguishness of its temporal interest. On the basis of religious and cultural differences by treating them as separate segments and also give their demands priority over general national and social interests then such tendency is called as communalism. Communalism is a dangerous ideology that promotes the false belief that one group, particularly one religious group, has more differences than similarities with outside groups. All activities and tendencies which emphasize on the interests of a particular group and which are based on its differences with other religions, cultures and languages come under communalism. Communalism also includes in it the fringe of alienation and separation in which interests of a group formed on religious grounds is given priority over the national interests.

According to Vincent Smith "Communalism is a tendency in which a particular group of people considers it a separate social and political entity on religious and linguistic grounds and also thinks that its interests are different from other groups".

1.8 Objectives of Communal Organizations-

The communal group or an organization generally pressurizes the government to get more power, prestige and political rights for its members. It generally gives more priority to the interests of the group over national and social interests. Communal organizations create divisions in the society.

1.9 Rise of Communalism-

The problem of communalism in India is credited to British colonial rule. The British Government adopted a policy of "divide and rule" to make Hindus and Muslims fight each other so that they could continue to rule over them comfortably. During the first struggle for independence, Hindus and Muslims fought side by side united in their purpose of defeating a common enemy. The British noticed this unity and realized that their survival rested on being able to keep the people divided. This realization led to the famous British 'Divide and Rule' policy. Religion was considered to be one of the best factors to divide the people. British used it as an influential mechanism to attain economic, political and other social activities. Till 1870 the British oppressed the Muslims greatly for they held them responsible for the revolt. After 1870 the British changed colors and instead started favoring the Muslim community. Communalism was also fostered through the writing of the Indian History. Socio-religious reform movements like Arya Samaj, Sanatan Dharam movements, Aligarh movement, Wahabi movement and some other fringe movements contributed towards communalism. *The British realized that the Hindu-Muslim unity is detrimental to the interests of the Empire in the long run, they divised policies to keep them at loogerheads.* The British followed the policy of 'divide and rule' to weaken this unity, and check the consolidation of evolving Indian nationalism. As final blow to Indian unity, the British accepted the '***Two Nation***' theory of Zinnah. *The communal seeds sown and nurtured by British finally caused the vivisection of Indian subcontinent in August 1947.Although, the British left India, and the partition fervoured with communal hatred and mutual distrust between Hindus and Muslims unleashed a human tragedy, hitherto unseen, in the world history.*

1.10 Causes of Communalism -

*The British finally left India after making it an independent nation in August 1947 but they deliberately partitioned it into two fragments on communal grounds. The partition fervoured with communal hatred and mutual distrust between Hindus and Muslims unleashed a human tragedy, hitherto unseen, in the world history.*Cancer was yet not cured.The British kept the problem of communalism vivid even after independence and inherited it to free India as a legacy of colonial rule. It has continued to remain a problem of Indian politics ever since.

1. The Bitter Memories of Partition-

The direct action of the Muslim League made the communal fervor reaches to its nadir. The country was divided with two independent and sovereign territories. Violence erupted in different parts of the country. Millions of people were displaced from the areas of West Punjab and Sindh and other provinces which were now part of Pakistan. Millions of people had to leave their houses, ancestral land and property and run away to India for lives. In retaliation, some parts of India were also affected by the horrific events. Horrific memories of torture, rape, lootings, death and displacement were imprinted in the minds of the affected people and their families. It was hard for them to forget about what had happened to them. Whenever a small incident occurs in any part of the vast country, this fringe helps it take a bigger form and becomes a communal issue.

2. The Fringe of Separatism-

Before and after independence many political parties and organizations were constituted on religious basis. Among them Hindu Mahasabha, Akali Dal, Jamiat-e-Islam, all India Majlis-e-Ettehadul Musalmin, All India Muslim League, Simi are major organizations. Unfortunately to fulfill their vested interests, these organizations have indulged in politics based on religion, which resulted in the tendency of isolation among various communities.

3. Economic and Educational Backwardness of Muslims-

Muslims educationally and economically were backward even during the British rule. After partition most of the affluent and forward Muslims joined Pakistan. Majority of Muslims who remained in India were relatively backward. Due to lack of education their overall position in jobs, business and industry could not be improved. Reluctance to embrace modern education system made scope for religious institutions. Most of the Muslim children who were imparted primary education in such institutions could not take benefits of higher and technological education and lagged behind in development. Thus, for many reasons the modernization has not been achieved by the Muslim society. It has resulted in dissatisfaction of the people. Some politicians and parties with political ambitions and vested interests further exploited them by raising the bogey of their under development and created vote banks out of dissatisfied people. Instead of addressing their problems of the Muslim society and making it join mainstream, they tried to increase the dissent to yield political gains. Full development of Muslim society is essential for the true growth of our nation. A majority of Muslims in India has failed to adopt the scientific and technological education. Due to their educational backwardness, they have not been represented sufficiently in the public service, industry and trade etc. This causes the feeling of relative deprivation and such feelings contain the seeds of communalism.

4. Pakistan's Propaganda and Conspiracy -

Some foreign countries try to destabilize our country by setting one community against the other through their agents. Pakistan has played a role in fostering communal feeling among the Muslims of our country. Pakistan has been encouraging and promoting communal riots by instigating the militant sections of Indian Muslim community. Kashmir youths are trained by Pakistan to destabilize India's internal security by spreading communal venom. In Pakistan's politics conspiracy

theories have been used as a propaganda tool by Pakistan's military establishment and the political elites, and the media has played pivotal role in discussing and exploring the 'unwarranted' conspiracy theories in a biased manner that suits and serves the military establishment. Pakistan's military establishment and political parties manifest the popular anti-Indian conspiracy theory themes and promotes their media discourse to hype communal dissent in the Muslim population of India. In fact much of the conspiracy narrative in Pakistan is flawed and unwarranted and contains a strong pro-military establishment that promotes and protects its own policies while providing a cover up for its political blunders and exploitations by blaming the external forces such as India and Israel for their occurrence. This phenomenon plays the role of a propaganda tool at the hands of this powerful element in the polity of Pakistan. Through some popular radio and television talk shows on contentious issues and events concernining India it generated an enormous amount of conspiracy talk which frequently discusses cause of Muslims of India. Cause of liberation and suffering of Muslims of Kashmir, issues of Babri Maszid and other contentious religious issues concerning Indian Muslims are on regular agenda of these shows and are most talked. Such propaganda serves on the one hand to confuse the public of Pakistan and create a favourable political environment for the military establishment, and on the other it also helps to create communal rift in India. By hyping the religious component, Pakistan has been quite successful in internationalizing the Kashmir issue and made it a serious political problem of India. The religious militants who are waging a jihad to create a theocratic state in Kashmir are part and parcel of Pakistan's conspiracy. By hatching a religious divide it has turned not only the uneducated but educated Muslims as its sympathizers. They see Pakistan as their benefactor and who twill come to their aid on religious grounds. Between 1981 and 93, Pakistan made every possible effort to create and maintain communal hatred between Hindus and Sikhs. The events of the Bombay bomb blasts of March 1993 were the result of Pakistani conspiracy whose purpose was to create bloody conflicts among Hindus Muslims. It also hypes the Security Forces fighting militancy in Kashmir as an oppression of Indian troops.

5. Apathy and Negligence of Government-

Sometimes due to apathy and negligence of the government and the administration, communal riots are festively blown away. Small events take a bigger shape. In 2013, there was a sense of insecurity among the people due to the incessant violence in Muzaffar Nagar (UP) and the state government failed to control the riots. In one of the verdicts related to riots, the Supreme Court squarely blamed the state government headed by then chief minister Akhilesh Yadav for being negligent in not anticipating the communal violence in Muzaffarnagar. The apex court observed that had the state intelligence agencies smelt these problems in advance and alerted the district administration, the unfortunate incidents could have been prevented. It held the state government, responsible for being negligent at the initial stage in not anticipating the communal violence and for not taking necessary steps for its prevention. Nearly 60 persons were killed in 20 days of riots in September 2013, which tore through Muzaffarnagar and Shamli after three youths were killed in an attack in a village. In such cases appropriate and timely action should be taken so that they can not take the vile form.

6. Political politics, Factional politics and Electoral Politics -

Politics of the narrow political interests of political parties is widely responsible for the problem of communalism. A number of communal and sectarian political parties and organisations are present in India. Muslim League, JamaatIslami, Hindu Mahasabha, Akali Dal and Vishwa Hindu Parishad are directly or indirectly responsible for the emergence of communalism. They try to increase communal hatred for their selfish interests. Religion in India has become an important agency of political socialization and it is also reflected in the ideology

of a number of political parties. The so called secular political parties also enter into alliance with communal forces for electoral benefit. Candidates are selected by different political parties taking into account the communal composition of the constituency. Some political leaders preach communalism to attain their immediate political goal. Nikhil Chakraborty, leading journalist of yesteryears said "the root cause of all riots that took place since 1950 was political and these rioting was done by politicians for their selfishness.''

7. Politics of Appeasement -

Some political parties have deliberately indulged in appeasement of a particular community on communal lines by endorsing their inappropriate and irrational demands and also to woo them as a permanent vote bank. Such activities create mutual tension in different communities. Those who are given special concessions due to appeasement regard them as their right, which leads to dissatisfaction among other classes.

8. Vote Bank Politics -

Vote bank politics has divided the county on communal lines. It damages social harmony. Despite the adoption of the principle of 'secularism' as a constitutional creed, which ironically allows communal parties to compete, the trend towards communalism and fundamentalism in Indian politics have been growing day by day.

1.11 Repurcussions of Communalism -

Communalism is antithetical to unity, integrity, security and development of our country. The country is passing through a critical juncture.The fringe of communalism, which led to partition has all along been there in India. Terrorism and other divisive tendencies are natural offshoots of communalism. First British and then native political parties have widened the rift between the people of India on communal lines for achieving their political and other interests. People of India which are yet to be fully educated have not realized the dangers this tendency poses to our country and they have become prey of this tendency. Flawed and unwarranted misunderstandings have led some people of both communities to be apprehensive of each other. Muslims are apprehensive of the Hindu majority of the country. Out of fear complex and other apprehensions they have volunteered to be a vote bank of political parties which harbours their interests and appeases them on communal lines. The divide has been further widened by our adversaries who wanted to divide the country on communal lines. They ideologically and materially support the forces inimical to interests of our country. Seed of terrorism were clandestinely sown by Pakistan in the communally fertile land of Punjab and J&K. Amongst the inimical forces, there are certain parties which are goaded by certain forces, by the spirit of certain fissiparous tendencies, and there are also some persons goaded by these fissiparous forces. Inimical forces which were responsible for partition of two provinces are still active. The same psychology is prevalent today. How can this problem be solved? How can we check these belligerent parties from implementing their outdated ideas, which may cause the physical disintegration of the country? What should be done? What should be our short term and the long term policy? The above questions and many others need immediate attention and must be treated socially, culturally, economically and psychologically. Will simply economic theory do or is something more required? Education is a long term programme. What should be done immediately in the physical and psychic realms? We have to go into root causes of the problem to resolve it. Communalism, besides many other problems still remain a threat to integrity. Communal schism is inimical to development of our nation. It is desired that the wholehearted pursuit of development of our country would automatically spurn communal schism.

1. Mutual Hatred - Communalism divides the society and spread mutual hatred, dissent and political unrestin the country. In the lack of atmosphere of mutual harmony in society small incident takes the form of fierce communalism which is harmful. Communalism disturbs social and religious equilibrium of the society and endangers

the sense of unity in diversity, peace and brotherhood.

2. Economic Losses- Communal riots cause great economic destruction and hampers growth. Economic growth can take place only in environment of peace and tranquility. The economic system of any country depends on the internal and external security of the people and the government, which make negative and positive impact on the society and their people. A significant factor affecting the economy of our country is communal riots. Due to this violence, internal and external security of the country is in danger and the country's economy is adversely affected. Communalism creates an atmosphere of intolerance and violence which would block the flow of goods and capital. The flow of labour from productive activities is diverted to unproductive activities, there is massive destruction of public properties to spread the ideology. While making investment foreign investors would avoid the countries with communal atmosphere. They would not take the risk of end up losing their investment. Historically, no country having atmosphere of high communal tensions has developed economically. As development of country takes place only when all people come and work together. During communal riots markets are burnt and the national property is destroyed. In curfew imposed ares the markets remain closed for several days which creates economic losses to business community and also to workers living on daily wages. After the death of Terrorist Burhan, Kashmir's market remained closed for a month. The cause of present economic condition of Jammu and Kashmir is terrorism and communal problem. Economic development can be done only in peace and order, not in unrest and disorder.

3. Loss of Lives - In the communal riots, hundreds of people are killed and homes are destroyed. In communal riots of Ranchi, Srinagar, Varanasi, Aligarh, Hyderabad, Meerut and Bombay thousands of people became disadvantaged in addition to those who died.

4. Political Instability - Communal problems lead to political problems which inhibit the stability of the governments. Inimical forces help in installing temporary and transitory governments which work on communal lines. Such governments are not conducive for sustainable development. They indulge in survival manoeuvrism for their political existence and the speed of development of the country is blocked.

5. Hurdle in National Unity- Communalism destroys national unity and brotherhood and also creates a split in society and end social harmony. No country can progress and make a powerful nation if it is communally divided. Divisibility and lack of unity weaken the nation and also the society.

6. Risk to National Security - India is a multi-communal country in which people of various communities live together. For the development of peace and order in the country, it is necessary for everyone to be together harmoniously. If acute communal feelings prevail in society they will not allow unity to flourish.

7. Handicap in Industrial and Commercial Development - Communalism creates a persistent problem of law and order which drives Industries away from the nation. Industrial and commercial development only possible if there is peace and order in the society. Society divided on communalism mid casteism can not achieve economic growth because a move or step taken by Government is thwarted by communal forces. No bourgeoisie will charge his money in the atmosphere of non-violence and violence. In this way, communal unrest blocked industrial and commercial land. Development can only be in peace and order. This kind of unrest created in Punjab had pushed Punjab many years back. Communalism is the major obstacle that tends to separate people on the basis of religion, language, territories and ethnic origin. Communalism inevitablly leads to communal riots and the authorities in order to 'control' the situation imposes curfew. Furthermore, the worst form of violence takes place during the period of curfew in the course of police “hunt” for anti social elements. Communalism leads to an

unhealthy development of the society in which poor people suffer the most. The biggest sufferers are the minorities. The communal riots between Hindus & Muslims in India evoke unfavourable reaction and criticism not only from Pakistan but in other Islamic countries of West Asia and Africa, which adversely affects our relations with them. Communalism gives rise to terrorism as both are interlinked.

1.12 Suggestions to Remove Communalism

Communalism is not only a serious problem for the country but also for the entire humanity because terrorism is the next stage of the communalism. Both the governments and private bodies are very much concerned with the growing menace of communalism. Our country has suffered a lot from it. It poses a threat to the unity and integrity of the nation. It is the biggest obstacle in way of progress and development of our country. Therefore, communalism should be removed from the society. To overcome this problem various remedial steps are suggested which are given as under :-

1. The Government should always bear in mind that such a work should not be done by him, which encourages communalism. Instead of talking about equity and equality, efforts should be made to implement it practically. Since poverty encourages the forces of communalism, all efforts should be taken for the economic development of the people.
2. Moral and spiritual values should be included in education. India is a secular state but education of values of moral life should be compulsory for everyone. There should be education that can create a sense of devotion and nationalism rather than religious prejudice.
3. No specific concessions or facilities should be given to any religious class on the basis of religion, which creates jealousy in other religions. Such discrimination, on the basis of religion creates mutual tension and end the sense of brotherhood.
4. The government should make such arrangements to create a sense of security in the minds of the minorities. In case the communal riots are caused, the local administration should be given clear instruction to control and to prevent riots in its areas. The mass media must provide reliable information's to the people instead of publishing sensational news. Moreover, special courts should be established for trying and punishing guilty persons who have organised riots in the locality.

   The government and the political parties should not indulge in vote bank politics. It gives rise to dissatisfaction among other classes.
5. One of the biggest reasons for communalism is electoral politics. There should be strict restrictions on political parties promoting communalism to take advantage of elections. The Election Commission should prohibit all sorts of electoral campaign on communal line. The political parties should have a code of conduct not to indulge in communal activities. Getting support of religion directly or indirectly by any party in the election campaign must also be banned.
6. Gradually the demand to be represented on the basis of communalism must also be discared and opposed strongly. Citizens will have to create a sense of a nation. All the political parties which thrive on religious loyalties should be banned or abolished by the government. Even non-political cultural organizations should always be kept under constant vigil so that they cannot preach communalism.
7. The government should rise above politics and make efforts to fix its language policy. It should make Hindi the language of the whole country.
8. Education is helpful in building up liberal and mental development of the person. Various schemes like N.C.C., N.S.S., Girls Guide,

Scout, youth leadership and training programme should be promoted. Educational tours and exchange programmes should also be used for creating healthy temperament among the youth. The uneducated people easily get oriented towards the narrow concept of religion and easily become prey of vested interests that use it in their own interest. The non-governmental and other philanthropic associations should be encouraged to develop secular way of life in the locality.

9. Communalism is a psychological disorder or mental malady. For the removal of communal hatred, proper socialization of children is necessary. Common living and common share of life should be encouraged by the families, schools, social activists etc. The educational system must be designed systematically for checking communalism. Programs promoting secularism should be organized. For this purpose, special books, booklets, pamphlets, articles should be published to do the needful in this direction. Such things help in shaping up liberal out look of the people and making them religiously tolerant towards the other religion. Proper use of mass media both print and electronics, should be made to spread the message of religious tolerance, secularism, and common brotherhood. In case there is a communal riot, the victims should not be identified either as Hindus, Muslims or Sikhs. The Committee also recommended the formation of peace and brotherhood committees at local levels to ensure healthy atmosphere and to prevent the anti-social elements who indulge themselves in communal riots.

11. Political parties should not be allowed to be constituted on the basis of religion. Religious organizations should be prohibited from participating in politics.A complete ban should be imposed on all communal organisations and communal political parties.

Sachar Committee Report, 2006 -

A seven-member committee was constituted under the chairmanship of Retired Judge Rajendra Singh Sachar to give suggestions for improving the social, economic and educational status of Indian Muslims. The seven-member High Level Committee submitted its final report to the Prime Minister on November 17, 2006. The Government tabled the Justice Rajindar Sachar Committee Report in Parliament on November 30th. The Sachar Committee compiled data from a number of sources. The report framed issues as related to identity, security and equity. Barring some generic observations about the causes for the 'development deficit' among Muslims, there was no explicit or detailed discussion of the causes of such conditions. The report suggested list of 15 programs for the welfare and development of minorities which included Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (Education for All Campaign), facilities for Muslim girls etc. Some people demanded reservation for minorities for political gain. The then central government also decided to give 4.5 percent reservation to minorities from the Backward Classes quota, but the same was rejected by the Andhra Pradesh High Court and the Supreme Court. Reservation on the basis of religion has been rejected in the Indian Constitution.

Recommendations-

The Muslim community exhibits deficits and deprivation in practically all dimensions of development. Mechanisms to ensure equity and equality of opportunity to bring about inclusion should be such that diversity is achieved and at the same time the perception of discrimination is eliminated. Creation of a National Data Bank (NDB) where all relevant data for various Socio Religious Communities are maintained was recommended along with an autonomous Assessment and Monitoring Authority to evaluate the extent of development benefits which accrue to different Socio Religious Communities through various programmes. An Equal Opportunity Commission should be constituted to look into the grievances of the deprived groups. A carefully

conceived nomination procedure should be worked out to increase inclusiveness in governance. The Committee recommended elimination of the anomalies with respect to reserved constituencies under the delimitation scheme. The idea of providing certain incentives to a diversity index should be explored. Incentives can be related to this index so as to ensure equal opportunities to all socio religious communities in the fields of education, governance, private employment and housing. State functionaries should be sensitive to the need to have diversity and the problems associated with social exclusion. A process of evaluating the content of the school textbooks needs to be initiated and institutionalized. The UGC should evolve a system where part of the allocation to colleges and universities is linked to the diversity in the student population. To facilitate admissions to the most backward amongst all the socio religious communities in the regular universities and autonomous colleges, alternate admission criteria need to be evolved. Providing hostel facilities at reasonable costs for students from minorities must be taken up on a priority basis. Teacher training should be compulsory ensuring in its curriculum the components which introduce the importance of diversity and plurality. The teachers should be sensitized towards the needs and aspirations of Muslims and other marginalized communities. The states should run Urdu medium schools. Work out mechanisms whereby Madarsas can be linked with a higher secondary school board so that students wanting to shift to a regular mainstream education can do so after having passed from a Madarsa. Recognition of the Madarsa degrees for eligibility in competitive examinations was desirable. The Committee recommended promoting and enhancing access to Muslims in Priority Sector Bank Advances. The real need was of policy initiatives that improve the participation and share of the Minorities, particularly Muslims in the business of regular commercial banks. The community should be represented on interview panels and Boards. The underprivileged should be helped to utilize new opportunities in its high growth phase through skill development and education. Provide financial and other support to initiatives built around occupations where Muslims are concentrated and have growth potential.

Causes of Communalism- (1) The British policy of divide and rule, sense of separation, economic and educational backwardness of Muslims, Pakistan propaganda, government apathy, party politics, appeasement policy, vote bank politics and foreign money are largely responsible for communalism.

Major Communal Riots- Communal incidents of Srinagar in 1963, Delhi in 1974, Moradabad in 1980, 1984 riots against Sikhs and riots that broke out post the burning of bogeys of train carrying car sewaks at Godhara in Gujarat in 2000 are among the major communal riots of India after Independence.

The Side Effects of Communalism

Commanalism leads to political instability and endangers national unity, integrity and security. Mutual hatred results in loss of lives of innocent people and the economic growth of country is also blocked.

Measures for Removing Communalism - those who resort to appeasement policy towards a particular community for getting their votes to win the election should abandon this divisive policy. Politics done on the basis of religion is detrimental to all and there should be no discrimination on the basis of religion. Moral education should be taught to one and all to make them good citizens.

Future Scenario - Looking at the factors and forces responsible for the riots and every riot becoming more organized, widespread, and use of more and more lethal weapons it can be assumed that soon it would take the shape of pitched battles, like a civil war. If we want to save our nation from such a fate a concerted economic, political and socio-cultural program should be initiated and followed vigorously. Communalism is like a poison

that can kill our freedom and all good qualities required for the governance of a democratic country.

Important Points

- Both Casteism and communalism are important elements which adversely affects Indian politics.
- A caste as a social structure is prevalent in India since ancient times.
- Vote politics has further increased casteism.
- Tendency in which religious, cultural and linguistic groups give their class interests a priority over national interest by treating them as separate classes is called communalism
- "Divide and Rule" policy of the British Government is one of the causes of communalism.
- The British policy of divide and rule, sense of separation, economic and educational backwardness of Muslims, Pakistan propaganda, government apathy, party politics, appeasement policy, vote bank politics and foreign money are largely responsible for communalism.

Exercise

Multiple Choice Questions-

1. Which of the following scholars has said," Caste is an important party in India".
   (A) Mahatma Gandhi
   (B) Swami Vivekananda
   (C) Jai Prakash Narayan
   (D) Sardar Patel ( )
2. Which of the following statements are false?
   (A) Caste influences the decision process
   (B) Political parties do not select their candidates on caste basis
   (C) Caste influence is more in the caste oriented states
   (D) Voters always cast their vote on caste basis. ( )
3. Which of the following states is influenced by the caste politics?
   (A) Bihar
   (B) Uttar Pradesh
   (C) Andhra Pradesh
   (D) All of the above ( )
4. What was the main cause for partition of India?
   (A) Casteism (B) Communalism
   (C) Linguistic (D) Corruption ( )
5. Communal riots at Godhra in Gujarat broke out in -
   (A) Feb, 2002 (B) March 2001
   (C) Feb, 1992 (D) Dec, 1995 ( )
6. The main consequences of communalism are-
   (A) Political instability
   (B) Obstacle in National Integration
   (C) Financial losses
   (D) All of the above ( )

Very Short Answer Type Questions-

1. What is the caste?
2. What was the basis of caste during the Vedic period?
3. What is communalism?
4. Which policy of the British Government has promoted communalism in India?
5. Describe two side effects of communalism.

Short Answer Type Questions-

1. Explain the role of caste in Indian elections.
2. Describe two causes of communalism.
3. How does the caste affect the decision process?
4. "British Government policies were responsible for increase in communalism in

India".Explain.

5. How does the foreign propaganda help increase in communalism?

Essay Type Questions-

1. What does the Casteism mean? Explain the role of caste in Indian politics.
2. What is communalism? Describe its main causes.
3. Explain the consequences of communalism.
4. Explain the positive and negative effects of Casteism.

Answers to Multiple Choice Questions-

1. C	2. B	3. D
4. B	5. A	6. D

2. Regionalism and Lingualism

India is one of the most diverse lands found anywhere else in the world. The diversity of India is unique. It is a land of diversity in race, religion, caste, language, land forms, flora and fauna and so on. A good deal of geographical, linguistic and cultural diversities exists here. India presents endless varieties of physical features and cultural patterns. It is the land of many languages. It is only in India people professes all the major religions of the world. India is one of the most religiously and ethnically diverse nations in the world, with some of the most deeply religious societies and cultures. Although these differences cause curiosity for us, sometimes excessive demands made on these grounds create problems of governance. At the time of independence, India was not a powerful nation economically. It was mainly due to the excessive exploitation of our economy by the British and the unbalanced development of the provinces. The economic policies pursued by the colonial government in India were concerned more with the protection and promotion of the economic interests of their home country than with the development of the Indian economy. After attaining independence, our union government tried to correct this state of imbalance by reorganization of the states and other measures. Regional differences continued even after independence because of our historical background and the availability of natural resources. The process of reorganization and formation of the states after our independence was also one of the factors. The states were reorganized by the merger of British territories, the integration of the princely states with the Union of India and subsequent political and social integration of the entire country. The reorganization of the states on the basis of language, a major aspect of national consolidation and integration, came to the fore almost immediately after independence. The boundaries of provinces in pre-1947 India had been drawn in a haphazard manner as the British conquest of India had proceeded for nearly a hundred years. No heed was paid to linguistic or cultural cohesion so that most of the provinces were multilingual and multicultural. The interspersed princely states had added a further element of heterogeneity. At the time of independence in 1947, the grouping of 571 disjointed princely states and other territories was done on the basis of political and historical considerations rather than on linguistic or cultural divisions, but this was a temporary arrangement. On account of the multilingual nature and differences that existed between various states, there was a need for the states to be reorganized on a permanent basis. The caste, religion, community and the leading image of a towering regional leader also influenced the process of state reorganization. The level of economic development, political commitment of bureaucrats, and the geographical region based politics of politicians also contributed towards the tendency of regionalism. During the independence movement, these aspirations were secondary and remained hidden in background because the primary goal was to set our country free from the foreign rule. Soon after getting independent in 1947, these regional and lingual aspirations surfaced again. The demand of linguistic provinces and the harsh antagonism between various sections of the Indian people which underlay these demands further strengthened the sentiments of regionalism. India

never developed a good system to manage its diversity. The ad hoc approach only led to appeasement, violence, and alienation among communities.

- Demands for the Reorganization of States
- Demand for Creation of New State
- Demand for More Autonomy within the Union of India
- Demand for More Share in Distribution of Natural Resources and Disputes related to it
- Demand for Getting More Financial Support from the Center.
- Demand for Maximum Political Participation.

2.1 What is Regionalism-

Strong attachment of local residents to one's own region and their efforts to promote it more than the union, comes under the category of Regionalism. The aim of regionalism is to fulfill narrow regional interests. This is such a trend in which the people of the region demand more economic, social and political power for their province than others.

2.2 Causes of Regionalism-

Regionalism in India is a multidimensional phenomenon as it is a complex amalgam of geographical, historical, cultural, economic, politico- administrative and psyche factors.

1. Nature provided differences and in equalities.
2. Lack of equal distribution of resources by the administration or administrative discrimination.
3. Unequal investment and development related variations.
4. Historical and political factors.
5. Cultural diversity.
6. Prejudice towards regionalism due to linguistic diversity.

The nation with narrow regional aspirations has to face many adverse consequences like:

(I) Challenge to the integrity of the country - The process of the development of regional aspirations peril the unity and integrity of the nation. In its fierce form, sometimes regional aspirations leads tendency of fringe of separatism and alienation and pose challenge to the national identity. The regionalism may develop a negative sense in the people and they lose faith in the union government and its policies. Experience of our national politics for the past seven **decades has not been good in this regard.**

(ii) Tendency of demanding new states.

(iii) Dominance of regional politics and regional political parties.

(iv) The concept of 'son of the soil.'

(v) Rise of self- appointed leaders.

(vi) Challenge to National Laws and orders and results in anarchy.

(vii) Deteriorates the credibility of the country in international politics - Internal issues affect our international image. Sometimes, at the pretext of violation of human rights, demands of separate states and on the plea of maintenance of democratic values our adversaries and other countries criticize India at international forums and make a hue and cry unnecessarily.

2.3 Resolution of Problem of Regionalism-

The solution of every problem lies in its causes. The problem of regionalism can only be overcome by eliminating its root causes. Some solutions to get relief from the problem of regionalism are outlined as under-

1. Formulation of Sustainable National Policy - It is the responsibility of the Central Government to formulate a balanced and equitable policy without political discrimination at the time of formulation of policy for development of all sectors. If the developments of comparatively the smaller and resource-wise weaker areas / states are also given equal priority, then it will gradually increase confidence of the inhabitants of the region and the fierce nature of regionalism will at first get diluted

and then finally be resolved.

2. Development of Permanent Infra-structural Structure in the States- In order to reduce regional variations in the states, the development of infrastructure, irrigation, electricity, traffic and communication in backward and undeveloped areas will have to be prioritized, with far-reaching positive results.

3. Initiating Special Projects for Development of Particular Areas- Special programs for development of Particular Areas will be run as projects. Drought Prone Areas Programme (DPAP), Desert Development Programme (DDP), Hill Areas Development Programme (HADP) and Tribal Area Development Programme (TADP) and conferring status of special state are some of the government moves which have already been initiated. This measure will also be effective in easing the spirit of regionalism,

4. Formation of Administrative Units of Smaller States- Constituting- Smaller states in a pragmatic way is a better option for smooth administration. Local area development programs can be successfully run by the provincial governments from small states. Only the distribution of Central taxes increases the stake.

5. Integration through Cultural Differences- Government has already taken initiatives to promote cultural variety and variations positively for integration through the medium of Doordarshan, Radio, Newspapers and other communication channels. Identifying and recognizing cultures and linking them with one another can be the means of integration.

6. Respecting linguistic diversity- Our Constitution has also recognized diversity by recognizing them. We all have to respect the languages with respect to the languages. Increase the scope of translation. They must be given proper place in the school curriculum.

Lingualism

Article 343 of our Constitution clearly states that the official language of the Union of India will be Hindi. Having recognized the importance of English as an instrument of knowledge dissemination as well as commerce as well as maintenance of international relations, a provision was left to extend the use of English language in the Article 343 on 'Official language of the Union' - "for all the official purposes of the Union" even after "a period of fifteen years," with a proviso that "the President may, during the said period, by order authorize the use of the Hindi language in addition to the English language and of the Devanagari form of numerals for any of the official purposes of the Union". It also provided for the formation of an Official language commission by the President to suggest progressive use of Hindi and the position of regional languages. This commission will also consider the appropriate demands of the people of non-Hindi speaking areas regarding the industrial, cultural and scientific advancement of the country and public services. At the same time, the Constitution also gives the State Legislature the right to accept Hindi or the regional language of that state for political purpose in that state. It also provides for safeguarding the rights of linguistic minorities in this process.

2.4 Background-

In order to implement the provisions of the Constitution, the First Official Language Commission under the chairmanship of B.G. Kher was appointed in 1955, reported in 1957. In 1967 the Official Language Act 1963(as amended in 1963) suggested the implementation of the Three Language Formula. Under this scheme, it was suggested that business and correspondence of government should be carried out in Hindi, English and other regional languages. The competitive exams for various government services should also be conducted accordingly. The progressive development of Hindi should also be a part of this process. In spite of these provisions, obstacles in the development of Hindi language continue to persist in our country. When India became a Union of States, the States were formed on a linguistic basis. Linguistics became an essential guiding principle

simply because the country had several languages strong enough individually in spoken, written and literature forms and they had to be assimilated in much the same way as the various princely states were in a united India. The anti-Hindi agitation of the 1960s shook the edifice of linguistic togetherness and laid the ground for a level of distrust that continues to prevail to this day. Some states of the south were reorganized on the lingual basis after their stirring the anti-Hindi agitation. The roots of demand for the creation of new states lie in linguistic conflicts. There should not be any objection in promotion and growth of regional language but creating obstacles in spread of Hindi by opposing it through violent methods is not good for national assimilation. Terming progressive use of Hindi as *'Hindi Imperialism'* is not good for nationalism. The feeling of insecurity in the minds of people of non-Hindi speaking areas should be erased and priority should be given to establish mutual faith to make the *"Three Language Formula"* meaningful and practically adaptable. The local and regional languages can never take place of national language and hence they should not feel any challenge from the official language of the country. Different languages have different ways of achieving the same functional goalsand easily learnable. Linguistic diversity is just a symptom of the society where the lingual differences can be treated similar to the physical differences. Although Hindi has been recognized as the national language, this has promoted bitter hostilities, particularly in the South. Mostly the lingual agitations and conflicts are deliberately sparked by politicians to meet their vested interests. Language problem has never been as intensely felt as it is today. It is important for the common citizen to understand its political perspective. Parochial political parties create linguistic feeling among the people of a locality and exploit their sentiments at the time of election. Moreover, it is responsibility of the government to ensure equal distribution of resources, equal job opportunities without any linguistic discrimination. The rule of law should prevail everywhere and no language should be arbitrarily imposed. A peaceful movement is also being carried on for the inclusion of ***Rajasthani language*** in the Eighth Schedule to the ***Constitution***.

2.5 Measures to Resolve the Problem of Lingualism

The lingual conflicts and aggressive agitations pose serious challenge to integrity of the nation and peril the national integration. Hence, they should be resolved peacefully. Some remedial measures are given as under :-

1. Mutual understanding and lingual cooperation should be built between the Hindi speaking and Non-Hindi speaking people to make them understand that Hindi is a not a challenge to regional languages rather useful in developing cross lingual culture and also in nation building.
2. The propagation of Hindi as the national language requires lot most care and tact and it should be done in a well planned manner. It will be unwise to impose Hindi on non-Hindi speaking people.
3. Cultural exchanges educational and linguistic activities should be expanded in the country far and wide.
4. By promoting the scope of tourism, the necessity of learning Hindi becomes more viable.
5. The three language formula such as regional language, Hindi and English should be properly implemented at the level of the Center and the States.
6. Efforts should be made towards making regional languages useful in promoting and spreading Hindi.
7. Efforts should be made to end the tendency of political and finding a real solution to the problem of lingualism in national interest.
8. The use of English should be limited to the translation and administrative purposes.
9. Feeling that as means of communication the

languages unite rather than divide the people should be instilled in the minds of the people.

Important Points

- Showing strong attachment to one's own region rather than the nation is called '*regionalism.*'
- The tendency of regionalism is a big challenge for national integration.
- Geographical differences, uneven distribution of natural resources and the lack of proper thinking of the central government develop the fringe of regionalism.
- If any part of a big state feels neglected and demands separate identity, it also comes under the category of regionalism.
- The concept of 'Son of the Soil' has given rise to the tendency of regionalism.
- Regionalism flourishes by neglect based on cultural and linguistic differences.
- *"Three Language Formula"* has been adopted in India - Hindi as an Official language, English as a language for communication and one of the regional languages listed in the 8th schedule of the constitution.
- The lingual conflict is rooted in the tendency of considering regional language to be better than Hindi.
- Hindi and regional languages can develop as complementary to each other through mutual lingual cooperation and help in erasing the parochial tendency of lingualism.

Exercise

Multiple Choice Questions-

1. Which of these statements represents regionalism?
   (1) Demands for reorganization of states
   (2) Creation of new state
   (3) Autonomy under the Union of India
   (4) Merger of state into big state ( )
   The correct statement is -
   (A) 1, 2, 3, 4 (B) 1, 2, 4
   (C) 1, 2, 3 (D) 2, 3, 4 ( )
2. The concept of *'son of the soil'* implies -
   (A) The rise of the self-proclaimed leader in an area
   (B) Off spring of a woman named Bhumi
   (C) Fishermen working on land
   (D) A form of feudal system ( )
3. Which one of the following is a mismatch in the list of programs run by the Government of India for the development of backward areas?
   (A) Tribal Area Development Program
   (B) Hill Area Development Program
   (C) Drought Area Development Program
   (D) Religious Development Program ( )
4. Which pair is the correct about the Three Language Formula?
   (A) Hindi, English, Kannada
   (B) English, Punjabi, Russian
   (C) Hindi, Bhojpuri, Devanagari
   (D) Hindi, Malayalam, Rajasthani ( )

Very Short Answer Type Questions

1. What are the main causes of growth of regionalism?
2. What is the meaning of Lingualism?
3. Write two adverse affects of the concept of regionalism.
4. Suggest a remedy of lingualism so that it does not become a challenge for national integration.
5. What is the official language of the Union of India?

Short Answer Type Questions -

1. What is the concept of 'Son of the Soil'?

2. Explain the meaning of regionalism.
3. What is Three Language Formula?
4. Write the name of any four special development programs being run by the Government of India.

Essay Type Questions -

1. What is regionalism? Write about its causes and remedial measures to prevent it.
2. Give your review on the consequences of regionalism in India.
3. What is Lingualism? Describe measures to change its aggressive nature into a goodwill gesture.

Answers to Multiple Choice Questions

1. C 2. A 3. D 4. A

3. Terrorism, Criminalization of Politics and Corruption

Terrorism

Terrorism is basically a disruptive trend, which has a deep connection with other divisive tendencies. This is not a new political concept, in some form or the other; it has existed in all political systems since ancient times. Terrorism, communalism and separatism are integral to each other. Terrorism has caused the greatest harm to world peace. India is one of the most affected countries of terrorism. Defining terrorism is a very difficult task. One approach is the belief that one who is a terrorist in the thought of another can be an independent fighter in the thought of another. In the current world, terrorism is alive on religious and ethnic basis.

3.1 The Meaning of Terrorism-

The meaning of terror in Latin is to make one tremble. In other words, terror means a violent action or threats designed to cause fear among ordinary people, in order to achieve political aims. According to O Dimers, *"Terrorism is a delusion. It is a psychological warfare; its aim is to achieve psychological consequences. The dramatic presentation of violence and its progress is the fundamental nature of famous terrorism."* Terrorists' do not just want to frighten the people or get them to overreact; they want to be always in people's consciousness to make them believe there's nothing terrorists would not do. In general, the method of creating fear in any way can be called terrorism. When a person or group tries to fulfill their proper demands, peacefully and through non-violent efforts, then it is called movement. The movement is an indispensable process of the democratic system. On the contrary, when a person or a group of people makes a negative attempt based on the violence and atrocities on a broad scale to meet their inappropriate demands, then it is called terrorism. Terrorism, in the most widely accepted contemporary usage of the term, is fundamentally and inherently political. It is also ineluctably about power: the pursuit of power, the acquisition of power, and the use of power to achieve political change. Terrorism is thus violence- or, equally important, the threat of violence - used and directed in pursuit of, or in service of, a political aim. Terrorism is usually supported on religious, racial, regional, and ethnic grounds. But due to being undemocratic, it is unable to get support in the democratic setups at the widespread level. The use of terror implies - creating fear. All the despotic societies were established on basis of fear. The basic premise of the so-called totalitarian regimes in the modern era is fear. The sword of terror always looms large over those who think of rebellion in the peacetime. The main goal of terrorists is to topple down the present legally established rule and capture the power by overthrowing it. Terrorism is the most dangerous violent psychological war system in the world. Terrorism is a kind of infectious disease. Its psychological effects are far more hazardous than its actual physical effects. Terrorism has become the biggest threat to the world after the end of the war. Terrorism is part of those new innovations which may use nuclear, biological and chemical weapons and cause mass destruction. In practice, terrorism sometimes becomes 'the weapon

of the weak against the powerful', and some other times it becomes 'the weapon to defend the religion and the religious power.'

3.2 World Perspective of Terrorism

The 9/11 incident suddenly made terrorism significant once again. In fact, Taliban phenomenon had been very active in the last two decades of the last century but for its vested interests America praised them and called them freedom fighters and liberators of the people. It is worth mentioning that Pakistan's attitude towards the terrorists of Kashmir has been similar to what USA thought of Taliban in the last century. Pakistan wants to pursue its political goals by calling them freedom fighters. By overtly displaying its sympathy on a religious basis, it wants to achieve its political objectives. Terrorism has both the reactionary and the suicidal effects. In our region, Pakistan is the primary funder of terror organizations. Today Pakistan, which has been the main sponsor and breeding nation of terrorism, is fighting itself with the menace of terrorism. Terrorism in India is said to be largely sponsored by Pakistan. One country has deliberately used it as a strategy against its adversary. Historically there have been states that have been most extreme in their deployment of political terror, the greatest because bloodiest exponents of terrorism. Clear examples from the past include not only the excesses of Stalin and Hitler but also the use of violence by central American governments in the 1980s and perhaps most dramatically of all the dropping of the two Atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945. The latter in particular was a pure act of political terror: 'look what we can do, now listen to us'. The same could be said of the United Kingdom's decision to attack German cities from the air during the latter part of the Second World War. It was USA which had created the monster of Taliban for using it in opposition to its adversary the former Soviet Union. But after two decades the monster turned against him. Supporting Iraq against Iran and raising the Taliban against the former Soviet Union were also part of the strategy of the USA. Its military action after 9/11 against Iraq and Afghanistan in the name of fighting the global terrorism was nothing but an attack on the sovereignty of these nations. The USA and its allies believe that keeping any kind of destructive weapons and using them for perpetrating violence is an act of terrorism. The countries which support and give refuge to terrorists are being identified from this perspective. Ironically, these same countries have the largest stockpile of weapons of mass destruction. In fact, terrorism is not just the technique of violence or an art of killing or terrorizing lives of people but it is an ideology in itself. It has a profound relationship with foreign policy of the USA during the Cold War. Cold War is literally a bloody monster. The more you hit it, the more ghastly it will become. Same is true about terrorism. Apparently the cold war is said to have ended with the collapse of former Soviet Union but as an ideology it is still alive. The present phenomenon of the ISIS, Taliban and terrorism is part of the overall World perspective. This phenomenon has its own system, mechanism and ideology. The multinational companies are its oxygen. Terrorism is no longer a local phenomenon; its effects cannot be confined within the periphery of the boundaries of a nation. Its current diverse form and nature make it a global phenomenon. Terrorism has been booming and prospering with state-of-the-art weapons and funding from the counties across the borders. Global network of Taliban, Al-Qaeda, LTTE, Khalistan Commando Force, ORDEN and RawtiShax, etc. owned numerous business ventures in various countries. These terrorist organizations have considerable connections with multi-national corporations active globally. These companies are of two types - smugglers of narcotic substances and producers of arms and weapons. With an aim to take advantage of the reactions of the system and to hype their inappropriate demands the terrorists carry out violence in a planned manner as part of their strategy. Brian Crozier has underlined in his book -A Theory of Conflict (1975) that terror and violence are largely the weapons of weak. Being less in numbers and mostly powerless, they cannot achieve power in a traditional way and hence take to violence in achieving their goals.

3.3 Fanaticism &Terrorism

The tendency to treat terrorism as an associate of Islam has been a matter of controversy for a long time. It is a serious question that terrorism is linked to any religion. To believe that the all the followers of Islam promote terrorism is absolutely false and baseless. It is also believed that Islam, is not violent or inhumane, it is a religion based upon peaceful principles. Islam, however, is essentially a political ideology. Some experts of terrorism of the West do contend that in some countries violent transformation of Islam has emerged as a powerful trend and phenomenon in last 25-30 years. Islam has many strands, as do most religions. Although they also admit that it is not at all necessary that what Islam meant to terrorists and fundamentalists also meant the same to its followers. But they also believe that Islamic terrorism is a strand of Islam. It has become a powerful phenomenon in the past 20-30 years. Ironically, in Islamic terrorism the terrorists have excessive devotion to Islam rather than any faction or a group. Commitment to a particular religion is the main trend of Islamic terrorism. Martyrdom, perpetrating unlimited barbarism, forcibly amassing wealth and killing and committing atrocities on innocent people ruthlessly in most ghastly manner in the name of Allah are some of the features of Islamic terrorism. This form of Islam has killed and intimidated more Muslims than the other people. At present, the deaths of most of Muslims in the world are not caused by the American drones but by the different Muslim attacks on Muslims. Shia attacks Sunni and Sunni attacks the Shia. Muslims are torturing Muslims, whether it is Taliban in Afghanistan or Ayatollah in Iran. Islamic terrorism in Jammu and Kashmir comes under the category of religious separatism.

3.4 Terrorism in India

Terrorism is not a new trend which has descended in India over nightly. Terror was repeatedly used in the entire history of India to achieve power. Terrorism has become one of the most pervasive and critical threats to the security of India in recent history. Sikh terrorism of last two decades of the last century, Islamic terrorism of Jammu and Kashmir, Naxalism presently active in various Indian states and insurgency of different states of the North East can be included in the definition of terrorism. In addition to many local terrorist organizations in the Jammu and Kashmir state of India, other Pakistan-backed and trained terrorist organizations are also active. In India by the end of year 2017, 40 terrorist organizations have been banned under the Unlawful Activities Prevention Act (UAPA). Islamic Research Foundation (IRF) the NGO of Islamic campaigner, ZakirNaik has also been banned as an 'unlawful association' under the Unlawful Activities Prevention Act in March 2016.

3.5 Nature of Terrorism in India

The nature of terrorist organizations active in India is not identical. One factor is common to all. All these terrorist organizations use various violent methods to perpetrate violence and to create fear to achieve their goal. In India, militant gangs are active in north-eastern states- especially in Border States, Jammu and Kashmir, Assam, Punjab, Andhra, Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Orissa, Bihar, Bengal and Maharashtra. In Kashmir, militant outfits get more support on religious grounds. They also get immense Pakistani support in form of training of terrorist cadres in its camps, funding, logistical and intelligence. Pakistan continues to play an active role in generating religious and ideological discontent and disorders among the Muslim population. Pakistan is helping them by providing funds, weapons, training, propaganda and recruiting youth as terrorists. Psychologically, by applying different tactics Pakistan has been quite successful in fomenting religious discontent and discord in the mindsets of people of Kashmir and orienting them towards the tendency of excessive devotion to Islam or the fanaticism and away from national mainstream. It has adversely affected geographical, political and strategic interests of India. The central goal of the Sikh terrorists -active in the last century in Punjab and the Muslim terrorists of Jammu and Kashmir is the same. Both have demanded a

separate state on religious grounds. Therefore, terrorism in both Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir comes under the category of separatism. Different terrorists may have different political ideology because it is not possible for them to have similar ideology and objectives. However, there may be some common attributes of terrorism. In both Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir terrorism has resorted to religious fundamentalism. In Punjab, terrorists are mostly blamed for the killings of innocent civilians, while terrorists in Kashmir have resorted to cause maximum damage to the army and other security forces besides killing innocent people mostly of other religions. When the terrorism was at its peak in Punjab, terrorists killed innocent people instead of confronting with the state machinery. State Police Force was their second target. The main targets of militant outfits in Assam, Manipuri, Tripura, and Nagaland are the people of the particular ethnic group or community. They occasionally also attacked the state machinery but their main target are people of a particular community. Therefore, terrorism of these states continues to indulge in violent encounters or attacks among different ethnic groups or tribal groups. The incidents of attacking the state machinery were not directly related to politics, but the relationship among the various separatist outfits did exist. For instance, the Khalistani outfits in Punjab, the Naxalite groups and the People's War Group active in Andhra Pradesh had connections with the LTTE. Similarly, in each province, there are some religious elements which have been active in supporting the cause of terrorists. It means that the perspective of terrorist outfits is not identical and they widely differ in aim and methodologies. In India, a major terrorist incident took place in form of the Bombay blasts on March 12, 1993, in which 317 innocent people died. The coordinated attacks were the most-destructive bomb explosions in Indian history. Dawood Ibrahim, who ran the international syndicate of organized crime named D-Company, conducted the attacks. It is believed that a number of smugglers from India and Pakistan contributed financially to this terror enterprise. In these horrendous attacks there was also direct role of Muslim fundamentalists, the hard core terrorists, smugglers, and foreign agencies. The Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI), the intelligence agency of Pakistan masterminded the attacks. Pakistan and the UAE were supposedly the locations where the terrorists were recruited and then trained. It was a terrorist act of worst kind. Communalism, separatism and terrorism are different aspects of the same coin. In these three, the process of mutual interactions and meddling continue. There is always possibility of mutational change of a communalism to separatism or terrorism. Similarly, there is also possibility that separatism may lead to terrorism having inspired by extreme communalism. The nature of terrorist activities of Naxal terrorist groups of Jharkhand, Bihar, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh and Chhattisgarh differ from the activities of separatist outfits. Separatism is not a central goal of Naxal militant groups.

3.6 Terrorism and Naxalism Affected States of India

1. Jammu& Kashmir
2. Punjab
3. North and North-Western India
4. New Delhi
5. North India
6. North-Eastern States- Assam, Meghalaya, Tripura, Arunachal Pradesh, Mizoram, Manipur, Nagaland
7. South India- Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Karnataka

3.7 Social Background of Terrorists

The social background of the individual involved in terrorist activities in India has been different.

1. Youth of Middle class and Upper Middle Class
2. The terrorists of Punjab, Kashmir, Naxalites of West Bengal and terrorists from North-Eastern states largely came from these sections.

3. The disgruntled and indoctrinated youth from the poor sections of the society.

3.8 Objectives of Terrorist Activities-

1. Carrying out attacking on important centers or institutions in a planned manner
2. Owning responsibility of terrorist activities and violent acts and hyping the same for propaganda.
3. Seeking extraneous benefits from the government.

The first goal is tactical. The second is strategic and the third is the original ambitious goal. At tactical level, people are intimidated, threatened, terrorized and attacked. At strategic level violence and terrorists activities are actually carried out in most dramatic manner. The ultimate goal is successfully achieved when they are able to draw maximum attention of media to the violent acts they performed. The tactics, strategy and actual goal of the terrorists are interspersed with each other. Terrorist violence has changed in recent years from an agenda-forcing and attention getting tool of the politically disenfranchised to a significant asymmetric form of conflict employed against adversaries with economic, military, social, and political aims. While terrorist acts may have appeared to be extraordinary events several decades ago, today terrorism eclipses these former acts and demonstrates a profound impact on populations at the local, regional, national, and international levels.

3.9 Psychological Elements of Terrorism-

Terrorism is an indispensable strategy based on psychological effects. Under this strategy, terrorists influence audiences. Here audience implies those people who become horrified by terrorist actions.

1. Propaganda by Deed
2. Intimidation
3. Abetment
4. Disorder, anarchy chaos
5. Attrition

3.10 Terrorism &Media Coverage-

There is a symbiotic relationship between terrorism and the media. The use of technology has made the acts of terror and violence seems even more attractive. Terrorists' manipulation and exploitation of the media is shown to play a crucial part in their propaganda war. Terrorism involves the use or threat of violence and seeks to create fear, not just within the direct victims but among a wide audience. In order to attract and maintain the publicity necessary to generate widespread fear, terrorists must engage in increasingly dramatic, violent, and high-profile attacks. These have included hijackings, hostage takings, kidnappings, car bombings, and, frequently, suicide bombings. The media coverage of terrorism in Punjab and Jammu & Kashmir was mostly stereotyped. As a result of that instead of arousing hatred against the terrorists, the technologically savvy rapporteurs have generated sympathy and also shown tolerance towards the activities of the terrorists. Such media coverage has huge impact on the society. Media play a major role in covering the terrorist activities. The publicity is the oxygen for terrorism-this underlines the point that capturing public perception is a major terrorist target and the media are central in shaping it. Firstly, the undue importance and priority given in reporting of the activities of the violence and terrorist activities inspires others to emulate the terrorists to do the same thing that they did. Secondly, with excessive media coverage it is possible that the reaction of the state may result in the oppression of the people. Hence, such situation is favorable for the cause of terrorists. This helps them in expanding their sphere of operation and also their objective. In this way they also deliberately invite state oppression. Terrorists must get publicity in some form if they are to gain attention, inspire fear and respect and secure favorable understanding of their cause. Terrorist organizations seek media coverage to create panic, to spread fear, to facilitate economic loss and to make people lose faith in their government's ability to protect them. Thirdly, the

media coverage makes people impassive and they are not able to express their true opinion about the activities of the terrorists. Fourthly, the media coverage of a person abducted or kidnapped by terrorists may also peril his life. Terrorists use some specific style symbols to make them look different to create panic in their likely victims or targets. During the terrorism of Punjab, motorcycles, Maruti Van and AK-47 were considered as symbols of terrorists. Their primary motive is to create an atmosphere of fear and cause panic among the people. This makes the administrative machinery paralyzed, lackluster and handicapped. The army and the security forces constantly work under the shadow of fear, thereby reducing their operational competence. Tolerance of society towards terrorism for political, religious, social and economic reasons is very fatal for the country and it serves the purpose of terrorists. It leads to tendency of repulsive tolerance among the common people and they become impassive and inactive and willingly bear the brunt of terrorist activities. Instead of opposing it vigorously the common man accept terrorist violence as a reality of life. In general, there are two motives for the activities of terrorists. They seek the attention of the mass media through violent activities and also to create an atmosphere of fear and terror. Through both these methods, the terrorist outfits successfully popularize their demands and bring them on national agenda. They exert as much pressure as they can to fulfill their inappropriate demands. Therefore, terrorism flourishes with excessive media coverage. Terror attacks carried out by terrorists receive more than five times as much media coverage as those carried out by others. The media makes people disproportionately fearful of terrorists. Moreover, counter terrorist actions of security forces and killings of soldiers in India have received less media coverage. In some specific cases the local media of J&K made martyrs out of hardcore terrorists killed during operations by security forces. Sometimes it appears as if the disproportionate coverage is given as part of a deliberate exercise by some of the journalists. There is a complex connection between terrorism and mass media, and this relationship has further developed with the sophisticated process. Now it is generally assumed that excessive media coverage of a terrorist activity results in propaganda, which is against the interests of the state. Both the media and terrorists benefit from terrorist incidents. Terrorists get free publicity for themselves and their cause. The media, meanwhile, make money as reports of terror attacks increase newspaper sales. Some attempts have been made by international, national and local media organizations to come up with sensible guidelines for covering terrorist incidents. It is important that the media play a constructive role during times of local or national crisis, but it is also critical that they be able to continue to allow providing a counterbalance.

Repercussions of Excessive Reporting of Terrorist Activity by Media-

1. It helps in formation of various terrorist groups.
2. It helps terrorists to get cheap popularity on the basis of religious and communal grounds.
3. It creates competition among various factions, which results in mutual rivalry for growth and progress.
4. It may result in apprehension of terrorist outfits establishing control over media channels for favorable media coverage.
5. It has adverse effect on the functioning of the administrative machinery.

It is believed that terrorism is a kind of infectious disease. Knowingly or unknowingly the excessive media coverage serves the purpose of the terrorists and encourages violence. Most of the stories given by the newspapers are negative stories which sensationalized the issue and created fear among people and made them feel insecure. Repeated coverage of incidents and events of violence by media channels gives rise to terrorism. Terrorist outfits easily get a platform for their making their political demands. As a result, it helps in increase of terrorism.

The Success of Terrorism -

The main goal of the terrorists is to overthrow the existing regime by overthrowing it. Terrorist violence is aimed, either directly or indirectly, at governments in an effort to influence policy or topple. This strategy is largely adopted by rebels and revolutionary militants. Terrorism proper is thus the systematic use of violence to generate fear, and thereby to achieve political goals, when direct military victory is not possible. This has led some social scientists to refer to guerrilla warfare as the "weapon of the weak" and terrorism as the "weapon of the weakest." If we look at the consequences of the success of the terrorists, then it is found that only those groups could achieve complete success which opposed colonial powers.

The prominent among them are :

- **EOKA** the Ethmiki Organosis Krprion Agoniston (National Organization of Cypriot Fights)
- **Mau-** Mau in Kenya (against British colonies)
- **FLN-** Algeria (against the colonization of France)

As what we have observed so far in the terrorism of 20th and 21st century most terrorist groups have largely failed to achieve their objectives. However, some of the keen observers have argued that terrorism has been more successful in achieving at least some important goals for the groups mounting the violent actions. In India, the terrorists of Punjab were completely unsuccessful in their pursuits and met a bitter end at the end of the last century. The most deadly terrorist organization LTTE which was active in Sri Lanka finally failed in its mission. ISIS, AL QUADA, Taliban, BOKO HARAM and other Muslim terrorist organizations active in various parts of the world have so far been unsuccessful to achieve their political objectives. The terrorist groups of France and Italy (Action Directe and Red Brigade) were also finally unsuccessful. Terrorist groups supported or tolerated by governments that target their own citizens have been something of an exception to this pattern of failure for obvious reasons.

Conclusion

Since terrorist is a weapon of the weak, it will often fail to achieve any of the political objectives of the organization. While dissident extremist groups resorting to terrorism usually fail, the question is how often do any of these groups actually accomplish at least some of their goals. An analysis of some of the better known organizations relying on terrorism indicates that while success may be rare, groups have realized objectives through the use of this form of violence. Organizations rooted in ethnic or nationalist grievances including colonial situations have been among the more successful. There have been somewhat fewer apparent instances of obvious success for religious groups and for terrorist organizations primarily motivated by various ideologies. Perhaps the most important conclusion is that terrorism as a technique has been successful often enough to provide encouragement to other groups seeking to obtain political change. The chances of success may be small for weak groups facing powerful opponents, but there is at least the possibility that a reliance on terrorism can work.

Former Soviet Union scholar Yuri Trifonov wrote that "terrorism has collapsed at various levels. Theater is blood-drawn and death is the character. ''

David Fromkin has written that "Terrorism begins with violence, its result is violence and it finally ends with violence. ''

BernaginKins has written that - "Terrorists want that a lot of people see and all the people hear, and not many people die."

Even today, terrorism remains the most serious challenge for world peace and security. This problem will not end unless the entire nation of the world unites and jointly act against this monster. In India, terrorism had affected more than half of the states. Government shall have to take stringent measures to deal with terrorism in the coming days. Since 9/11 terrorism has acquired new names and integrated itself into realities of the modern world.

But in a globalized world, these processes are becoming much more dangerous than ever before due to the possibility of nuclear, chemical, and biological terrorism. This threat is hypothetical at this moment, but the international community should cooperate much closer than before in order to provide security for industrial and social infrastructures, wider and more.

Political Criminalization and Corruption

Before Independence from the British colonial rule the ordinary the man was virtually living a life of hell. In independent India, every citizen expected to lead a happy and prosperous life but all his hopes have been shattered. The condition of the poor still remains worse. The full benefit of the progress of the country has not yet been achieved by him. The growth on average does benefit the poor as much as anyone else but the majority of the poor sections are still far from receiving the benefit of development to the expected level. The gap between the rich and the poor is at its widest level and is deepening further. After independence, only rich have benefited the most by getting richer. When the rich get richer, the poor stay poor. The present condition of Indian politics is a matter of serious concern so far as the progress of the country is concerned. Like many other problems, corruption in India is also a legacy of the colonial system. Criminalization of politics has become an enduring phenomenon in Indian politics which has blinded Indian democracy. It is crucial to discuss this because it is against the very spirit of democracy. A rule that was meant to be governed by law has rather ended up being a rule of money and muscle power. The influence of muscle power in Indian politics has been a fact of life for a long time. Influence of excessive money and muscle power in the elections has corrupted the whole democratic system. This trend has led to criminalization of electoral politics, which remains the most serious challenge for Indian democracy. In the past few years unprecedented reforms have been brought in by the Election Commission of India in the election process to reduce corruption in the elections. Use of EVM machines, videography of sensitive booths; appointment of impartial election observers, deployment of central security forces and strict implementation of election code of conduct etc. are some of the positive measures which have been taken in this direction. Despite these reforms, the active role and participation of criminal elements in politics is a matter of serious concern.

3.11 The Meaning of Political Criminalization -

Political criminalization is a trend whereby the people of the criminal background directly and indirectly influence the political process. It means that the criminals entering the politics and contesting elections and even getting elected to the Parliament and state legislature. It takes place primarily because of the nexus between the criminals and some of the politicians. The tendency of the politicians taking help of the criminals time and again to get access to politics, to gain political power and to remain in power is called political criminalization. The ambition of reaching the corridors of power inspires the use of immoral, inappropriate and crime instruments. The tendency of assuming politics as a lucrative business in India gives rise to political criminalization. There is more potential for criminalization in party politics because it is through elections that a political party comes to power. Politics is criminalized when the politicians and the political parties resort to corrupt practices of use of money, muscle power, fear and terror to influence the voters in an election rather than their policies and programs. Due to electoral politics, a nexus has been built up between the criminals and politicians. They both work to mutually benefit each other to accomplish their own vested interests. While the criminal elements help the politicians to win in the elections, after coming to power, politicians help criminals by providing them political shelter and patronage.

3.12 Cause of Criminalization of Politics -

1. Fall of national character
2. Poverty, illiteracy and unemployment
3. Politicians and political parties have no faith

in the purity of the means

4. Immoral nexus among the Police, politicians, bureaucrats and criminals
5. Impact of external elements on electoral politics
6. Ineffective enforcement of the laws
7. Basic lacunas and loopholes of judicial system
8. Party politics and craving for political power
9. Shortcomings of election system
10. A great decline in the ability and quality of administration
11. Predominance of criminal elements and their acceptance in the society
12. A mixture of money, muscle power and politics

3.13 The Present Overview of Indian politics-

34 percent members of the 16th Lok Sabha are having a criminal background and criminal cases are pending against some of them in the various courts. The increasing number of criminals in Indian politics reflects the level of criminalization of our politics. All political parties select their candidates in an undemocratically and arbitrary manner. The main reason behind this tendency is that all political parties are more concerned only about the victory of their candidates than political principles. All the parties give tickets to the winnable candidates who have enough money and muscle power as compared to those who are honest. In every election all parties without exception put up candidates with a criminal background. Even though some of us whine about the decision taken by the parties, the general trend is that these candidates are elected to office. The criminalization of politics connotes two different meanings. In the narrow sense it means the criminals getting direct access and intervention in the Indian Parliament or the state assemblies. In broader terms it is related to criminals directly or indirectly influencing the electoral politics and the government. The criminals need the patronage of politicians occupying public offices to continue with their criminal activities and the politicians need the money and muscle power that the criminals can offer to the politicians to win elections. In course of time, the nexus led the criminals themselves to contest elections. The criminalization of politics includes in it the practice of criminals helping a political party with money and muscle power to win the elections. They indulge in activities of fraudulent voting, booth-capturing, intimidation of voters and murder of opposition candidates etc. In the last two general elections and also in assembly elections in some states, all the political parties have used politicians with criminal background. By acting in such a manner, we fail to realize that the greatest power that democracy arms the people is to vote incompetent people out of power. From raising collecting funds for the party to changing the attitude of the voters by use of muscle power and money the role of criminals has increased phenomenally. By and large the entire election is managed by them. They indulge in mobilizing crowds in campaigning; gather crowds at meetings and conferences either by use of force or giving them money. To create an army of workers with criminal background during election is a common practice for political parties and candidates. This arithmetic is practiced from the local to the national level. In the past, the criminals used to help their well-wishers by staying out of active politics. Now this behavior has changed and they actively participate in politics. They are not only made candidates by political parties to contest elections they also become ministers once they have won the elections. They become the policymakers of this nation. "Daagi Mantri" (Tainted minister) has become a very popular term in Indian politics.

In India elections held in any part of the country have always been linked with the criminal activities. In the elections held in last 20 years, there was not a single election which was conducted without violating the election rules, intimidating the voters forcing them to vote a particular candidate, preventing them from reaching the polling station (poor, marginalized sections of society, Dalits, women and tribal and backward people), indulging

in violence and use of corrupt practices of use of money and muscle power. Sometimes the opponent candidate was killed to get the elections canceled. The main cause for these chaotic situation and violent activities is nexus established between politicians and criminals. Many hardcore criminals have reached the power corridors of the Parliament by winning the election sitting in jails. The cases pending against such criminal elements include heinous crimes such as murder, robbery, kidnapping, extortion and rape etc.

3.14 Steps to Prevent Political Criminalization -

1. Constitution should promote intra party democracy and accountability.
2. Constitution must provide conditions for functioning of political parties to exercise effective control to check their unrestrained behavior.
3. There should be fast track courts for early disposal of lawsuits pending against politicians involved in criminal activities to restrict the criminal elements from contesting elections by accelerated judicial decisions.
4. If speedy trial of politicians with criminal records is carried out, they may not be in a position to contest elections
5. Legal changes need to be made to modify laws and prevent criminals from contesting elections; Criminals should be blacklisted and disciplinary procedures should be meted out
6. Election Commissioners should be appointed in a fair and transparent manner. Those against which two or more criminal cases are lodged are banned from contesting elections.
7. To prevent MP and MLA from continuing in official posts if sentenced to more than 2 years jail term following conviction.
8. Penalties should be inflicted on political parties who give tickets to criminals to contest.
9. Awareness should be created about NOTA (None of The Above) and other such measures must be taken to prevent criminals from winning elections
10. To initiate the process of conducting the online elections in the future.

Summary of MN Vohra Committee Report

It was in this backdrop and amidst alleged charges of corruption involving politicians and general perception of criminalization of politics, that the government of the day appointed on 9 July, 1993, a Committee headed by Shri N.N. Vohra, the then Home Secretary, Government of India, to take stock of all available information about the activities of crime syndicates/mafia organizations who allegedly had developed links with and were being protected by some Government functionaries and political personalities. Vohra Report in 1993 found that the mafia network was running a parallel government. The government had virtually been marginalized and the criminal gangs enjoyed political patronage and protection. The indifference of the Indian voter and lack of the seriousness and incompetence of the administration had accelerated this tendency. The mafia got patronage from their local political leaders and they mutually benefited each other. The nexus built up between the mafia and politicians further widened with bureaucrats and the police joining them. The nexus of the police including bureaucracy, the mafia and politicians is licking Indian democracy like a termite. By eliminating corruption from public life, protecting the political system from influence of crimes and the mafia should be the first priority of Indian electoral politics. Criminalization in politics in India can only be reduced by the honest and active involvement of the judiciary, the police, the election commission, the bureaucracy and the public in the electoral process.

Corruption

The literal meaning of corruption-

It is made of two words corrupt and conduct. Corruption therefore means dishonest, unethical,

fraudulent and inappropriate conduct by those in power. When a person entrusted with a position of authority often acts against the established rules of the system to acquire personal benefit and meet his vested interests, he/she is called a corrupt person. Corruption may include many activities including bribery and embezzlement etc. Political corruption occurs when an office-holder or other governmental employee acts in an official capacity for personal gain.

3.15 What is Corruption

Corruption in any country is like a termite which makes its economy hollow. Corruption means abuse of public power for private benefit by any person or organization. It is a process in which a public servant improperly acts beyond his/her legal boundaries and harm the public interest to benefit any individual or organization for getting money or any other favors from them. The practice of political corruption primarily begins with the money given by traders or corporate houses to various political parties in the elections with prospects of getting benefitted when they come in power. Each political party needs huge funds for the election campaigning of its candidates contesting elections. The political parties receive huge funds from large industrial houses and big traders for this purpose. After the elections, the business houses and the industrial institutions try to take maximum undue and illegal advantages from the parties coming to power in return for their financial help provided during the elections. This is how the process and system of corruption begin harming the public interest. Most of cases of corruption are related to purchases, grants, construction, allocation of licenses and permits, sanction of loans, appointments and transfers etc.

3.16 The Consequences of Corruption

Corruption is a cause of serious concern for the people of India. Since, it is adversely affecting all aspects of their life- social, spiritual, political, economic, educational, and moral. It is spreading like tumor in all systems and administrations. The effects of corruption are apparently very frightening and damaging for our country. Some of the adverse outcomes of a corrupt system are as follows:

1. The quality of public works is very poor and on many times these works are carried out on papers only.
2. Meritorious, upright and committed people are deprived of the right opportunities.
3. It adversely affects the natural rights of poor to live.
4. Due to rampant corruption economic inequality arises in the society which widens the gap between the poor and the rich and the government is unable to eradicate poverty.
5. Corruption helps in emergence of black money which cripples the economy of the country. Our country India has lost national wealth of billions of rupees in various scams.
6. Corruption promotes unemployment.
7. Due to corruption the common man apathetic towards the government system which results in dissatisfaction among people on issues of public interest. It hinders the development of our country.
8. The corruption that flourishes at higher levels makes employees of the lower level worthless and doomed.

3.17 Steps to Control Corruption

There are several laws to prevent corruption among these the Prevention of Corruption Act, 1988 is the most important. The responsibility of effective implementation of this law has been entrusted to the Anti-Corruption Bureau. As soon as officials of the Bureau get complaints against any employee or officer, they take immediate action and arrest them and get them punished them by taking legal action against them. The vigilance commissioner system has also been implemented in order to curb corruption. Under this system, one officer has been appointed as an officer in each department. The officer investigates the cases related to corruption and takes action against them. In this context

following steps can be suggested to curb curruption -

1. Citizens should be legally authorized to fully know about the policy decisions, processes and activities of the government.
2. The person convicted is required to be punished by the quick judicial process.
3. There should be least confidentiality in governmental decisions and there must be transparency as far as possible. Every process of selection, dealing and appointments in different fields should be made transparent. People should be made aware of reasons and merit for selection of candidates, contracts, tenders, etc.
4. The property acquired by corrupt public servants through inappropriate and corrupt methods should be confiscated under the legal process.
5. The decisions taken at the top level must reach the bottom speedily.
6. Public servants who have a dubious conduct should not be posted on important public posts.
7. 7.Benami Transactions (Prohibition) Act, 1988 should be implemented with immediate effect.
8. The donation received by the political parties and its source should be thoroughly investigated.
9. The Black money should be exposed and brought out in open through the process of demonetization. A reasonable and transparent tax structure, backed by clean and clear enforcement should replace the existing one.

Important Points

- Corruption paralyzes the economy of the country.
- The main source of corruption is donation given by industrial houses and businessmen to the political parties.
- In government departments, corruption is the result of corruption, due to decisions of discretion and decisions of decisions.
- Religious persecution and cultural supremacy promotes terrorism.

Exercise

Multiple Choice Questions-

1. Donations given by the industrial and commercial houses is considered as the initial source of corruption, they give donations to
   (A) Religious institutions
   (B) Political parties
   (C) Workers' associations
   (D) Employee organizations ( )
2. Which of the following is not true in respect of terrorism?
   (A) This is a peace loving movement.
   (B) It is based on non-violence.
   (C) This is a positive concept.
   (D) This is a fragile trend. ( )
3. Which is the greatest threat to world peace at the present time?
   (A) Gandhism (B) Marxism
   (C) Fabianism (D) Terrorism ( )
4. Which one of the following is not the main objective of Islamic terrorism?
   (A) Establishment of Muslim nation in the world.
   (B) Resistance of western non-Muslim powers through violent activities
   (C) Peace in the world.
   (D) Implement Islamic laws and principles in the world. ( )
5. Which of the following countries encourages terrorism?
   (A) Philippines (B) Indonesia

(C) Pakistan (D) Cambodia ( )

6. In which country was LTTE active?
   (A) India (B) Malaya
   (C) Sri Lanka (D) China ( )
7. Which of the following states is most affected by terrorism?
   (A) Arunachal Pradesh
   (B) Jammu and Kashmir
   (C) Sikkim
   (D) Goa ( )

Very Short Answer Type Questions-

1. What is the basic nature of terrorism?
2. Write two causes of terrorism.
3. Which other tendencies have a close relationship with terrorism?
4. On what basis does terrorism receive support?
5. Which state of India has maximum number of active terrorists' organizations?
6. Which scholar has said "Terrorism begins with violence, its result is violence and it finally ends with violence?"
7. Name any five terrorism affected states of India.
8. Write two causes of political criminalization.
9. Which law prevents corruption?
10. What is the basic source of corruption?

Short Answer Type Questions-

1. Write about the psychological elements of terror.
2. What are the main goals of terrorist activities?
3. What are the side effects of excessive media coverage of terrorist incidents? Explain.
4. Comment on the nature of terrorism in India.
5. What do you think of Islamic terrorism?
6. What is corruption?
7. Explain the meaning of political criminalization.
8. What steps can be taken to end political criminalization?

Essay Type Questions-

1. Write an essay on the problem of terrorism.
2. How is Indian politics affected by criminalization? Elaborate.
3. "Corruption is like a termite which makes the economy of a nation hollow." Suggest measures to curb corruption in perspective of this statement.
4. Review the current scenario of political criminalization in India and describing its causes and remedial measures.

Answers to Multiple Choice Questions-

1. B 2. B 3. D 4. C
5. C 6. C 7. B

4. Politics of Coalition

India has adopted parliamentary system of government. In the parliamentary system, the executive is elected from the legislature and forms a part of it. The President invites the leader of the single largest party (who is able to secure the support of the House) in the House to be Prime Minister and also to form the Government. The Prime Minister and the Council of Ministers are collectively responsible to the Parliament. The Prime Minister has to prove his majority at the floor of the House ***(Loksabha***). The Council of the Ministers headed by the Prime Minister can work till such time it has majority in the House. If it does not have majority in the parliament, the executive can neither pass the law nor can it get the budget passed. Therefore, the Prime Minister has to tender his resignation to the President when he ceases to enjoy the majority in the Loksabha. The Constitution provides that- the President shall appoint the leader of the majority party in the Lok Sabha as the Prime Minister. The President of India appoints the Prime Minister of India in accordance with the power vested in him by Article 75 of Part V of the Constitution. According to its provision, the President shall appoint the Prime Minister and then a council of ministers on the advice of the Prime Minister.

4.1 Rise of Politics of Coalition in India-

The first three general elections to the Lok Sabha which also coincided with elections to all the state assemblies were Congress-dominated elections. In the first three of these elections, the Congress party won an over two-thirds majority of seats in the Lok Sabha and also won a majority of seats in nearly all state assembly largely due to its playing van guard role in the independence movement and also having an old organizational structure. From 1967 onward, a consolidation of the non-Congress opposition took place, state-by-state, in tandem with such consolidation in state assembly elections. This bipolar consolidation was the key feature and driving force of the fragmentation of the national party system. In the Fourth General Election held in Feb. 1967 initiated the dual era of short-lived coalition governments and politics of defection as Congress lost majority in many states and formed the government at centre with a thin majority.

This election broke Congress's monopoly of power in the states. It did not get the absolute majority in the Legislative Assemblies of Rajasthan, Punjab and Uttar Pradesh and just remained a single largest party. Moreover, in Kerala, Orissa and Tamil Nadu Congress got a very few seats. In fact the results of the 4th general election introduced the politics of the coalition in India. In many states, more than one political party joined together to form the government. As a result, the elections of 1967 replaced the single dominant party system by the multiparty system in which no particular party claimed absolute majority at any level of the political structure, and resulted in the model of intra-party express or formal coalition system. Political parties having different political ideologies joined together and formed the government. The Janata Party which formed government in 1977 was also a kind of coalition and later it was broken down into many fragments due to its inherent defects paving way for one party rule once again.

In all the elections from 11th to 15th Lok Sabha no single party got a clear majority in the Lok Sabha and hence none of them was in a position to form a government at its own. It was the beginning of the era of temporary governments and the coalition politics. The B.J.P. led first coalition government under Prime Minister Atal Bihari's lasted for just 13 days (from 16 May to 1 June 1996) it failed to garner enough support from other parties to obtain a majority and Vajpayee resigned after 13 days. He submitted his resignation to the President after delivering a stirring speech in Parliament. At a meeting of all the other parties, the Indian National Congress, with a substantial 140 seats, declined to head the government and along with the Communist Party of India (Marxist), agreed to extend outside support to the coalition formed after the 1996 elections and was named as United Front (UF) consisting of 13 parties namely Janata Dal, Samajwadi Party, DMK, TDP, AGP, All India Indira Congress (Tiwari), Left Front (4 parties), Tamil Maanila Congress, National Conference, and Maharashtrawadi Gomantak. United Front (UF) formed two coalition governments in India between 1996 and 1998. First under the Prime Ministership of H.D. Devegowda and Second under Indra Kumar Gujral.

The things did not improve even in 12th Lok Sabha and trend of coalition governments continued. Gradually, to major political alliances emerged in Indian politics which are respectively known as NDA and UPA. The National Democratic Alliance (NDA) with Bharatiya Janata Party as its head and United Progressive Alliance (U.P.A.) under the leadership of Congress.

4.2 History of Coalition Governments-

The Congress which was ruling party since 1947 was defeated for the first time in the general elections of 1977. It did not get the majority in the Lok Sabha. The Janata Party (a conglomeration of four opposition) parties won the majority and formed the first coalition government under the leadership of Morarji Desai. It was the turning point in the history of coalition governments in independent India. It brought, for the first time; - a group of non-Congress parties in power at Centre. Although, it was officially the government of Janata Party, but the parties involved did not work and behave like a one party rather they behaved like a coalition government. Since the hurriedly cobbled combination of four opposition parties was united only on ousting Gandhi and nothing else, there were ideological differences on almost every policy issue. In the Indian Express Kuldip Nayar wrote on 21 April 79, "The Janata Party government at the center was like a coalition government and all the parties participating in the power must be aware of it."In the short term, the opposition conglomeration formed in 1977 as the Janata Party was spliced into tiny slices by successive splits and splits within splits, ready to be served at the Congress (I) feast. With the Janata Party unable to resolve the issue of the dual membership of its men from the Jan Sangh faction who were also members of the Rashtriya Swyamsewak Sangh (RSS), the Jan Sangh was all set to break away for a political rebirth. After the resignation of Morarji Desai,Chaudhary Charan Singh who broke away from the Janata Party a year before formed the government with the outside support of the Congress. During his term as Prime Minister he could not face the Lok Sabha because it never met. The day before the Lok Sabha was due to meet for the first time the Indian National Congress withdrew their support from his Bharatiya Lok Dal Government. Choudhary Charan Singh resigned and fresh elections were held six months later. In the 1980 elections for the 7th Lok Sabha, the Congress again came into power under Indira Gandhi came back with thumbing majority in the Lok Sabha. This phase was different from the earlier period of Congress dominance because it was set in a multiparty context. As at the Centre many new opposition parties got established, and received electoral support in the states as well. Indira Gandhi ran her government smoothly till 1984. A series of dramatic events finally unfolded in operation Blue star in 1984 against Sikh militants in the Golden Temple at Amritsar. Later in the year, she was assassinated by her own Sikh body guards.

Congress elected her elder son Rajiv Gandhi as the new Prime Minister. In 8th Lok Sabha elections held in December 1984sympathywave propelled Rajiv Gandhi to a four-fifths Lok Sabha majority in the 1984elections. With the historical majority in the Lok Sabha Rajiv Gandhi dominated the politics in the country till the 1989.Single party dominance of Congress that reemerged in 1980 continued till 1989.The one-party dominance of the Congress (I) was charged abruptly as the 1989 elections drew near, charges of corruption provided new content to the short hand expression "Congress Culture", in high place. The major blow to the Congress government came when the charges of wrong doings related to the Bofors scandal got surfaced. The government was severely disfigured. Cabinet Minister V. P Singh resigned and also quit Congress forever formed the ***Jana Morcha*** by organising the dissident Congress members against Rajiv Gandhi. He then united the opposition political parties on the issue of Bofors scam. The opposition political parties in the parliament united and resigned from the Lok Sabha when the Comptroller and Auditor General of India in its report indicted the government on irregularities related to the Bofors. V. P Singh took the advantage of weak condition of the Congress party and of growing anti-incumbency sentiments and formed a common united front against the Congress party. The National Front, the BJP and the Left Front formed an alliance in some four hundred constituencies to face the Congress and to ensure that their votes did not split. The general election of 1989, were held under surcharged environment of two popular waves, the 'Hindu wave' and the 'anti-Congress wave'. The Janata Dal got benefit of the later and the BJP got advantage of both. The 80 seat victory of BJP in the 1989 Lok Sabha election was product of 'Hindu wave' and the opposition unity. It increased its percentage of votes from 7.73 percent to11 percent as compared to the Congress party and the Janata Dal. In this election two trends became evident- the emergence of BJP as an alternative to the Congress party and the decline of the Congress party. V.P Singh formed the coalition government of Janata Dal with the support of two opposing parties BJP and the Left. The National Front government had to maintain this triangular balance which was very difficult and which ultimately became its cause of down fall. Furthermore, the internal contradictions in the main party of the National Front the Janata Dal remained intact. Though, formally merger took place in the party but personal enmity among the leaders like V.P Singh, Chandra Shekhar, Devi Lal, Ajit Singh and Bahuguna remained intact. The novel experiment soon found itself in trouble when Devi Lal decided to organise a big farmer's movement against V. P Singh and the latter in order to counter the former took the haste decision to implement the recommendations of the Mandal Commission. The sudden decision of implementing the Mandal Commission's recommendation (to give 27 percent reservation to OBCs) put other national political parties into back foot. BJP which over the years had garnered the support of the upper castes Hindus found itself in dilemma. The BJP withdrew its support to the National Front Government on October 23, 1990 when the Bihar government on the advice of the Prime Minster V.P Singh, arrested the BJP leader L.K. Advani during his spectacular RathYathra, from Somnath in Gujarat to Ayodha in U.P, to mobilise Hindus for building Ram temple in place of the Babrii Masjid. As the BJP withdrew its support to the National Front minority government, a non-confidence motion was passed against V.P Singh led National Front minority government on November 7, 1990. The fall of National Front led to split of the Janata Dal when Chandra Sekhar who along with his 55 members formed the Janata Dal (Samajwadi), and staked the claim for forming the government with the outside support of the Congress. After a few months, due to differences with the Congress, Chandrasekhar had to resign on 6 March 1991.After the election of the 11th Lok Sabha which resulted in the Hung Lok Sabha, a new round of coalition government began on April 1, 1996. In this election the Congress emerged as the single largest party, with not too much strength to

form the government on its own. The Narasimha Rao government first started as a single party minority government but during later half it strengthened itself when Ajit Singh's group merged with the Congress and with JMM support.

Until the tenure of the Tenth Lok Sabha, a minority coalition government of Congress continued with external support. After the 11th LokSabha elections, the situation was not conducive for any one party to formthe government. Atal Bihari Vajpayee the leader of the largest party-BJP was invited to form the government. He formed the coalition government with the Shiv Sena, the Akali Dal and the Haryana Development Party. All so called secular parties united for a common cause of making BJP led coalition government out of power. The Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee submitted his resignation to the President after delivering a stirring speech in Parliament. After the fall of the Vajpayee government, with the outside support of the Congress; HD. Deve Gowda government was formed. After a few months the Congress put the condition of changing the prime minister for extending its support further. Prime Minister H D. Deve Gowda was replaced within 10 months to make way for his successor Inder Kumar Gujral. Where there were 13 political parties in the Government of Deve Gowda, there were 15 political parties in the Gujral government. Both the governments were formed on the basis of BJP protests, which were supported by the Congress and the Left parties from outside. Both included parties of conflicting ideology, so the result of both of them was as expected. There was a complete lack of collective responsibility in both the governments formed on an indefensible basis. The prime minister's position was weak. The government had to work under constant pressure. Chief Ministers of the coalition partners dominate the central government. His role in the selection of the prime minister was prominent. Both Prime Ministers were members of the Rajya Sabha, hence the spirit of democracy also got hurt.

The results of the 12th Lok Sabha election could also be given by the dissolution of Hung Lok Sabha. Based on the largest party, Bharatiya Janata Party leader AtalBihari Vajpayee was invited for the post of Prime Minister. The government was formed in collaboration with 18 parties. An agenda of the government was fixed but the parties involved had made their separate agenda. Consequently, in the face of conflict, the government collapsed in April 99 and the country faced the mid-term elections. After the 13th Lok Sabha elections, the coalition government formed under the leadership of Bharatiya Janata Party leader Atal Bihari Vajpayee became the government of more than 20 parties. The order to leave the coalition and join The importance of running and sustaining the government was an integral element: the popular image of Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee, the most acceptable politician of the whole country of the era the time, in which everyone had the singular pardon. The lack of options also supported the stability of the government. The term of the Lok Sabha was to be completed in October 2004 but the Prime Minister gave the advisory to dissolve the Lok Sabha in February 2004.After the elections of the 14th Lok Sabha, the Congress situation improved slightly in the LokSabha, the Congress chose its leader Manmohan Singh, who had been the Governor of the Reserve Bank of India and was an economist. Under the leadership of Dr. Manmohan, there was a coalition government of about 20 parties which the Left supported by outside. After the elections of 15th Lok Sabha, U.P.A. formed the coalition government and Man Mohan Singh became the Prime Minister. In the 15th Lok Sabha, the Congress was rectified and it succeeded to get 206 seats alone.Prior to the 16th Lok Sabha elections, the Bharatiya Janata Party declared Narendra Modi as its prime ministerial candidate, against which the Samata Party split in Bihar in the opposition. In the elections, the Bharatiya Janata Party got a clear majority alone, and in the formation of the new government, coalition allies were included in the cabinet. With the popularity of Bharatiya Janata Party alone, due to the popularity of Prime Minister Narendra Modi, the position of the prime minister

became stronger like a party cabinet after due to his election in his name.

Table Showing Situation of Alliances in 16th Lok Sabha Elections :

N. D.A. (BJP AND ITS ALLIES)		U. P. A. (CONGRESS AND ITS ALLIES)	
BJP	282	Congress	44
Shiv sena	18	JMM	02
TDP	16	National Congress	06
NPF	01	IUML	02
Lok Jan Shakti	06	RJD	04
SWP	01	Kerala Cong.(M)	01
Akali Dal	04		
AINRC	01		
RLSP	03		
NPP	01		
Eddy	02		
PMK	01		
Total	**336**	**Total**	**59**

These coalitions which became the destinies of Indian politics were of two types. A coalition, they were created after holding elections on the basis of the principle for getting power. The parties who were contesting elections against each other in the election were criticizing, and after the election, they would start enjoying happiness. Secondly, if no one got majority in the 12th LokSabha, then the National Democratic Alliance was formed under the leadership of BharatiyaJanata Party. Even after the political party that pre-elections the BharatiyaJanata Party got a clear majority, it formed the government coalition. And the army, Akali, Lok Jan Shakti Party, also joined the cabinet and played a coalition religion.

4.3 Characteristic of Coalition Politics of India-

The seeds of coalition politics were sown for the first time in the general elections of 1967. The tendency developed further in the coming years and remained a permanent feature of Indian politics for a long time. It continues to have its say even today.

Characteristic of coalition politics of India are given as under:

1. There has been one party domination in the coalition- There has always been a domination of one party in the coalitions formed in India. In NDA conglomeration, BJP is the leading partner of the alliance whereas UPA is led by the Indian National Congress. The impact of the allies in an alliance largely depends on the number of MPs it has in it. Allies with limited seats are unable to play a very effective role and have little say in the affairs of the alliance. Their impact depends on the cooperation of the main partner. If the main party has enough seats, then it is less favorable for the allies. In such situation, even if one of the coalition partners separates from the ruling alliance, it will have no impact on the coalition government.

2. There is no ideological similarity among the parties that form an alliance- One of the features of the coalition politics in India is lack of cohesion and ideological homogeneity among the various partners of the coalition government. Parties with opposite ideologies and anti-political views form political alliance out of political compulsions and form the coalition government. The parties which criticize each other during the elections become partners in the coalition government formed after the elections. The Congress was in opposition during the CPI (M) or the Left rule in West Bengal but at the national level they were partners of the same ruling alliance. Left parties supported the Congress at the national level. Samata Party, which believed in the political ideology of Jai Prakash Narayan, contested elections in Bihar by making an alliance with the Congress even though Jai Prakash Narayan was opposed to Congress policies throughout his political career. The actual objective of political parties making coalition is to either capture the political power or to deny it to its opponents.

3. There are no permanent friends or the foes in the alliance- Mostly the allies in the coalitions are never permanent, they keep on changing sides as per their political compulsions

and convenience. It is not necessary that the alliances in the coalition are always permanently linked to the same coalition. There are no permanent friends or foes in the politics of the coalitions. Keeping elections of West Bengal in view, the Trinamool Congress an ally of then NDA leaving aside its ties separated from it; similarly Samata Party which was also partner of NDA joined with Congress during the Bihar assembly elections and formed the government there. It again switched over to NDA camp after a few months to remain in power. Lok Jan Shakti Party was earlier with UPA is now a partner in the NDA government and its Ram Vilas Paswan is a Cabinet Minister in Modi government.

4. A fringe of alienation always remains within the alliance due to lack of clear ideology- Presently there are two important and influential alliances in the Indian politics, the BJP led -National Democratic Front (NDA) and United Progressive Alliance led by the Congress. However, it is difficult to demarcate them ideologically. The Third Front led by the Left considered both the Congress and BJP capitalists but it supported the UPA from outside when it formed the coalition government.

5. Coalitions are based on leaders rather than coalition parties and principles - Coalitions in Indian politics are based on leaders rather than the political ideology and the principles. Despite pursuing the socialist ideology, the Samata Party formed an alliance with the BharatiyaJanata Party rather than the Rashtriya Janata Dal. When the Bharatiya Janata Party declared Narendra Modi as its leader, Samata Party parted the ways and broke the coalition. In 1997, initially the Congress extended outside support to H D Deve Gowda for a few months but later it made condition of change of Prime Minister necessary for extending its support. Accordingly, H D Deve Gowda was replaced by Inder Kumar Gujral on the conditional outside support from the Congress. Lalu Prasad's Janata Dal, which was part of Samata Party's alliance in Bihar, parted ways with it and extended support to Mulayam Singh's SamajwadiParty.Earlier, they were against each other.

6. Political coalition formed on negative Principles - In Indian politics, the aim of the first coalition formed in 1977 in form of Janata party - coglemeration was to out the Congress from power. At present, all parties under UPA and other parties not part of the NDA have single agenda to keep BJP out of power. This negative trend has continued in the states since the general elections of 1967.

7. The tendency of changing partners frequently- ***Aaya Ram Gaya Ram*** expression in politics of India means frequent floor-crossing by legislatures. In coalition politics this tendency remains a threat to the stability of the government. The term was coined when Gaya Lal a Member of the Legislative Assembly from Haryana in 1967 changed party thrice in a fortnight first from the Indian National Congress to United Front, back to Congress and then within nine hours to United Front again. When Gaya Lal decided to quit the United Front and join the Congress, then Congress leader RaoBirendra Singh brought him to Chandigarh press and declared ***"Gaya Ram was now Aya Ram".*** It became the subject of numerous jokes and cartoons.

8. Pressure politics - The political parties involved in the coalition continue to put pressure on their Prime Minister for their vested political interests. Mamta Banerjee, the leader of the Trinamool Congress, forced the UPA government's Manmohan Singh to retain the Ministry of Railways; which fell vacant consequent upon her becoming Chief Minister of West Bengal. She also forced him to take back the increased rail fare.

4.4 Causes for Making Coalition Governments-

There is a multi-party system in India. At times, it may result in fractured mandate where no single party gets an outright majority. When clear majority is not with one political party it becomes difficult to form and run the government in the parliamentary system. This has led to a tendency where parties join together by entering into an alliance to form the coalition government. In

16th LokSabha the BJP had clear majority but instead of forming its government it went for coalition government. India is a diverse country, here people of different classes, religions, cultures and castes reside. Political parties were mostly formed on the basis of class interests, which eventually resulted in formation of over 100 parties in India. There have been about 20-24 political parties involved in an alliance. The chances of Hung Lok Sabha are all the more when there are so many political parties. The coalition politics has become more or less a permanent feature of the political system.

4.5 Advantages of Coalition Politics-

A government formed by a multi-party coalition tends to have certain advantages over one consisting of only a single party. Among them are :

1. **Government does not become absolute-** The Prime Minister does not have as much dominance over the coalition government as when one party is in the government. The coalition government is based on reconciliation of differing ideas. The Council of Ministers has to work on the basis of a Common Minimum Program. It cannot work in an arbitrary manner. In formulation of policies, it has to consider agenda and principles of all the coalition partners.
2. **The more qualified people contribute more to the country -** In the Government of one party, the legislators of the same party become ministers and those who belong to other parties have do not have enough contribution. In coalition governments, the senior and qualified legislators of the parties involved in the coalition become part of the Council of Ministers and benefit the nation.
3. **The Council of Ministers of Alliance have wider support base than the Council of Ministers of one party-** Another benefit that comes with coalitions is greater policy scrutiny. It is more accurate reflection of popular opinion. Two different parties reflect a greater spectrum of the voting population, so in theory such a larger portion benefits from the union. Issues that would be dismissed by a single party government have greater weight when other parties become part of the mix. Undemocratic or controversial legislation thus has considerably less chance of being passed. The more the number of partners in a coalition, the more they get public support. It increases the acceptance of the government.
4. **It helps in creating strong Opposition-** One benefit of coalition politics is that it creates a very strong opposition. The coalition of many parties can jointly resist the policies of the government more effectively as compared to one party opposition. When the UPA coalition government was in power, the NDA coalition was able to effectively oppose the arbitrary policies of the government. Similarly, now the UPA which is in opposition can effectively oppose the arbitrary policies of NDA. The coalition prevents the government from functioning in an arbitrary manner.
5. **Coalition politics saves from the tendency of political extremism-** Mostly the one party government tries to impose its views and policies arbitrarily. Same is not true in case of a coalition government. No party is able to impose its own policy and principles because other parties in the coalition can oppose and resist it. In coalition the middle path is accepted while making policy decisions. Issues that would be dismissed by a single party government have greater weight when other parties become part of the mix. Undemocratic or controversial legislation thus has considerably less chance of being passed. Because the various parties that united to form the coalition are often based on different, and even conflicting, ideologies, it often becomes necessary for them to compromise these ideologies in order to come to an agreement on government policy. This compromising of ideologies, in turn, often results in broader representation.

4.6 The Negative Aspects of Coalition Politics-

1. Formation of Temporary Governments - The parties involved in the coalition always extend conditional support keeping their political interests in view. They give priority to their vested interests rather than the stability of the coalition government. If their interests are not looked after properly by the coalition government they withdraw their support. This eliminates the majority and the government has to resign. Thus the stability of the governments is affected. Temporary governments cannot work for sustainable development.

2. Erosion of the principle of collective responsibility-The principle of collective ministerial responsibility is the sole crux of Parliamentary democracy. It represents ministerial accountability to the legislature. All members of a government are unanimous in support of its policies and would exhibit that unanimity on public occasions although while formulating the policies, they might have expressed a different view in the meeting of the Cabinet. This principle gets diluted in the actual working of a coalition government because the ministers of different parties have ideological and other differences and they do not hesitate to express these publicly. It is very difficult to make them work in unison towards the principle of collective responsibility. At times their differences are exposed in open and made public. The ***Shiv Sena*** very often criticizes the Prime Minister despite its being involved in the NDA.

3. *Weak Government-* Generally, a coalition government is considered weak because it is unable to take effective decisions in domestic affairs and also in foreign affairs. A coalition government is weak and is limited by the selfish interests of all coalition partners. Those who disapprove of coalition governments believe that such governments have a tendency to be fractious and prone to disharmony, as their component parties hold differing beliefs and thus may not always agree on policy. Coalitions provide bad government because they are unable to take a long-term view.

4.Weak Prime Minister-The Prime Minister does not have much control over his cabinet because the members of the other parties involved in the coalition follow the instructions of their party. The weak Prime Minister cannot play an influential role and mostly indecisive in matters where he is expected to play active role. Moreover, in fractured mandate there are more chances of a weak politician becoming a Prime Minister.

5. It compromises national interests to regional interests-

The regional influence is steadily growing in India since the beginning of the coalitions at national and state level. Obviously, regional parties will give priority to regional interests than the national interests. At times, national interests were compromised to avert political risks. This tendency may peril unity of our nation.

6. Unstable Governments- Coalition governments are very unstable, because they lack stability and are very often collapsing and reforming at frequent intervals. The parties involved in the coalition keep continuous political pressure on the government for fulfilling their interests. If their extraneous demands are ignored they may leave the coalition make the government unstable. This greatly restricts the ability of governments to deal with major reforms and means that politicians seldom stay in any particular ministerial post for long enough to get to grips with its demands. At the same time, this squabbling between political parties erodes the confidence of the public in their political system and in their elected representatives

7. It is damaging for National Integration- The regional parties are putting regional interests and ideas above national interests. Due to their increasing influence, the regional parties give more emphasis on the development of their regional interests. Increasing regional attitude is a direct threat to the unity and integrity of India. The Prime Minister always remains under constant pressure of regional parties to save his government and to make it stable. Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh could not sign the Teesta deal under pressure of Mamta

Banerjee during his visit to Bangladesh in September 2011. Over emphasis on regional aspirations by the regional parties in a coalition may be harmful for the overall interests of the nation. As regards Tamil problem of Sri Lanka the government of India was under pressure of DMK and AIADMK.

8. ***Lack of strong foreign policy -*** The Prime Minister of the coalition is unable to formulate and maintain a strong foreign policy because he always works under the pressure of its allies. He cannot make his decisions independently. The prime Minister has to take advice of the coalition partners while making any international treaty or arriving at an agreement with any other foreign country. The position of our country becomes weak internationally when he is not able to pursue vigorous foreign policy and take some concrete decision at his own. Therefore, in a coalition arrangement neither the government nor the Prime Minster is able to pursue free and strong foreign policy.

9. Government does not function on any clear policy - The alliances include political parties with differing ideologies and political doctrines. All the parties want to make their policy to be followed as the policy of the government the result. The end result is that the government gets confused and it cannot set a clear policy, for the effective and smooth functioning of the government. It affects the work of the government. Coalitions bring instability in functioning and policy making and create political insecurity because no one knows when the government may destabilise.

10. It encourages formation of small political parties- Generally, all the parties involved in the coalition get at least one ministerial berth in the government but practically it is captured by the most influential leader and others are left behind. Those who are left behind make their own party to occupy the ministerial position. This tendency encourages formation of smaller political parties always ready to join the alliances to enjoy power. Thus, the formation of small parties is encouraged in politics of coalition. The emergence of more political parties hinders the formation of permanent governments and the bi-party system.

11 Lack of coordination among the different ministries of the government- The coalition government functions in a haphazard manner and there is no coordination among the different ministries and departments. The different portfolios are held by leaders of different political parties and there is no co-operation between the various ministers. Different political parties work on their own secret agenda to serve their vested interests. The lack of mutual co-operation among the various ministries of government often results in frequent standoffs in the government. Thus, in the lack of mutual cooperation among the various departments hampers the process of smooth functioning of the government.

At present, there are three main streams of political parties in Indian politics, which are outlined as under.

1 National Democratic Alliance (NDA)- It is the present ruling alliance which is composed of 12 political parties and included in it- BJP, Shiv Sena, JD (U), Apna Dal, LJP, SAD, RLSP, PDP, PMK, SWP, NPP and All India N.R. Congress and Urkhao Gwra Brahma (Independent candidate). Earlier it was composed of 13 political parties which included TDP (quit NDA alliance in March, 2018).

2 United Democratic Alliance (UPA)- The prominent parties which are part of UPA are: Indian National Congress, Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam, Indian Union Muslim League, Kerala Congress (M), Revolutionary Socialist party, Communist Marxist Party, Kerala Congress (Jacob),Peace Partyof India, Rashtriya Lok Dal and Mahan Dal

3 Left Political Parties- Third Coalition belongs to Left parties or the communist parties which ruled in West Bengal and Kerala. Presently they are out of power in West Benagal.

4 Parties which are not part of NDA and UPA- The parties which are not part of any of above three coalitions come under the fourth category come. AIADMK, Trinamool Congress, Biju Janata Dal,

Telugu Desam Party(quit NDA alliance in March,2018).Parties in the last category are those who become part of one alliance as per their political convenience and quit one to join the other if it suits their vested interests. The Telugu Desam, the Trinamool Congress and the Biju Janata Dal and AIADMK are such parties which keep on changing sides.

Important Points

- One party dominates the coalition in Indian Politics.
- Coalition lacks in ideological homogeneity.
- There is no stability in coalition.
- Coalitions are formed on the basis of leaders rather than the principles of the parties.
- Negatively formed political alliances are temporary.
- Coalitions have tendency of frequent political defections.
- In coalition politics, politics of pressure is also included.
- A few political parties make political alliances and prepares common minimum program by mutual deliberations.
- The politics of coalition was initiated in the 4th general elections.
- In the general elections from 11th to 15thLokSabha no party got sufficient majority in the house to form the government. Consequently, the era of coalitions and unstable governments started.
- At present there are three main streams of political parties in Indian politics- 1. National Democratic Alliance (NDA) 2. United Democratic Alliance (UPA) and 3.Communist political parties.

Exercise

Multiple Choice Questions-

1. The party which dominated in the first three general elections of the country is-
   (A) Bharatiya Janata Party
   (B) Indian National Congress
   (C) Indian Communist Party
   (D) Samajwadi Dal ( )
2. In which general election the politics of coalition was initiated?
   (A) 1967 (B) 1977
   (C) 1980 (D) 1971 ( )
3. Janata Party was formed in year -
   (A) 1980 (B) 1990
   (C) 2000 (D) 1977 ( )
4. The coalition government of Dr. Manmohan Singh was an alliance of-
   (A) Left
   (B) National Democratic Alliance
   (C) United Progressive Alliance
   (D) National Alliance ( )
5. The party system in India according to its political parties is-
   (A) Bi-party system
   (B) Independent system
   (C) Multi-party system
   (D) One party system ( )

Very Short Answer Type Questions-

1. Who was the prime minister of the UPA coalition?
2. What was the main reason of the dissolution of the Janata Party?
3. Which is the main political party in NDA coalition?
4. Whichalliance is related to present coalition government?

5. Which political party got a clear majority inthe LokSabhain the 16th LokSabha elections?

Short Answer Type Questions

1. What are the main alliances in the Indian political system presently and which main parties are parts of these alliances?
2. Describe as to how the coalition politics is a threat to the stability of the government.
3. Describe as to how the Janata Party government was a coalition government.
4. Write any two benefits of coalition politics.
5. Write three characteristics of Indian coalition politics?

Essay Type Questions

1. What are the negative effects of coalition politics in Indian politics? Explain.
2. Evaluate the positive effects of coalition politics.

Answers to Multiple Choice Questions

1. B 2. B 3. D 4. C 5. C

Unit - IV

1. Characteristics of Indian Foreign Policy and Non-Alignment

Foreign Policy of India

India's foreign policy had begun to take shape even before we got our independence. Pandit Nehru's pledge of an independent foreign policy provided a definite shape to the country's foreign policy. After World War II, The world was divided into two belligerent camps that were at odds with each other. One was led by newly emerged capitalist power-the USA and the otherwise led by communist power-the USSR. Most of the remaining countries allied with one of the camps save a few counties including India which pursued an independent foreign policy. India did not join either of the group and followed an independent foreign policy by maintaining the equal relations with both the groups. India as a free and sovereign nation was determined to oppose the colonialism and imperialism in the world. India's foreign policy reflects a traditional policy of non-alignment, the exigencies of domestic economic reform and development, opposition of terrorism and the changing post-cold war international environment. The key features of the Indian foreign policy at the time of our independence were influenced by various factors including our history, culture, geography and economy. India's foreign policy has evolved considerably in the last 70 years. The foreign policy which was initiated by Pt. Nehru is not the same; it has changed with the change in times. In last four years it has witnessed unprecedented changes in its direction and objectives. While Nehru's foreign policy primarily focused on Non-alignment, unlike him, present Prime Minister Modi focuses on engagement in regional multilateral institutions, the use of strategic partnerships, and what is termed 'normative hedging'. He considers multi-alignment more beneficial in the present context for boosting India's economic development and national security, as well as to project influence and promote its values than the traditional non-alignment .Modi has given realistic touch to the idealistic foreign policy of India .However, the fundamental nature of it remains the same. Salient features of foreign policy of India are given as under:

1. Policy of Peaceful Coexistence-

One of the features of Indian foreign policy is its faith in the policy of peaceful co-existence. History is a testimony to the fact that wars have devastated the humanity and hence enduring peace is the only alternative left for all the countries to follow. K. M. Panikkar said that India was concerned that there should not be any wars in future to hinder not only the progress of India but also blocks the development of the entire mankind by dragging all the countries of the world into a crisis or catastrophe. India has determined its role in the world by pursuing the policy of peaceful co-existence. Our policy makers were aware that the only alternative to peaceful co-existence was co-destruction. Our relations with neighboring nations are also being influenced by this policy. At times, it was considered by others to be our weakness rather than strength. We did not quit this policy in the hours

of great crises such as Aggression of China and conflict with it in 1962, the Suez Canal Crisis of 1965, the Arab-Israel War of 1967, the Indo-Pak agreement on Indus water of 1960, the Indo-Pak War of 1965 and the armed conflict with Pakistan and subsequent birth of Bangladesh in 1971-72.Peaceful coexistence is the advance stage of the philosophy of the "live and let live", which is the guiding principles of our culture. These principles continue to direct and guide our internal and external policy even today.

2. Anti-Colonialism and Imperialism-

Being subjected to colonial subjugation for about 200 years, India firmly stands in opposition to any form of colonialism and imperialism. It is with this line of thinking that India played a major role in liberating the newly independent countries of Asia and Africa from colonial shackles. Since the end of the World War II and our independence, India has always opposed colonialism and imperialism. Be it attack on Egypt in 1956 or the American intervention in the Gulf, we have opposed the imperial policy of the superpowers.

3. Anti-Apartheid-

One of the prominent salient features of Indian foreign policy is that it opposes policy of racial segregation and political and economic discrimination on the basis of race or the color of the human beings. Keeping no diplomatic relations with the apartheid supportive South African government prior to Nelson Mandela getting free and coming to power indicates our stand against apartheid.

4. Supporter of International Institutions-

Our foreign policy has fully supported the international institutions and organizations ever since our getting independence. We supported formation of UNO even before independence and later acquired its membership and since then participated in all its programs and agencies. India has been one of the largest contributors to the UN Peace Keeping Forces. Our commitment to UNO is sacred and inexhaustible. Our staking claim for the permanent membership of Security Council and our extending unabated support to International Forums is an indicator of success of our foreign policy.

5. Based on Principles of Panchasheel-

Our foreign policy primarily with China and later with other countries was based on five principles of conduct of nations. The principle of Panchasheel did hit a setback when India was attacked by the Chinese in 1962 and Nehru was severely criticized for the country's failure to defend itself. The five principles are as follows:

1. Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty;
2. Mutual nonaggression;
3. Mutual noninterference in each other's internal affairs;
4. Equality and mutual benefit;
5. Peaceful co- existence.

6. Non-Alignment-

Our foreign policy has special connection with the policy of Non-Alignment. India became the first country to begin a policy that was new in the history of international relations. The policy of Non-Alignment was founded under the leadership of our then Prime Minister Pt. Nehru and was ably supported by Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt, President Sukarno of Indonesia and Joseph Broz Tito of Yugoslavia. Nehru's policy of neutrality paved the way for the establishment of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM). India facilitated the involvement of former colonies and newly independent countries into the organization which aimed to protect the interests of undeveloped nations in international politics. The policy of non-alignment meant the acceptance of the inevitability of war but on the conviction that it could be avoided. Non-alignment entailed a position to judge each issue without bias or prejudice. The secret of this policy was that India was never permanently pro-west or pro-east. The technique of maintaining world peace through non-alignment was to make sure that each nation pursued its own interest without disturbing other nations. Non-aligned

countries did not support or were in no way linked to groups of countries headed by the United States or the former Soviet Union. It also meant that they did not become part of any bi-lateral military agreement with any of these groups. During the first fifteen years of independence, India both endorsed and opposed the USA and the Soviet Union at different times. During the Korean War (1950), India backed the US by endorsing the United Nations resolution that condemned North Korea's attack on South Korea.USA turned to Asia during the Cold War in search of allies for the Western bloc. After India refused to side with it owing to its policy of Non-Alignment, USA found an ally in Pakistan. USA's close ties with Pakistan forced Nehru to improve India's ties with the Soviet Union in order to maintain a check on its arch enemy. The policy of non-alignment was based on the five principles of Panchasheel, which directed international conduct. The countries that followed the policy of Non-Alignment were supposed to remain away from the politics of factions of two opposite blocs. However, they extended full support to UNO and other organizations on the matters of peace and security of the world .The policy of Non-Alignment was not a policy of political neutrality and indifference. While defining the policy, Nehru categorically envisaged that if the peace is endangered and justice is in peril we cannot remain neutral now and will also not remain silent in future. These principles which were envisaged and formulated in the first large scale AfroAsian Conference known as Bandung Conference, which was a meeting of newly independent Asian and African countries, took place in April 1955 in Indonesia. NAM was officially founded in 1961 in Belgrade conference in which leaders of 25 developing countries participated. India was among the founding members of NAM and also hosted 7th Non Aligned Movement summit at New Delhi in 1983.The 17th NAM summit was held from September 13 to September 18, 2016 at Margarita City in Venezuela. The political scientists believe that the policy of Non-Alignment was born consequent upon the division of the world in two separate and antagonistic blocs. Two blocs were led by the USA and the former Soviet Union respectively. With the collapse of communist bloc led by the USSR the politics of bi-polar world came to an end and it is replaced by the US centric unipolar world order. Some political analysts also believe that NAM has lost its traditional significance in the present context and hence not relevant to meet the political compulsions and demands of the international politics of the day.

1.1 Meaning of Non-Alignment-

Non-alignment means efforts to retain independence of thought, judgment and action under conditions of cold-war which generated military alliance and agreements of all sorts. The policy emphasized on not aligning with any alliance formed on military basis such as NATO, SEATO and Warsaw Pact and in pursuit of independent policy in world politics. This policy seeks to adopt an absolute, non-biased, independent and objective approach to all serious international problems. This is not a neutral policy but it is an independent policy which was free from the effects of the complex factional different politics. This policy favors the peaceful and non-violent solution of international disputes. During Cold War this policy emphasized on the necessity of staying away from the rivalry between two powerful blocs. This policy was in favor of making objective decisions by assessing the international problem on the basis of merits and demerits. It emphasizes on maintaining balance between opposing factions. Non-Alignment policy believes in making meaningful contribution to the world politics rather than staying away from its complexities.

1.2 Reasons for Adopting Non Alignment-

1. India was not in favor of joining any one faction to avoid conflict in the world.
2. India considered pursuing independent policy in international politics (which is free from the influence of any other power) to be more useful to her.
3. India was in favor of maintaining equal

relations with both powers for its economic development.

4. The policy of Non-Alignment was consistent with India's social, strategic, geographical, political, economic and cultural demands.
5. The early leadership of India had unwavering devotion and trust in the policy of Non-alignment.
6. The policy of Non-alignment was favorable for India's historical background and diverse pluralistic culture.

1.3 Relevance in Present Context-

The Non-alignment Movement has made many achievements in its tenure of over 50 years. It's most important achievement is the end of colonialism and imperialism in the world by which the countries of Asia and Africa could achieve their independence. It has also made significant contribution in not only ending of policy of apartheid but also supported the cause of democracy and justice in South Africa. In addition to this, it has played an important role in preserving the unity and cooperation among the newly created nations by presenting their viewpoint on different platforms, staying away from the factional politics for reducing the area of conflict and encouraging world peace. It also helped in easing the tension between the two power blocs. It has supported the cause of international peace, justice and freedom. NAM acted against the arms race of super powers during the cold war. It has opposed all form of injustices. It has focused to support enthusiastically Nuclear Disarmament, NIEO, Stability and Peace for all. After the demise of Cold War and collapse of communist bloc with the disintegration of the Soviet Union in 1991, some experts of international relations have raised the questions of relevance and justification of NAM in changing world order. In fact, the truth is that Non-alignment believes in pursuance of an independent foreign policy with an aim to protect the equality, sovereignty and integrity of sovereign nations. In this context, its relevance is self-explanatory. It is a platform through which various International issues and challenges related to Human Rights and world trade can be effectively addressed. This is also an effective forum to present the approach of developing countries in the context of climate change talks and to discuss about the UN reforms. Although with the dissolution of the Soviet Union, the Cold War and the bi-polar system have also ended; but the challenges to security and sovereignty of the poor and the weak countries have not diminished. There is possibility of emergence of a unipolar system under the leadership of America. The NATO a military alliance of the western countries has become very strong and may pose serious challenge to security of other countries. The Non-Aligned Movement has acted as a platform for cooperation and unity among the developing countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America. Even today, there is a need for economic, social and political cooperation among these countries. This cooperation is known as South -South Cooperation. This cooperation is done through a broad framework of collaboration among countries of the South in the political, economic, social, cultural, environmental and technical domains. Involving two or more developing countries, it can take place on a bilateral, regional, intraregional or interregional basis. Therefore, the Non-Aligned Movement presents a platform to South-South Cooperation. To date, 17 Summits of Non-Aligned Countries have been organized so far. The 17th Summit was held on 17 and 18 September in Margarita, Venezuela, on 17-18 September 2016, under the theme "Peace, Sovereignty and Solidarity for Development." Earlier, the 16th summit was held in Tehran, the capital of Iran in August 2012. In the Summit of this Non-Aligned Movement, once again the issue of freedom of sovereignty and independence of nations was raised. Even today, the Non-Aligned Movement is an effective forum to address the major challenges of the world. This is a platform which provides equal participation to the developing nations of the world and which can effectively face the major challenges of the world such as threats to security, environmental pollution, health problems etc. There

are many agencies of the world order where the developing countries do not have adequate role in the decision making process and also to raise their voice on issues which have international significance. Therefore, there is a need to give more effective representation to the developing countries in different institutions of the world and end hegemony of powerful countries. Equal participation of all the countries in the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and other International Financial Institutions can be ensured through Non-Aligned Movement. Non-aligned movement is also meaningful for mutual exchange of cultural, social and political values among various countries of the world.

1.4 Non- Alignment & Present Government-

India was also among the prominent founding nations of the Non-Aligned Movement, but in the changed circumstances, it seems that India is adopting a lackadaisical approach towards policy of Non-Alignment. The 57-year-old Non-Aligned Movement, once a powerful bloc of independent nations is apparently dying a quiet death and nobody is sending flowers. Interest had hit a new low with just eight heads of states showing up at Venezuela's Margarita Island in 17thsummit held in September 2016. Prime Minister of India Narendra Modi did not participate in the17th Summit. The hard reality is that after the end of the Cold War in 1990s; even his predecessors had lost interests in the NAM as a useful tool for the Indian diplomacy. Probably, the path on which Narendra Modi wants India to march forward for development and security has no special significance for the Non-alignment movement. However, NAM as an organization of 120 nations of the world is significant in its own right. Even though India is not diplomatically as engaged to NAM as it was before, but it has not lost its usefulness as yet. Since NAM is not associated with any particular ideology being its member may not cause any diplomatic and political loss. As expected, political issues continued to engage NAM and we benefitted from its activism occasionally. In fact, it was through NAM that we operated to counter the efforts to expand the UN Security Council by including just Germany and Japan as permanent members. NAM submitted its own proposal and ensured that no quick fix was permitted. Whether our continued involvement with NAM would stand in the way of our 21st century ambitions or not is a big question before us. Our new nearness to the U.S. is not a red rag in NAM and our ability to be helpful in formulating U.S. policies gives us an advantage. NAM today, like the Commonwealth has always been, is a heritage we need not discard. NAM's vast membership of diverse countries from Singapore to Cuba makes it even more relevant. The very informal nature of NAM permits members to operate freely at individual level for their development. It also has the facility of members reserving their positions, as we did on the non-proliferation positions of NAM. India is among the countries which are most affected by terrorism. NAM forum can also be an effective instrument to project our anti-terrorist sentiments. Support of members of the Non-Aligned Movement is indispensable for its fight against the terrorism. In future, we can use NAM as a platform to isolate Pakistan.NAM is particularly important in elections at the UN, including the possible identification of new permanent members of the UN Security Council. India has been trying since long to get permanent membership of the Security Council and it needs support of non-aligned nations to make its claim strongly. The NAM position may not be decisive, but in the normal process of consultations, every grouping will get its own weightage and it is convenient to have a lobby behind us. Since NAM has lost its traditional significance, it may appear inconsequential in terms of the new transactional nature of the foreign policy we are developing. However, our moving ahead with the NAM in the midst of this phase of transition is an achievement in itself and not a waste of efforts. In view of above factors, India should not bid farewell to NAM because it does not have any conflict with its individual, national and international interests.

1.5 New Dimensions of Indian Foreign Policy-

The liberal reforms that were initiated in 1990s in the economic sector are still the foundation of India's foreign of India. The foreign policy of India largely depends on the financial condition of the country. India is a rapidly growing economy and one part of its speed and efficiency is directly linked to foreign policy. One of the important features of our foreign policy is continuity and there is no indication of any change in it at any given time. In a global order where the developing economies are facing increasing environmental regulations and socio-economic problems, transforming economies sustainably is a big challenge for India. The change in the government does not necessarily result in any comprehensive change in the nature, outline and structure of India's foreign policy. However, the foreign policy of any country cannot be based on rigid postures and unchanging idea and must assimilate the changes taking place within and in its surroundings and reform accordingly. In a global order where the developing economies are facing increasing environmental regulations and socio-economic problems, transforming economies sustainably is a big challenge for India. The main objective of India's foreign policy is to establish a safe and stable regional environment for continuing its economic growth steadily. The present government emphasizes in the pursuit of foreign policy according to the traditions of ***'Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam'***. India wants to develop the network of its allies. India's foreign policy will follow the policy of ***'zero tolerance'*** towards ***'terrorism.*** 'The present leadership has tried to make India's foreign policy more active. It emphasizes that our foreign policy should be not merely an effect-reacting function but also a cause-creating process. It is aware of growing power of China in Asia and the world. China is our next door neighbor and we cannot wish the facts of geography away. The present government also wants to concentrate on getting rid of the problems of rampant corruption, red -tapism, terrorism and to bring infrastructural reforms for making India a rich economy and a powerful nation.

1.6 Beginning of New Chapter in Foreign Policy -

In the last four years India's global image and its political reach have considerably changed and have acquired a new form with the concerted efforts, imagination and speed of the present government. It is related to three points- trade, culture and communication. New foreign policy vision is driven by a desire to make India a major economic and strategic player in shaping the new Asian century. In last four years, India has acquired Centre stage in diplomatic maneuvering in the world due to charismatic, effective and active leadership and active, persistent and concerted efforts of the Ministry of External Affairs. It can be described as a revolutionary diplomacy. The main goal of foreign policy vision of present leadership is to make India a strategic global player. New foreign policy vision is integrated with government's domestic agenda. The focus on development, modernization, ease of doing business, campaigns such as Digital India, Startup India, Skill India, Make in India aims also to secure India's interests in an unfolding uncertain and competitive world. The goal is widening the pool of supportive countries through constructive positions on issues on global agenda. In these four years, India has overcome many obstacles and has accomplished many things. The four years of our present government has set India on a transformational path to rapid development at a time when democracy and freedom are being challenged in many other countries. The most significant achievements in India's foreign policy include resolution of a long disputed exchange of 162 enclaves with Bangladesh, building a closer strategic relationship with the United States, strengthening its relationship with Japan, Vietnam and Australia, and in bringing them closer to align with India's strategic goals, India's assertive diplomacy is in isolating Pakistan in the global community and shaming it for its role as a state sponsor of terrorism and effectively handling of Chinese intrusion in Doklam.

Undoubtedly, India cannot be a leading power without deriving strength from within. While Look East transformed into Act East has gained in momentum, Delhi needs to up its game in South East Asia and make connectivity projects operational. What is equally important is to put meat into strategic partnership with each of the South East Asian nations. The historic decision of demonetization taken on November 8,2016 has been appreciated not only in our country but also by other countries. This step will be helpful in deciding the direction of India's foreign policy in the coming years as it is a new initiative towards improving the economic system of India. It will act as a big jolt to terrorism.

1.7 Five Basic Foundations-

Continuous talks, promoting economic prosperity, enhancing the prestige and respect of India, supporting national security and encouragement of Indian culture and beliefs of civilization are five basic principles that inspire foreign policy of our government.

1.8 Neighborhood First-

Soon after forming his governments present Prime Minister adopted policy of neighborhood first to give a new direction to India's foreign policy. The newfound diplomatic priority on the region was marked by his visits of all the neighboring countries. It initiated a new chapter in the Indian foreign policy. It reflects the fundamental changes in Indian foreign policy. The beginning of independent and revolutionary diplomacy of India was initiated by his making contacts with head of the states of our neighboring countries as well as regular leadership meetings in India and on the sidelines of multilateral summits. By inviting all the leaders of the SAARC countries including Mauritius in the oath taking ceremony of the government, India presented an unprecedented example of establishing intimate relations with its neighboring countries, whose future and dreams are deeply connected with India. In this series, the boundary agreement related to exchange of long disputed enclaves was signed with Bangladesh and endorsed by the Parliament of India. The agreement of Hydroelectric Projects was signed with Nepal and the foundation stone of the India-Bhutanese 600-megawatt hydro power project was also laid. Our major projects in Afghanistan were completed within the given time and the Colombo-Jaffna rail link was re-opened with Indian assistance after 24 years. India has promptly assisted its distressed neighbors with a sense of genuine friendship. When the Maldives was facing an acute water crisis, “Operation Neer” was initiated by Indian government in response to Maldives government's request for help after major fire broke out at the Male Water and Sewerage Company. India was the first country to carry 1000 tonnes of water by sea and air. When there was a severe earthquake in Nepal, India was the first country to redress the suffering of the distressed friend with its resources and machinery. India has also become more forthcoming in providing support and in capacity building, whether concluding its biggest ever defense sale to Mauritius, or in providing humanitarian assistance to Nepal or Sri Lanka. Thus, India has equally demonstrated its compassion, the power of diplomacy, skill and energy towards neighboring countries. The policy which war earlier known as **'Look East'** is now known as the 'Act East' because of India's active participation in the region. Present Prime Minister rhetorically replaced two decades of India's 'Look East' policy with 'Act East,' the purpose was to show greater intent in realizing what had long been an aspiration for India: to become an integral part of Asia. The greater urgency implicit in the shift in terminology is largely an outgrowth of Indian concerns regarding China's rise and the upsetting of Asia's delicate balance of power. The policy which was originally conceived as an economic initiative, has gained political, strategic and cultural dimensions including establishment of institutional mechanisms for dialogue and cooperation. The key principles and objectives of **"Act East Policy”** is to promote economic cooperation, cultural ties and develop strategic relationship with countries in the

Asia-Pacific region through continuous engagement at bilateral, regional and multilateral levels thereby providing enhanced connectivity to the States of North Eastern Region with other countries in our neighborhood. In terms of the broader strategic context in Asia, India's 'Act East' policy has three distinct facets: institutional, commercial, and security-related. The first has largely been successful mostly as by-product of two decades of Indian economic growth. Barring the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) forum, India has integrated into Asia's multilateral networks, most notably the apex East Asia Summit. This policy is reflected in the frequent visits of our neighboring countries by Prime Minister and other official delegates of India. The prime minister paid three visits to Nepal since 2014 and also visited Sri Lanka, Myanmar, Bangladesh and Bhutan, Australia, Japan, South Korea, Singapore and China.

1.9 India and Middle East-

India has a long history of relations with the Muslim countries of the Middle East or Western Asia more than any of today's existing or emerging great powers. The wave of Islamic influence to India came from these countries. India has the highest Muslim population in the world. The waves of fanaticism and Islamic fundamentalism have also spread in India through the Islamic states of the Middle East via Afghanistan and Pakistan. Even in the era of technological age of globalization, the Middle East is still dominated by the medieval Islamic concept which inspires the citizens of these countries to move on the medieval model. In Middle East, Saudi Arabia and Iraq are dominated by the Sunni ideology, while Iran is dominated by the Shia ideology. Almost all the countries of the Gulf produce oil making their economies strong. Moreover, all the countries of the Middle East are categorized as authoritarian regimes of Sheikhs, Sultans or military dictators. India is largely dependent on the countries of the Middle East to fulfill its energy requirements. Iran is the major supplier of gas and oil to Indian. The relations between Iran and India have mostly been cordial, but the bitterness between the US and Iran and the growing relationship of India with the US and Israel have affected the relations between India and Iran. India has invested heavily in the Chabahar port of Iran. One other prominent country of the Middle East, Saudi Arabia is directly or indirectly involved in spreading Islamic terrorism in India. It has provided a large amount of financial assistance in one form or the other supporting the cause of terrorism. The Gulf and the Arabian Sea are vital to India's interests. Moreover, India is the third largest oil importing country of the world and it is dependent on the Gulf countries to meet the requirements of oil and gas. Positive side is that about7 million Indian workers are working in the Gulf countries which make huge remittances of approximately 35 thousand billion dollars back home. The downside is that they are exporting 'Wahhabi ideology' with along with their money to India, which has threatened the unity and integrity of India. Like many other countries India is also concerned about the increasing influence of the ISIS in Iraq and Syria. Over last three years, many youth have been attracted to ideology of the Islamic State in India; which is unfavorable to the interests of India. Indian policymakers are also concerned about increasing instability and the weakening of states in the Middle East, which threatens Indian energy imports and Diaspora. India's past inability to influence geopolitics in the Middle East, combined with its lack of security presence, led to costly evacuations of its Diaspora. This included the largest evacuation in history when 200,000 Indians were airlifted out of Kuwait during the Gulf War. Recently, under **'Operation Rahaat'** the Indian Armed Forces evacuated Indian citizens and foreign nationals from Yemen during the 2015 military intervention by Saudi Arabia and its allies in that country during the Yemeni Crisis. In the recent years; several factors have raised the strategic stakes for India for maintaining good relations with the Middle East countries. Firstly, there is a growing expectation among policymakers that India will

eventually become a global strategic power and hence, the existing pillars of the relationship like energy trade, have taken on greater strategic significance. With oil being particularly essential for military power prognosis, India's already growing dependence on Middle Eastern energy assumes a more strategic dimension. India's net oil import has grown from 42 percent in 1990 to an estimated 71 percent in 2012. In 2016, over half of India's oil and gas was imported from the Gulf. During Prime Minister Narendra Modi's visit to Saudi Arabia, the two countries agreed to transform the buyer-seller relationship into a broader strategic partnership. The joint statement from the visit explicitly linked expanding trade ties to enhanced diplomatic engagement. Besides Muslim countries of the Middle East, India also enjoys good relations with one and the only non-Muslim country of the Middle East-Israel. As far as population is concerned there is no similarity between India and Israel. While India is a huge country with population of 1.3 billion the total population of Israel is just 8 million. Despite this disparity, both the countries have many similarities. In both the countries two distinct ancient religions have existed which do not believe in making a change in religion through conversions. Both believe in democracy and secularism and are oppressed by Islamic terrorism. Both are close to the America and a sizeable Muslim minority community resides in them. The idea of 'Muslim nation' and terrorism pose serious challenge to their very existence. Both of them have their own interests, which emphasize mutual dependence. All these factors point to the fact that India is keen on developing bilateral relations with Israel, underlining its strategic importance for the country. Bilateral trade between India and Israel is reported to be about $6 billion. A free trade agreement that could further increase trade between the two countries is also being discussed. As far as cooperation in defense is concerned, both nations face threats from terrorism and have signed agreements related to homeland security. India is Israel's largest buyer of defense equipment. Thus the present contracts clearly show India's gain is the undisturbed inflow of defense and trade.

1.10 India and Russia-

Both India and Russia have been traditional friends. Relations with Russia are a key pillar of India's foreign policy, and Russia has been a longstanding time-tested partner of India. India has longstanding and wide-ranging cooperation with Russia in the field of defense. They have shared a long history of friendship with each other but the disintegration of the former Soviet Union in 1991 and when India adopted market-oriented economy of globalization in place of socialist economy the intensity of traditional relations decreased between the two countries. India still relies on Russia to cater for the needs of most of its military equipment and equipment. Enhancing trade and economic cooperation between India and Russia is a key priority for the two governments. Major items of export from India include pharmaceuticals, miscellaneous manufactures, iron & steel, apparels, tea, coffee and tobacco. Major items of import from Russia include defense and nuclear power equipment, fertilizers, electrical machinery, steels and diamonds. Indian investments in Russia are estimated to be about US$ 8 billion. Russia is an important partner in peaceful uses of nuclear energy and it recognizes India as a country with advanced nuclear technology with an impeccable non-proliferation record.

1.11 India, US and European States-

India's present foreign policy is based on urgency and pragmatism. Present government of India has a complete understanding of the security needs of India and the changing equations of the current politics in Asia and elsewhere. This change in our foreign policy has primarily taken place as a reaction against the China's assertive foreign policy. At a time when, first power of the world, the United States of America is yet to open its full cards of its foreign policy of re-balancing and Pakistan's foreign policy continues to remain India centered, the foreign policy of India is broader and comprehensive because it is not oriented towards

any one particular country. India has been successful in isolating Pakistan on the issue of terrorism. Currently, India's foreign policy is in the transitional phase. The one area where India has had unalloyed success is in its relations with the United States. This is not because we have an identity of interests, but a congruence of needs that the other can fulfill. India needs the world's foremost military power to maintain a balance against China, while the US needs India because it is the only credible partner it has in building a coalition in East Asia to confront China. India-U.S. bilateral relations have developed into a "global strategic partnership", based on shared democratic values and increasing convergence of interests on bilateral, regional and global issues.

Important Points

- Determining of relations with other nations of the world is part of a foreign policy.
- The salient features of Indian foreign policy are:
  - Peaceful Coexistence
  - Anti-Colonialism and Imperialism
  - Anti-Apartheid
  - Supporter of International Institutions
  - Based on Principles of Panchasheel
  - Non-Alignment
- The Meaning of the Non-Alignment- When a country does not join any power group of the world and follow an independent policy and always promote the cause of the truth and justice, it is called Non-Alignment.
- With the dissolution of the Soviet Union and disturbing of the power balance between two super powers the relevance of the Non-Aligned Movement has been underline as a forum of Multi Polarity.

Exercise

Multiple Choice Questions-

1. The meaning of the term-peaceful co-existence is-
   (A) Live and let live.
   (B) Struggle together
   (C) Removing national boundaries.
   (D) Maintain your existence. ( )
2. The statement that does not match with the objectives of Indian foreign policy is -
   (A) Opposition of colonialism
   (B) The expansion of imperialism
   (C) Opposition of imperialism
   (D) Untiring faith in Confidence in the United Nations ( )
3. The word 'शील' (*Sheel*) implies -
   (A) Seal
   (B) Sealing of an envelope
   (C) Moral conduct
   (D) Inscription ( )
4. India has demanded a permanent membership of which organ of the United Nations Organization -
   (A) General Assembly
   (B) Trustee Council
   (C) Security Council
   (D) International Court of Justice ( )
5. The founders of Non-alignment movement was -
   (A) Nehru (B) Nasir
   (C) Tito (D) All these ( )

Very Short Answer Type Questions-

1. Describe two salient features of Indian Foreign Policy.
2. What are the two principles of *Panchasheel*?
3. Who is the founder member of the Non-

Aligned Movement?

4. When did Bangladeshi get independence?
5. Write the full name of the UNO.

Short Answer Type Questions-

1. Write a comment on the principles of *Panchasheel*.
2. What is sub nationalism?
3. What do you mean by apartheid?
4. Explain the meaning of the Non-Alignment.
5. Explain the principle of peaceful co-existence.

Essay Type Questions-

1. Explain the major issues of India's foreign policy.
2. "After the depolarization of the power groups, the policy of Non-alignment is becoming irrelevant." 'Discuss the policy of Non-alignment in the light of this statement.

Answers to Multiple Choice Questions:

1. A 2. B 3. C 4. C 5. D

2. United Nations Organization Contribution towards World Peace & Security

The UN is an influential international forum of the world today. It is a meeting-place for virtually all nations of the world. It provides them with the mechanism to help find solutions to disputes or problems, and to act on virtually any matter of concern to humanity. At the time of its establishment, the optimists had foreseen a world government to develop in its soul. However, they have been proved wrong so far. Though sometimes described as a "parliament of nations", the United Nations is neither a supra-State nor a government of governments. It does not have an army nor does it impose taxes. It depends on the political will of its Members to have its decisions implemented and relies on contributions of its Members to carry out its activities. Dag Hammarskjöld, the second General Secretary of the United Nations said, ***"United Nations was not created to bring mankind to heaven, but in order to save it from hell".*** Clearly, the League of Nations, born of the destruction and disillusionment arising from World War I, was the most ambitious attempt that had ever been made to construct a peaceful global order. But the horrific massacre of World War II proved that it was a flawed attempt, which had failed to prevent the outbreak of the Second World War. In the shadow of stressful relations of winners and defeated nations efforts were again made by the world leaders and a new world organization emerged as the United Nations. The UN replaced the ineffective League of Nations. League of Nations like a proverbial old soldier never died, but rather faded away. Former British Prime Minister Churchill said that war of words was better than the war of weapons. It would be better to have a world stage that all the countries of the world should be gathered and eat each other's heads and not have a head cut. Even after the creation of the United Nations the world was not without annihilating wars and conflicts continued among the nations. But in issues other than conflicts, the United Nations has certainly attained the status of an effective international forum. Therefore, despite many flaws and weaknesses the UN is still relevant. After World War II, the need for a comprehensive international organization was felt to maintain international peace and to establish cooperation among nations. The idea for creating an international organization dedicated to maintaining peace took hold during the war.

There were various ideas about the organization's perception. According to one thought, the new organization should be similar to the League of Nations. The second thought was that the nature of the organization should be determined by the post-war international conditions and experiences. This idea was finally accepted. The United Nations was founded on October 24, 1945 after five major nations of the world - USA, The Soviet Union, China, France and Britain signed the charter. October 24marks the anniversary of the entry into force in 1945 of the UN Charter and has been celebrated as United Nations Day since 1948. The first session of the United Nations General Assembly took place in London on June 10, 1946 and the last session was held on September 12, 2017 at New York City. There are 111 Articles in the Charter of the United Nations which describe its

organization, powers and functions.

1. Objectives of UNO (Preamble)-

The objectives of the United Nations, according to preamble of its Charter, are:

- To save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind, and
- To reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small, and
- To establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained, and
- To promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom,

2. Aims/Purposes of UNO (Chapter I)-

The Purposes or the aims of the United Nations are described in Article 1 of chapter 1 the UN charter:

- To maintain international peace and security, and to that end: to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace, and to bring about by peaceful means, and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace;
- To develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, and to take other appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace;
- To achieve international co-operation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character, and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion; and
- To be a center for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of these common ends.

3. Principles of UNO -

- The Organization and its Members, in pursuit of the Purposes stated in Article 1, shall act in accordance with the following Principles.
- The Organization is based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all its Members.
- All Members, in order to ensure to all of them the rights and benefits resulting from membership, shall fulfill in good faith the obligations assumed by them in accordance with the present Charter.
- All Members shall settle their international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security, and justice, are not endangered.
- All Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the Purposes of the United Nations.
- All Members shall give the United Nations every assistance in any action it takes in accordance with the present Charter, and shall refrain from giving assistance to any state against which the United Nations is taking preventive or enforcement action.
- The Organization shall ensure that states which are not Members of the United Nations act in accordance with these Principles so far as may be necessary for the maintenance of international peace and security.

Nothing contained in the present Charter shall authorize the United Nations to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state or shall require the Members to submit such matters to settlement under

the present Charter; but this principle shall not prejudice the application of enforcement measures under Chapter VII.

4. Membership of UNO -

There are two types of members of UNO

- Member countries which joined the UNO in the initial phase by having participated in the United Nations Conference on International Organization at San Francisco. There were 51 original members of UNO.
- Member countries which obtained membership of UNO subsequently after formation of UNO.

Article 3- The original Members of the United Nations shall be the states which, having participated in the United Nations Conference on International Organization at San Francisco, or having previously signed the Declaration by United Nations of 1 January 1942, sign the present Charter and ratify it in accordance with Article 110.

Article 4- Membership in the United Nations is open to all other peace-loving states which accept the obligations contained in the present Charter and, in the judgment of the Organization, are able and willing to carry out these obligations. The admission of any such state to membership in the United Nations will be effected by a decision of the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council.

Article 5- A Member of the United Nations against which preventive or enforcement action has been taken by the Security Council may be suspended from the exercise of the rights and privileges of membership by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council. The exercise of these rights and privileges may be restored by the Security Council.

Article 6- A Member of the United Nations which has persistently violated the Principles contained in the present Charter may be expelled from the Organization by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council.

Presently, there are 193 members of the UNO and South Sudan became the 193rd member of the United Nations in 2011.

2.1 The General Assembly -

The General Assembly is the highest deliberative organ of the UN. It is also called the World Parliament of Nations. It shall consist of all the Members of the United Nations. Each Member shall have not more than five representatives in the General Assembly .Each state has only one vote. The session of the General Assembly is convened on third Tuesday in the month of September every year. The opening day of the session stands designated as the International Day of Peace. The UN General Assembly holds deliberations on all issues which are related to the Charter of the United Nations. It also approves the annual budget of the UN. It's headquarter is located at New York (the USA).

2.2 Powers and Functions of The General Assembly -

The General Assembly may discuss any questions or any matters within the scope of the present Charter or relating to the powers and functions of any organs provided for in the present Charter, and, except as provided in Article 12, may make recommendations to the Members of the United Nations or to the Security Council or to both on any such questions or matters.

1. It discusses matters related to maintenance of international peace and security.
2. It carries out inspection.
3. It passes the Budget
4. It carries out functions related to election.
5. It amends the UN Charter.

2.3 Organization of General Assembly-

The General Assembly is the highest deliberative, policymaking and representative organ of the UN and follows its own rules and procedures. It is an organization which has neither any host nor a guest. It elects its President or the chairperson for one year on the personal merit basis through a secret ballot. Mr. Paul-Henri Spaak of Belgium was

elected first President of the General Assembly of the United Nations and he chaired the first session on January 16, 1946 and held this office for one session. Generally the president is elected from the small countries. The Chief of the Cabinet assists the president in his functions and acts as an Under Secretary of officials of the general assembly. The General Assembly also has 17 Vice-Presidents which are representative of different fields. 17 Vice-Presidents and 7 presidents of permanent councils jointly make a General Council.

2.4 Sessions of General Assembly-

The General Assembly shall meet in regular annual sessions on 3rd Tuesday of September and in such special sessions as occasion may require. Special sessions shall be convoked by the Secretary-General at the request of the Security Council or of a majority of the Members of the United Nations.

The General Assembly shall adopt its own rules of procedure. It shall elect its President for each session. The General Assembly may establish such subsidiary organs as it deems necessary for the performance of its functions.

Under the special procedure established in 1950, if there is obstruction in the restoration of peace even after using Veto by the Security Council, then a special session of the General Assembly can be convened within 24 hours. It can take an appropriate decision to restore peace which the Security Council is also bound to accept.

2.5 Appreciation of General Assembly-

While assessing the role of the General Assembly, Stark had once said that “Practically the General Assembly has been able to acquire the main form in terms of questions of international peace and security, it is really remarkable ". Since its inception, the UN General Assembly has been a forum for lofty declarations, sometimes audacious rhetoric, and rigorous debate over the world's most vexing issues, from poverty and development to peace and security. After adopting the "Uniting for Peace" resolution in 1950, there has been a surprising change in the role of the General Assembly. This resolution has made the General Assembly the patron of collective security of the United Nations. The resolution states that if the Security Council fails to maintain international peace and security in any situation such as threat to international peace and security or in aggression, the General Assembly will have the right to make collective efforts. Thus, as a result of “Uniting for Peace ", the position of the General Assembly has been substantially strengthened. Theoretically, it seems that resolution has made the General Assembly quite powerful; but in actual practice, getting the resolution passed with the 2/3 majority is quite difficult a task. No doubt, the General Assembly has acquired an extraordinary status through this power. The 'Uniting for Peace' resolution revealed the latent powers of the General Assembly existing within the UN Charter to make recommendations in lieu of a blocked Security Council, up to and including the use of force. However, it went too far when it assigned to the Assembly a role that effectively usurped the primary role of the Security Council in the maintenance of international peace and security. When P5members of the Security Council realized that it potentially restricted their respective sovereign interests, it was relegated to obscurity. Nevertheless, it creates a constitutional balance between the UN's primary organs. The resolution represents a viable tool capable of overcoming the worst effects of a veto exercised in circumstances that cry out for an international response.

The Security Council

The Security Council is the United Nations' most powerful executive body, with "primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security." Five powerful countries sit as "permanent members" along with ten elected members with two-year terms. Since 1990, the Council has dramatically increased its activity and it now meets in nearly continuous session. It dispatches military operations, imposes sanctions, mandates arms inspections, deploys election monitors and more. It has 15 Members, and each Member has one vote. Under the UN Charter, all

Member States are obligated to comply with Council decisions. The Security Council takes the lead in determining the existence of a threat to the peace or act of aggression. It calls upon the parties to a dispute to settle it by peaceful means and recommends methods of adjustment or terms of settlement. In some cases, the Security Council can resort to imposing sanctions or even authorize the use of force to maintain or restore international peace and security. It is final authority in implementing the UN Charter and also the decisions taken at the General Assembly. The success or failure of UNO largely depends on the working of the Security Council. The General Assembly is a directional organ whereas the Security Council is an implementing body. It has been rightly said by G.J. Maigone that neither in history nor in present world there exist a powerful organ such as Security Council to avert the war. In case of a breach of or threat to peace or international security, it has the possibility and to a certain degree the responsibility to act preventively and repressively. The Security Council has proved its worth in the later years.

2.6 Composition-

The Security Council shall consist of fifteen Members of the United Nations. The veto powers - the Republic of China, France, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and the United States of America shall be permanent members of the Security Council. The General Assembly shall elect ten other Members of the United Nations to be non-permanent members of the Security Council, due regard being specially paid, in the first instance to the contribution of Members of the United Nations to the maintenance of international peace and security and to the other purposes of the Organization, and also to equitable geographical distribution. The non-permanent members of the Security Council shall be elected for a term of two years. In the first election of the non-permanent members after the increase of the membership of the Security Council from eleven to fifteen, two of the four additional members shall be chosen for a term of one year. A retiring member shall not be eligible for immediate re-election. Each member of the Security Council shall have one representative.

2.7 Functions and Powers-

The UN Security Council is the world's top patron of peace and security. It has been entrusted with special responsibility for maintaining world peace and security. In order to ensure prompt and effective action by the United Nations, its Members confer on the Security Council primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, and agree that in carrying out its duties under this responsibility the Security Council acts on their behalf. In discharging these duties the Security Council shall act in accordance with the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations. The specific powers granted to the Security Council for the discharge of these duties are laid down in Chapters VI, VII, VIII, and XII. The Security Council shall submit annual and, when necessary, special reports to the General Assembly for its consideration.

The UN Security Council has powers to :-

1. Maintain international peace and security in accordance with the principles and purposes of the United Nations;
2. Formulates plans for the establishment of a system to regulate armaments;
3. Recommends to the General Assembly the appointment of the Secretary-General and, together with the Assembly, to elect the Judges of the International Court of Justice.
4. Investigate any dispute or situation, which might lead to international friction and peaceful settlement thereof.

2.8 Critical Assessment -

The Security Council is a relic of the geopolitics of 1945. On the basis of its elaborate powers, it is regarded as the most important and highly sensitive organ of the United Nations. While the structure and operational mechanisms of the UN Security Council have been criticized since 1950,

they have recently come under heightened attack given the inability of the UNSC to intervene effectively in the conflict in Syria. It has failed to fulfill the responsibilities and role it was assigned under the UN Charter. According to Palmer and Perkins, *"the Security Council was conceived as the Central Agency of the United Nations, but it did not fulfill its expected role."* To be legitimate today it must reflect contemporary realities. It needs to accommodate today's powers that are currently excluded Japan and Germany, and contemplate the accommodation of tomorrow's big states India and Brazil. It must also address the extraordinary powers inherent in the veto. Legitimacy is not to be found in the uneven distribution of such clout. As the many failed attempts at reform instruct us, positive change is not easy.

The International Court of Justice-

Article 92-The International Court of Justice shall be the principal judicial organ of the United Nations. It shall function in accordance with the annexed Statute, which is based upon the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice and forms an integral part of the present Charter. It was established in June 1945 by the Charter of the United Nations and began work in April 1946.The seat of the Court is at the Peace Palace in The Hague (Netherlands). Of the six principal organs of the United Nations, it is the only one not located in New York (United States of America).The Court's role is to settle, in accordance with international law, legal disputes submitted to it by States and to give advisory opinions on legal questions referred to it by authorized United Nations organs and specialized agencies.

2.9 Structure-

All Members of the United Nations are ipso facto parties to the Statute of the International Court of Justice and also its members. A state which is not a Member of the United Nations may become a party to the Statute of the International Court of Justice on conditions to be determined in each case by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council. There are following conditions for the new membership :

1. Each Member of the United Nations undertakes to comply with the decision of the International Court of Justice in any case to which it is a party.
2. Contribute to the estimated expenditure by the General Assembly.

Presently, The Court is composed of 15 judges, who are elected for terms of office of nine years by the United Nations General Assembly and the Security Council. Besides, these a few ad-hoc judges are also there. It is assisted by a Registry, its administrative organ. Its official languages are English and French. Judges must be elected from among persons of high moral character, who possess the qualifications required in their respective countries for appointment to the highest judicial offices, or are ***jurisconsults*** of recognized competence in international law. The Court may not include more than one national of the same State. Moreover, the Court as a whole must represent the main forms of civilization and the principal legal systems of the world. They will be chosen without considering their nationality.

Election of Judges -

The judges are elected by members of the United Nations General Assembly and the Security Council, where polling takes place simultaneously but independent of each other. In order to be elected, a candidate must have an absolute majority in both bodies, which often leads to much lobbying, and a number of rounds of voting. In order to ensure a sense of continuity, especially in pending cases, elections are conducted triennially for a third of the 15-member Court. Elections are held in New York during the autumn session of the United Nations General Assembly, and the elected judges enter office on February 6 of the subsequent year. After the Court is in session, a President and Vice-President are elected by secret ballot to hold office for three years. If a judge were to die in office, resign, or be incapacitated to perform the duties expected of her, a special election is held as soon as

possible to fill the vacancy for the unexpired duration of her tenure.

Tenure of Judges -

The judges of the International Court of Justice are elected for 9 years old and after every 3 years 5 judges are retired. Judges are eligible to stand for re-election. Although, national governments can nominate the judges and also participate in their elections, but the judges neither act as representative of their country nor follow the instructions of their government. The Court also adheres to a rigid ethno-cultural matrix to ensure that it is representative of the 'main forms of civilization and the principal legal systems of the world.' This internal arithmetic is maintained at every election to the ICJ. Of the 15 judges, it is mandated that three should be from Africa, two from Latin America and the Caribbean, three from Asia, five from Western Europe and other states, and two from Eastern Europe. Presently, Justice Dalveer Bhandari of India is one of the judges of the International Court of Justice. Earlier Justice Dr. Nagendra Singh of Dungarpur served as President of the International Court of Justice from 1985 to 1988.

2.10 Powers & Jurisdiction-

The International Court of Justice possesses two types of jurisdiction:

Contentious jurisdiction Contentious jurisdiction involves States that submit the dispute by consent to the Court for a binding decision.

Advisory jurisdiction Advisory jurisdiction, on the other hand, concerns questions referred to the Court by the General Assembly, the Security Council or other organs and specialized agencies of the United Nations. Those questions can only refer to legal questions arising within the scope of their activities. Advisory opinions given by the International Court of Justice are not binding.

1. Contentious Jurisdiction-

In the exercise of its jurisdiction in contentious cases, the International Court of Justice settles disputes of a legal nature that are submitted to it by States in accordance with international law. An international legal dispute can be defined as a disagreement on a question of law or fact, a conflict, or a clash of legal views or interests. Only States may apply to and appear before the International Court of Justice. International organizations, other authorities and private individuals are not entitled to institute proceedings before the Court. Article 35 of the Statute defines the conditions under which States may access the Court. While the first paragraph of that article states that the Court is open to States parties to the Statute, the second is intended to regulate access to the Court by States which are not parties to the Statute. The conditions under which such States may access the Court are determined by the Security Council, subject to the special provisions contained in treaties in force at the date of the entry into force of the Statute, with the proviso that under no circumstances shall such conditions place the parties in a position of inequality before the Court. The Court can only deal with a dispute when the States concerned have recognized its jurisdiction. No State can therefore be a party to proceedings before the Court unless it has in some manner or other consented thereto.

i. Optional jurisdiction - The international court has voluntary jurisdiction regarding the laws of states. This means that in such a case, the state brings it under any agreement. It is not a restriction on any state that it is brought to its court in the same court.

ii. Compulsory jurisdiction- It is that legal obligation that is at the root of the term “compulsory”. The jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice is based on the consent of the parties. No State can be compelled without its consent to submit a dispute with another State to international adjudication. States have the option to accept or not to accept the Court's jurisdiction and can do so under terms and conditions they determine themselves. However, once a State has granted its consent, and when a dispute that falls within the scope of that consent is submitted to the Court, the State must subject itself to the Court's jurisdiction. The Court's jurisdiction covers all questions that

states refer to it, and all matters provided for in the United Nations Charter, or in international treaties and conventions. States may bind themselves in advance to accept the jurisdiction of the Court, either by signing a treaty or convention that provides for referral to the Court or by making a declaration to that effect. Such declarations accepting compulsory jurisdiction often contain reservations excluding certain classes of disputes.

According to Article 36-

i. The jurisdiction of the Court comprises all cases which the parties refer to it and all matters specially provided for in the Charter of the United Nations or in treaties and conventions in force.

ii. The states parties to the present Statute may at any time declare that they recognize as compulsory ipso facto and without special agreement, in relation to any other state accepting the same obligation, the jurisdiction of the Court in all legal disputes concerning:

   a. the interpretation of a treaty;

   b. any question of international law;

   c. the existence of any fact which, if established, would constitute a breach of an international obligation ;

2. Advisory jurisdiction -

The International Court has the power to advice on the legal questions to the other special agencies established by the General Assembly, the Security Committee and the General Assembly. The advice of the international court is taken by the written request. The court itself does not reveal its own opinion In addition; its advice is not required by the agency seeking the advice. It is advisable only, no decision.

2.11 The Trusteeship Council-

According to Article 7 of the UN Charter the Trusteeship Council is one of the six organs of UNO. It was established by the Charter in 1945 to provide international supervision for 11Trust Territories placed under the administration of 7 member states, and ensure that adequate steps were taken to prepare the Territories for self-government or independence. The Charter authorized the Trusteeship Council to examine and discuss reports from the Administering Authority on the political, economic, social and educational advancement of the peoples of Trust Territories; to examine petitions from the Territories; and to undertake special missions to the Territories. By 1994, all Trust Territories had attained self-government or independence, either as separate states or by joining neighboring independent countries. The last to do so was the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands (Palau), which became the 185th member state. Its work completed, the Trusteeship Council its membership reduced now to the five permanent members of the Security Council (China, France, the Russian Federation, the United Kingdom and the United States) has amended its rules of procedure to meet as and where occasion may require.

2.12 Contribution-

The Trusteeship Council was set up as one of the main organs of the United Nations. Its objective was to administer and support the transition to independence and self-governance of the colonies held by the Axis Powers from World War II, as well as the territories mandated by the League of Nations. The Trusteeship Council has completed its mission, but continues to exist on paper, under the UN Charter, chapter XII. It has worked well to promote the advancement of the inhabitants of Trust Territories and their progressive development towards self-government or independence. However, since all Trust Territories have today "attained self-government or independence, "the Trusteeship Council hasn't really exercised any regular function since 1994.Nonetheless, it may still meet occasionally whenever required.

2.13 Economic and Social Council -

The Economic and Social Council coordinates the economic and social work of the United Nations and the specialized agencies and institutions, as well as their functional commissions and five regional

commissions known as "the United Nations family" of organizations. Most people associate the United Nations with the maintenance of peace and security. However, most of the organization's resources are spent on promotion of higher standards of living, full employment and economic and social progress as formulated in the UN Charter. Article 1(3) of UN Charter underlines that one of its purposes is to achieve international co-operation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character, and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion.

2.14 Secretariat and General Secretary -

The Secretariat which consists of international staff working in duty stations around the world. It carries out the diverse day-to-day work of the Organization. It services the other principal organs of the United Nations and administers the programs and policies laid down by them. At its head is the Secretary-General, who is appointed by the General Assembly on the recommendation of the Security Council for a five-year, renewable term. The duties carried out by the Secretariat are as varied as the problems dealt with by the United Nations. These range from administering peacekeeping operations to mediating international disputes, from surveying economic and social trends to preparing studies on human rights and sustainable development. Secretariat staff also informs the world's communications media about the work of the United Nations; organize international conferences on issues of worldwide concern; and interpret speeches and translate documents into the Organization's official languages. The secretariat staff is appointed by the Secretary General as per the rules established by the General Assembly. The Secretariat has some 25,530 staff members on contracts of one year or more, of whom some 17,630 are paid from extra budgetary resources. Staff on short term-contracts brings the total to some 30,550 staff from 193 countries. As international civil servants, staff members and the Secretary-General answer to the United Nations alone for their activities, and take an oath not to seek or receive instructions from any government or outside authority. Under the Charter, each member state undertakes to respect the exclusively international character of the responsibilities of the Secretary-General and the staff, and to refrain from seeking to influence them improperly.

2.15 Special Agencies of UNO-

Specialized agencies are autonomous organizations working with the United Nations and each other through the coordinating machinery of the United Nations Economic and Social Council at the intergovernmental level, and through the Chief Executives Board for coordination (CEB) at the inter-secretariat level. Specialized agencies may or may not have been originally created by the United Nations, but they are incorporated into the United Nations System by the United Nations Economic and Social Council acting under Articles 57 and 63 of the United Nations Charter. UN has many specialized agencies that carry out various functions on behalf of the UN. The specialized agencies are listed below.

1. United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)
2. United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO)
3. World Health Organization (WHO)
4. World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO)
5. Universal Postal Union (UPU)
6. International Telecommunication Union (ITU)
7. The International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA)
8. Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO)
9. International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD)
10. International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO)
11. World Trade organization (WTO)

12. International Maritime Organization (IMO)
13. International Labor Organization (ILO)
14. International Monetary Fund (IMF)
15. World Bank Group (WBG)
16. International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD)
17. International Finance Corporation (IFC)
18. International Development Association (IDA)
19. World Meteorological Organization (WMO)
20. World Tourism Organization (UNWTO or WTO)

2.16 Role of UNO-

Maintaining world peace and security is the highest necessity of today's era. Today we cannot secure security for one state at the expense of the other. Security can only be universal, but security cannot only be political or military, it must be as well ecological, economical, and social. It must ensure the fulfillment of the aspirations of humanity as a whole. At the end of World War II, which broke out just 20 years after the end of the World War I, the civilized states felt it necessary to establish an international organization vital for maintaining the world peace and security and accordingly on 24 October1945the United Nations was established. When the United Nations took the place of the League in 1945 it was entrusted with economic, social and other non-political functions far greater than those of its predecessor. The preamble of the United Nations Charter declares that the aim of this international organization is to protect future generations from the scourge of war. In the UN Charter, highest priority was accorded to maintenance of peace and security in international relations. The war was declared an illegal act and the responsibility of disarming the world, ending colonialism and stopping the war was entrusted to the United Nations. It was also entrusted the responsibility of maintaining world peace and security and promoting peaceful coexistence and cooperation among the different countries of the world. The importance of the **'international peace and security'** can be gauged from the fact that the term has been used 32 times. In the first Article of the Charter highlighting the purposes of the United Nations, international peace and security have been described as the main priority of the United Nations. Article 1 of the Charter underlines the purpose of the UN says "To maintain international peace and security, and to that end: to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace, and to bring about by peaceful means, and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace." The United Nations has made all the efforts to fulfill all these responsibilities in the last seven decades of its existence. In the direction of disarmament and nuclear denuclearization it has done good job through several institutional activities and still making its efforts. It has acted like an international forum in establishing mutual friendship and cooperation among different countries. It has done commendable work to develop socio-economic-cultural cooperation among different countries and their citizens. United Nations has played a particularly admirable role in the end of colonialism and ending imperialism, to establish a new international economic order, declare the Indian Ocean as the region of peace, to work for nuclear disarmament and arms control. It has contributed a great deal in making the colonies free from colonial rule and to end racial discrimination in South Africa. Many other resolutions have also been passed to solve international problems.

2.17 World Peace and UN efforts-

The world has changed dramatically since the United Nations was established after World War II, but the organization has not fully adapted to reflect the 21st century. While the U.N. has had its share of successes, its aging structure has struggled with new threats like Ebola and terrorist groups that control

large areas of its member countries. U.N. members have been discussing change for decades, but agreement has proven impossible because of competing interests. The United Nations came into being in 1945, following the devastation of the Second World War, 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. These activities often overlap and should reinforce one another, to be effective. The UN Security Council has the primary responsibility for international peace and security. The General Assembly and the Secretary-General play major, important, and complementary roles, along with other UN offices and bodies. Since 1945 there have been many occasions where local conflict between two countries could have flared up in a regional war or a full-fledged world war. United Nations prevented such wars from spreading through the actions of collective security. It has used all means available to it under Chapter VII of its charter to establish peace in the world. It has used all means including using military action in past 73 years. It has been successful in resolving a number of complex problems through negotiations and other peaceful means and continuing doing so even today. UN made its best efforts to resolve following problems for the maintenance of peace and security of the world by the United Nations -

1. Iran Conflict
2. Greek Conflict
3. Indonesia Conflict
4. Kashmir Problem
5. Racism in South Africa
6. Congo Crisis

2.18 Relevance of UNO-

It is true that UN could not resolve various conflicts during the Cold War in the period from 1945-70 and 1980-89. It failed to resolve many outstanding problems which flared up in serious military conflicts such as Iran-Iraq war continued for over ten years. Soviet occupation of Afghanistan also remained for almost 10 years. About 100 major conflicts and disputes have occurred during the Cold War, in which about 20 million people were killed. The P5 permanent members of the United Nations Security Council prevented the UN in resolving many disputes by using their Veto power for 279 times. Nevertheless, UN has not become irrelevant due to its various handicaps but it certainly needs to adapt to the changed circumstances. It is very important even in the 21st century. The United Nations has positively contributed a great deal in maintaining international peace and security, promoting cooperation among states and international development. Today, people of the world still face the two major issues of peace and development. The achievements of United Nations have always been debated and during last two decades the relevance of the organization has been questioned. It is always argued that the organization is not democratic in nature; rather it is manipulated by a handful of powers like US and its cronies for serving their own purposes. The composition of the Security Council has always been a bone of contention among the member countries. For many years, some member-states have been advocating expansion of the Security Council, arguing that adding new members will cure the democratic and representative shortfall from which the Council suffers. The Security Council reflects the global power structure of 1945, and it was in 1965, the last time, under pressure from a growing membership, that the UN expanded the Council, bringing its total membership to 15 by adding 10 temporary members to it. The arrangement of P5 makes the Council both autocratic and fruitless. The veto- wielding permanent members (P5) avert many issues from reaching the Council's agenda and they often selfishly block widely-agreed and much-desirable initiatives. Despite the ten elected members, the Security Council remains geographically unbalanced and unrepresentative. At the heart of this divide lies a disagreement over claims to new permanent Council seats. Brazil, India, Japan and Germany want a permanent seat in the Council, and

have threatened to session their monetary or military troop offerings to the UN if they are not rewarded with permanent member status. African countries have also uttered the need for permanent African representation in the Council to bring an end to the domination of industrialized nations in the influential UN organ. But the P5 prefer to keep their oligarchy. Nations agree on the Council's loopholes, but they differ sharply on the required solutions. On September 16, 2008, however, the United Nations members endorsed India's viewpoint that the General Assembly should begin the inter-governmental negotiations on expansion of the Security Council, with consensus emerging in favor of starting parleys by February 2009.The need of the hours that after the end of Cold War and traditional rivalry between the USA and the USSR after the collapse of the Communist Bloc, the powerful countries of the world including the USA should come together and cooperate for the common cause of the maintenance of the international peace and security and to make the functioning of UNSC more democratic by expanding its permanent membership. Democratization, decentralization and empowerment of UNO are not only important for the betterment of the world but also necessary for the survival of this prestigious international forum. The United Nations today is a big organization of 193 countries and nearly represents the entire humanity save a few rouge elements. But its security council is lacking uniform, equal and proper representation of all the continents and key powers of the world. It is very essential to increase the number of permanent members of this institution and provide permanent membership to India, Japan, Germany and Brazil. In addition, the number of non-permanent members should also be increased. In fact, it is necessary that membership of the UN Security Council must be increased from 15 to at least 25 or 27. This is a natural and vital need of the present international order. To maintain international peace and security, and to that end: to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace, and to bring about by peaceful means, and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace.

Important Points

- United Nations Organization was founded on 24 October 1945.
- UN Charter has 111 Articles.
- The purpose of establishment of the United Nations -
  - To maintain international peace and security.
  - To resolve any kind of international problem, economic, social, cultural and human.
  - To establish respect and friendly relations for equal rights.
  - To be a center to streamline the task to achieve the above objectives.
- Major Agencies of United Nations - UNESCO, World Bank, World Health Organization (WHO), International Monetary Fund (IMF) and UNICEF etc.

Exercise

Multiple Choice Questions-

1. Which of the following statements does not match the purposes of the UNO?
   (A) To maintain international peace and security.
   (B) To save the world from wars.
   (C) To maintain trade between India and Pakistan
   (D) To take initiatives to solve international problems. ( )
2. The number of founding members of the United Nations was -
   (A) 193 (B) 51

(C) 15 (D) 05 ( )

3. Which of the following is a permanent member of the Security Council?

(A) France (B) India

(C) Japan (D)Australia ( )

4. United Nations agency for the spread of education and culture is -

(A) World Bank

(B) World Health Organization (WHO)

(C) UNESCO

(D) International Monetary Fund ( )

5. Presently, who has been elected as the judge of the International Court of Justice from India?

(A) Justice Dalveer Bhandari

(B) Justice Dr. Nagendra Singh

(C) Justice Vineet Kothari

(D) Justice Amar Singh Gondar ( )

Very Short Answer Type Questions-

1. When was the United Nations formed?
2. In which city is the headquarters of the International Court of Justice located?
3. What is the number of temporary members of the Security Council?
4. What is the exclusive power of permanent members of the UN Security Council called?
5. Who is the present UN General Secretary?

Short Answer Type Questions-

1. Explain the main objectives of the United Nations.
2. What are the three main functions of the General Assembly?
3. Name the five permanent members of the Security Council.
4. What is 'Veto'?
5. What is the task of the Trusteeship Council?

Essay Type Questions-

1. Elaborate about the main objectives of establishing the UNO and justify its current relevance.
2. Write an article on the organizational structure of the United Nations Organization.
3. Security Council was formed for international peace and security, but today it has become a hallucination of the superpowers. Do you agree with this statement? Discuss Critically.

Answers to Multiple Choice Questions-

1. C 2. B. 3. A 4. C 5. A

3. India's Relations with Its Neighbours (Pakistan, China and Nepal)

Presently, India's relations with its neighboring countries Pakistan, China and Nepal are very sensitive and significant. The main element of India's foreign policy is to maintain peaceful, amiable and friendly relations with its neighboring countries. In view of these principles, India favors cordial relations with its neighbors but it cannot remain silent on border encroachment, infiltration and interference in its internal affairs. Thus whenever the neighboring countries cross their limits India is forced to retort back. Though immediately after India had acquired its independence it had normal relations with China and Nepal but soon after the sudden intrusion of China (1962) and its encroachments upon Indian frontiers resulted in bitterness between the two. Critical conditions prevailed in Nepal after the brutal massacre of king Birendra Bir Bikram Shah and his family. The conditions improved afterwards but could not be restored to desired normalcy. Although the fundamental element of India's foreign policy is to bring harmony, peace and friendly relations with neighboring countries. But it is a responsibility to be carried by both the sides. Since Pakistan which was once part of India was born on unfounded, unethical unpopular and impractical principles, the relations between the two countries had never been friendly in the true sense. Shortly after the formation of Pakistan on 14th August, 1947, it invaded Kashmir which was an integral part of India and occupied one part of it which is still under its possession. The study of India's foreign policy clearly manifests that India has been constantly facing complex challenges since its independence from the British yoke. Pakistan raised the Kashmir dispute immediately after the independence which later exploded into a full-fledged war between India and Pakistan. Since then, three more wars have been fought between India and Pakistan on Kashmir dispute; which however stands unresolved till date. Similarly, many complications and intricacies have also erupted in India's relations with China and Nepal. The age old amity with neighboring countries is also tangled due to border disputes and military conflicts. Our maintaining relationship with big powers which is mutually beneficial had not been easy. Apart from this, our national security and bilateral relations has also been endangered due to the risks of inter-state conflicts with its small neighbors such as Nepal and Sri Lanka. Whether it was a communal civil war in Sri Lanka or struggle of Bangladesh or using territory of Nepal as a sanctuary for promoting separatism, all these issues have been headaches for Indian foreign policy. Thus, India's relations with these three countries can be broadly discussed as under:

3.1 India & Pakistan Relations-

With the end of British colonial rule in Asia, a new struggle started which resulted in word 'peace' disappearing from this region forever. India's independence in 1947 and its subsequent division into two nations India and Pakistan - have sowed the seeds of continuing conflict between the two neighboring countries since their independence. This conflict which is called -Indo-Pak conflict is deeply rooted in Pakistan's continuous provocative support to terrorist activities; its religious animosity and unwarranted nuclear proliferation aimed

against India. To understand the nature of Indo-Pak conflict in a correct manner, study of the facts related to the partition of India is essential. The partition of India was primarily based on the religious divide between the two communities the Hindus and the Muslims. It further widened the already existing hatred, distrust and animosity between the two communities. The creation of Pakistan as a Muslim country in contrast to India which was Hindu dominated formed much of the initial thinking behind the idea of the state. Pakistan, which was born amidst problems further complicated its problems since then and has sparked a new conflict in the sub-continent making the region a nuclear flashpoint.

3.2 Problem Areas of India- Pakistan Relations-

1. Problems arising out of the Partition;
2. Problems arising from Pakistan's policy against India and its open support to terrorism;
3. Pakistan's acquiring membership of SEATO and CENTO to encircle India and its acting as a US stooge earlier and now as stooge colony of China;

Facts file showing the military tension between India and Pakistan since independence -

1. India and Pakistan make expenditure of 6.2 percent and 3.8 percent of their Gross Domestic Product (GDP) on developmental activities respectively;
2. India and Pakistan spend 2.9% and 4.7% of their GDP respectively on their military preparedness;
3. Pakistan spends more than 8 percent of its GDP on jihad and sponsoring terrorism activities, while India's expenditure in this area is zero;
4. Pakistan is involved in infiltration and illegal trade in India through smuggling;
5. India has to spend an extra expenditure of about Rs.9 thousand Crores annually on the security of its borders including Siachen due to its tense relations with its neighbor;
6. Pakistan's unauthorized occupation of one part Kashmir.

3.3 Problems Arising from the Partition-

India was hopeful that peace and mutual harmony would prevail between the two countries after the ordeal of partition was over and they will progress on the difficult path of economic development with the mutual peace, goodwill. But Pakistan, from its very birth started created some problems that led to bitterness in the relations between the two countries.

These problems inherited by India from partition were

1. Hyderabad dispute;
2. Junagadh dispute;
3. Question of repayment of loan;
4. Water dispute;
5. Question of refugees;
6. Illegal occupation of one part of Kashmir by Pakistan;

3.4 Kashmir Dispute -

The problem of Kashmir is perhaps the most burning, difficult and outstanding of all the problems between India and Pakistan. It is like a dormant volcano which is forgotten when quiescent but erupts in terrifying lava as and when aggravated. The Kashmir conflict is probably the longest on record in the modern world. To quote Alan Michael - "Kashmir problem is not necessarily a problem of land or water; it is a question of the people and prestige of both countries."It is probably, the oldest and the most serious dispute between Pakistan and India. All efforts seemed to have failed to resolve this problem so far. After independence, not only India and Pakistan emerged as two new countries, in principle the princely states also became independent with the end of the British colonial rule. The British government had announced that the princely states could merge with India or Pakistan according to their wishes. Theoretically, a Princely

state could join any state i.e. India or Pakistan or stay independent. Most of the princely states merged either with India or with Pakistan and no problem arose. Initially two princely states, the state of Nizam of Hyderabad and Nawab of Junagadh resisted the move of their merger with India but the issue was resolved soon and they were finally merged with India. Jammu and Kashmir was also one of the princely states. The situation of the state of Jammu and Kashmir was a special. Located on the northwestern border of India, this state connects both India and Pakistan. Although the majority of its population was Muslim, the genetic ruler was Hindu. In 1947, Maharaja Hari Singh, the princely ruler, was allowed to join either of the two newly independent countries India or Pakistan. In August, 1947, the ruler of Kashmir did not make any immediate decision regarding his merger. He delayed making a decision until Britain's departure from the subcontinent and had offered to make standstill agreement with India and Pakistan both. Later, he signed a standstill agreement with Pakistan. Pakistan on the contrary had ulterior motives and wanted to annex it by force. Accordingly, on October 22, 1947, the Pakistani army launched a full-fledged war on Kashmir by infiltrating its Pathan tribesmen and also regular troops in garb of the tribesmen of North-West Frontier Province. At the same time, Pakistan also organized its army on the border. Within 4 days, the invaders reached Baramulla, 25 miles away from Srinagar. The king was in precarious situation. He was unable to prevent his princely state from this alien invasion and therefore he finally requested Indian Government to render necessary military support. India first made sure that until and unless the princely state formally accedes to the state to India, it would be impossible to provide any military assistance. Under this condition, Maharaja Hari Singh signed the Instrument of Accession on 26th October 1947 and also appealed for Indian army's help to save his kingdom from the invaders. Government of India accepted the proposal immediately. Accordingly, India provided its military assistance on the next day by sending Indian forces on October 27, 1947 and was able to retake two-third of the princely Jammu and Kashmir state from the invasion of the Pakistani tribesmen and the regular army. Since then the state of Jammu & Kashmir became an integral part of India with the condition of a referendum on the end of the war. However, the remaining portion went under the control of Pakistan. Kashmir has become a territorial dispute between the two nations ever since India safeguarded it from the clutches of Pakistani invaders and having legally acceded to Union of India. The Indian government asked Pakistan to stop the intrusion of the tribesmen in its territories. But, when India found direct involvement of Pakistan in Kashmir aggression it referred the issue to the UN. In its direct appeal to the UN Security Council (UNSC) on 1st January 1948, India stated that "there now exists a situation whose continuance was likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security owing to the aid which infiltrators, consisting of nationals of Pakistan and of tribesmen from the territory immediately adjoining Pakistan on the northwest, under directions from Pakistan for operations against Kashmir, a state which has acceded to the Dominion of India and is part of India. India also reiterated its demand that Pakistan must take actions to compel the raiders to withdraw from Kashmir. Soon the UN intervened to the issue and the two countries agreed to ceasefire on 1st January 1949. The Security Council appointed the United Nations Commission for the purpose of resolving this issue by appointing 5 countries - Czechoslovakia, Argentina, USA, Colombia and Belgium as observers to look into the situation on the ground realities.

3.5 Work of the United Nation Commission-

The United Nations Commission started its work immediately and after studying the ground situation, on 13th August 1948, the UNCIP (United Nations Commission on India and Pakistan) passed its first resolution. According to this resolution, both parties were to agree upon the issuing of a ceasefire

order within four days of their acceptance of the resolution; the Commission would appoint Military Observers to supervise the ceasefire; troops withdrawals and the territorial evacuation were to be administered by the local authorities under the observation of the Commission; and both parties were asked to reaffirm their agreement that the future of Kashmir would be determined in accordance with the will of the people. The UNCIP arbitrated that following measures to be taken prior to reaching any truce between the two confronting parties.

1. Pakistan must withdraw/pull out not only all its troops but also the tribesmen and the intruders from Kashmir.
2. Troops withdrawals and the territorial evacuation were to be administered by the local authorities under the observation of the Commission;
3. When the Commission shall have notified the Government of India that Pakistani withdrawal has been completed, India was to withdraw the bulk of its forces;
4. India would maintain a minimum force during the ceasefire to assist local authorities in the observance of law and order;

On the basis of these principles, the two sides agreed to a ceasefire on 1 January 1949 after a long interaction. Final settlement of Kashmir's merger was to be done on the basis of the plebiscite. Admiral Chester Nimitz, an American citizen, was appointed an administrator to complete the referendum. He talked to the two parties regarding the referendum, but no results were found. The pre-condition of plebiscite was complete withdrawal of Pakistani troops followed by India. After both the withdrawals were completed, a plebiscite would be held. The resolution was accepted by India but effectively rejected by Pakistan. In the end, he resigned from his post. The Indian government considered itself to be under legal possession of Jammu and Kashmir by virtue of the accession of the state. The assistance given by Pakistan to the rebel forces and the Pakhtoon tribes was held to be a hostile act and the further involvement of the Pakistan army was taken to be an invasion of Indian Territory. From the Indian perspective, the plebiscite was meant to confirm the accession, which was in all respects already complete, and Pakistan could not aspire to an equal footing with India in the contest. India required an asymmetric treatment of the two countries in the withdrawal arrangements regarding Pakistan as an `aggressor', whereas Pakistan insisted on parity. The UN mediators tended towards parity, which was not to India's satisfaction. In the end, no withdrawal was ever carried out, India insisting that Pakistan had to withdraw first, and Pakistan contending that there was no guarantee that India would withdraw afterwards. On January 1, 1949, a ceasefire was agreed, with 65 per cent of the territory under Indian control and the remainder with Pakistan. When the cease fire line was set up, Pakistan held under its occupation a total area of 32000 square miles with a population of 7 lakh. Pakistan named this area "Azad Kashmir." India had 53,000 square miles under its possession with a population of 33 lakh. The ceasefire was intended to be temporary but the Line of Control remains the de facto border between the two countries since 1972.The LOC is rooted in the ceasefire lines drawn up after the first India-Pakistan war in 1947-8.It was formally established in 1972, after a third war between India and Pakistan in 1971.

3.6 Kashmir Dispute between India and Pakistan is Permanent in Nature-

At the time of independence; India with a population of 33 crores was the second most populous country in the world. In this case we are still in second place. If we had a peaceful relationship with our neighbors, then we could have established economic and cultural cooperation with them. But Pakistan was not ready for this. Pakistan was not prepared to accept that the majority Muslim population of the Kashmir Valley was willing to go along Sheikh Abdullah on the democratic and secular path of India. Pakistan also forgot that it had sent its soldiers as infiltrators in garb of tribesmen to forcibly capture and to illegally occupy Kashmir by

having imposed an undeclared war on India. Since the Kabayali aggression of 1947, till date Pakistan has left no stone unturned to make the Kashmir issue complicated. Pakistan with the help of religion and religious money pouring from the countries of the Middle East it has been successful in giving this dispute a religious coloring and making it a serious concern for India. It is an issue which is primarily linked with the security and integrity of India. The declaring the state of J&K as part of the Mountbatten plan by Maharaja Hari Singh and subsequently signing a standstill agreement with Pakistan were two most unfortunate events for both Kashmir and India. Pakistan has foiled all its negotiations with India by bringing to fore the thorny issue of Kashmir. Although the consecutive elections held in Kashmir after the incident have made the holding of plebiscite useless. The people of Jammu and Kashmir have exercised their will in the free and fair elections held in the state so far. It demonstrates their will and wish to stay with India. It is only the religious animosity of Pakistan that it wants to woo Kashmir in its favor by sponsoring terrorism based on a religious ideology.

3.7 Kashmir Problem An Emotional and Secular Issue -

The problem of Kashmir is not limited to dispute of the land. Kashmir as an integral part of India is also a big criterion for its secular identity. Kashmir state is not merely confined by the periphery of Srinagar valley; it is a vast area covers in it extended areas of Ladakh and the glacier of Siachin. The state of J&K has 3 major regions: The Kashmir Valley which is predominantly Muslim, Jammu which is Hindu dominated, and Ladakh which has largely Buddhist population. The POK has a Muslim majority. The bone of contention is just a 100-mile-long valley, which is only about 9 percent of the original J&K territory. It is the most sensitive part of indo-china border. The original Kashmir has been divided in 3 parts: 45% with India, 35% with Pakistan, and 20% with China. In the 1962 war, China grabbed about 35,000 sq. km in Aksai Chin. It got another 5,000 sq. km in Baltistan from Pakistan under a treaty signed in March 1963. Hence, Kashmir problem cannot just be settled by restoring normal relations between Pak occupied Kashmir and Srinagar valley. Any resolution of Kashmir problem has to include stake holders of all its regions and religions and not just Kashmir valley and Muslims. No Government at the Centre can overlook and ignore the oppression and displacement of Hindus from the state of Jammu and Kashmir.

3.8 Indo-Pak war in 1965 -

India and Pakistan became engaged in a short but sharp conflict into Pakistani claimed-area in the Rann of Kutch in April 1965. Two contingents of Pakistani army entered the Indian Territory and took control of many parts of Kutch. Besides having provoked a military conflict in Rann of Kutch, Pakistan had started infiltration in Kashmir too. This intrusion was fully planned and schematic. There was a plan to create such a situation in Kashmir internally by causing fury and destruction that forced the Indian army to leave the field from Kashmir. Pakistan believed that Kashmiri Muslim people would join the guerrillas. But it was proved to be wrong. On 4th and 5th of August, 1965 thousands of Pakistani guerrillas intruded in the territory of Kashmir. With the idea of stopping Pakistani infiltration forever, the Indian government decided to take over the places from where Pakistani intruders used to come to the Indian part of Kashmir. Meanwhile, the regular army of Pakistan crossed the International Boundary Line and attacked the Indian Territory and the full-fledged war started. On September 4, 1965, the Security Council passed a resolution and requested both India and Pakistan to stop the war. The war ended in both countries on September 22, 1965. India occupied 750 square miles of land in the war, and Pakistan had to face a humiliating defeat there.

3.9 Tashkent Agreement-

The 17-day war between Pakistan and India of August September 1965 ended with the cease-fire having been secured by the United Nations Security

Council on Sept. 22, 1965.After the war was over, the agreement was mediated by Soviet premier Aleksey Kosygin, who had invited the President of Pakistan Ayub Khan and Prime Minister of India Lal Bahadur Shastri to Tashkent. They met on 4th January 1966 in Tashkent. The main aim of this agreement was to establish peace between both the countries. Accord was signed by India's Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri (who died the next day) and Pakistan's president Ayub Khan on Jan. 10, 1966.The parties agreed to withdraw all armed forces to positions held before Aug. 5, 1965; to restore diplomatic relations; and to discuss economic, refugee, and other questions. The agreement was criticized in India because it did not contain a no-war pact or any renunciation of guerrilla aggression in Kashmir. According to this agreement India had to return back all the territory including the strategically important Haji peer pass which was captured and occupied by Indian army at the huge cost of men and money. However, this agreement was significant because India and Pakistan declared their firm resolves to restore normal and peaceful relations between their countries and to promote understanding and friendly relations between their peoples.

3.10 Indo-Pakistan War of 1971 & Shimla Agreement-

After the war of 1965, the political situation in Pakistan further deteriorated. The dictatorial military rule started mass scale exploitation of people of East Bengal by perpetrating on them most heinous kind of atrocities including mass killings, genocidal rapes, ethnic cleansing and plunder. Disappointment of the people of East Pakistan (Bangladesh) grew leap and bounds. The demand for autonomy of east Bengal grew stronger under the leadership of Sheikh Mujib. The people of East Pakistan extended full support to Mujib for this cause. Pakistani General Yahya Khan started torturing the Bengalis. Under fear of terrible atrocities, people started migrating to India to save their lives leaving behind their homes and everything else.10 thousand refugees came to India every day. The number of refugees reached 10 million in India. The war started when Pakistan launched air strikes on 11 Indian airbases on December 2, 1971.Pakistani carriers made a fierce bombing at the Indian airports and cities. The Indian PM, Indira Gandhi, brought the country in the state of emergency and ordered Indian army to reflect the aggression. Fierce military operations developed on the ground, in the air and in the sea. Indian Army retaliated on September 4, 1971. India's planes bombed the important airports of Pakistan. After the fiercest war, the Pak army had to face a humiliating defeat and a new country Bangladesh emerged out of Pakistan. On December 16, 1971, in a military ceremony in Dhaka, Pak military commander General Niazi and his 93 thousand soldiers surrendered before Lt Gen Jagjit Singh Arora of India. Bangladesh became independent and India ordered unilateral ceasefire. India has captured 6,000 square miles of Pakistan in this war. Pakistani general Yahiya Khan had to relinquish the power and was replaced by Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto as Prime Minister. There was correspondence between Bhutto and Mrs. Gandhi and it was decided that the talks between the leaders of the two countries were scheduled to be held in Shimla from June 28, 1972. On July 3, 1972, the historic "Shimla Agreement" was signed between the two countries. The goal of this agreement was to establish peace and harmony between the two countries. India had three primary objectives at Shimla. First, a lasting solution to the Kashmir issue or, failing that, an agreement that would constrain Pakistan from involving third parties in discussions about the future of Kashmir. Second, it was hoped that the Agreement would allow for a new beginning in relations with Pakistan based upon Pakistan's acceptance of the new balance of power. Third, it left open the possibility of achieving both these objectives without pushing Pakistan to the wall and creating a revanchist anti-India regime. The Shimla Agreement of 1972 was expected to be a milestone in India-Pakistan relations, for not only did it rend Pakistan asunder, but India also held 93,000 prisoners of war (POWs) who could constitute a major bargaining chip with

Pakistan. Critics of the Shimla Agreement say that Indian soldiers had won the war in the battlefield but it was lost on the table at Shimla. It is treated by some analysts as the diplomatic blunder of India. It without finding a permanent solution to the Kashmir problem, returned 5,139 square miles of area to Pakistan, which was captured by Indian army at the huge cost of precious lives of its soldiers. India again repeated the diplomatic blunder it had made at Tashkent. India did not force Pakistan to convert the ceasefire line in Kashmir into the international boundary. Although, it was the result of India's peaceful diplomacy, but Pakistan did not take it in the right perspective. And later Pakistan again began to follow its old revengeful and hostile policy towards India. The Shimla Agreement did not fully achieve any of India's objectives. If anything, it may have whetted the Pakistani military's appetite to try to turn Kashmir into India's Bangladesh.

3.11 Terrorism and Pakistan -

In recent years, fundamentalist Islamic aggression has given a profound boost to terrorism for many reasons. The state, which has been merged with oil earnings like Libya and Saudi Arabia, has provoked jihadi passion in an irresponsible manner. Due to strategic pressure, the US has consistently ignored Saudi Arabian communalism and Islamic fundamentalists. Apart from this, the US has prepared the Taliban's dreaded terrorist squad in Pakistan to expel the Soviet Union from Afghanistan. Shah's turnaround in Iran or disintegration of Soviet Union Worldwide Islamic fundamentalist and booming terrorism enhanced Pakistan's audaciousness. Pakistan, which was troubled by decades of civil war in Afghanistan, who came to Pakistan and was creating a risk for it, it has been easy for Pakistan to enter Kashmir as professional jehadis. In this way, the Kashmir dispute between India and Pakistan was a bilateral dispute, today it has been entangled with international terrorism and Islamic jihad. Whenever Pakistan argues that India-Pakistan conflict cannot be eliminated without tackling the Kashmir problem, it forgets that his plot to link jehadi terrorism in Kashmir with the question of autonomy of the state has provoked the lip of this struggle.

When Al-Qaeda launched a terrorist attack on America, it seemed that the US would put pressure on Pakistan to punish Islamist terrorists and to sympathetically understand the problem of India in the state of Jammu and Kashmir. But very soon this hope got tarnished. In the International Campaign against Terrorism, the United States has always been adopting double standards and unless Pakistan finds it helpful in a wider background, then its pressure will not fall in favor of India. Thus, Pakistan has become a home of terrorism in the form of an unsuccessful country, which is proving to be a major headache for India.

3.12 Pakistan's Fragile Condition and Problems of India -

Since its becoming independent, the neighboring countries have been creating troubles for India's foreign policy. Ever since their acrimonious split, India and Pakistan remain at daggers drawn. India and Pakistan's rivalry isn't territorial or ideological it's psychological. Pakistan formed on the basis of religion has always treated secular India as its natural enemy. By the time of partition, the two sides had lived together in one society for more than a millennium. Ever since their birth as two separate countries in 1947, Pakistan has been psychologically obsessed with India. The relationship between India and Pakistan further worsened when Pakistan sent armed infiltrators in the state of Jammu and Kashmir and helped spread communal riots not only in J&K but also in other parts of India. These are the psychological dynamics that play out in the dispute over Kashmir. Issues like sharing of government assets, the refugees, compensation for property and distribution of river-water also contributed in contaminating bilateral relations between the two. For Pakistanis, the rivalry against Indians is driven by a deep sense of being "wronged" at the time of partition, the corollary being a "desire" to compete with and trump Indians at any cost. It's this bitterly competitive urge that drives Pakistan's leaders, army officers and

populace to defy India's obvious demographic, economic and military supremacy, and to do so with such intensity. The biggest setback came when the military coup overturned the democratic government of Pakistan destroying any possibility of democracy in that country. This coincided with the spread of the Cold War in South Asia. Non-aligned India was not willing to become a member of military alliances of either the US or the Soviet Union. This proved critical for India. The Pakistani military dictatorship willingly became puppet of the USA as its economy largely depended on the financial aid given by the USA. It was now very easier for the US to make Pakistan dance like a puppet on its gesture. In fact, in Pakistan democracy did not exist at all because it had never developed and thrived. There has never been a direct people's participation in power. The army has power over most of the time. Growing up in the face of illiteracy, unemployment and poverty, Pakistan has always been a constant headache for India. The mutual conflicts of various interest groups and provocation of terrorist activities have been the regular features of Pakistan establishment. Today, Pakistan, a politically volatile country with majority of Muslims is the most vulnerable and sensitive place in the South Asian region. Internally politically fragile and unstable and externally volatile Pakistan is a cause of great worry for India. It poses security risks to India.

3.13 Promotion of Terrorism by Pakistan -

Later, the relations between India and Pakistan consistently suffered because Pakistan continued to promote of terrorism against India, including Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir. Pakistan has always had its involvement in terrorist activities in the region and beyond since long back. Pakistan's tribal region along its border with Afghanistan has been claimed to be a "haven for terrorists". Pakistan's support of terrorism against India and its interference in India's internal affairs appeared in the terrorist blasts of Mumbai in March 1993.Mumbai Blasts of 1993 were part of a continuum of terror by Pakistan. Its direct involvement in planning, coordinating and implementing the bomb blasts in Mumbai confirmed the opinion of the Indian public that Pakistan intended to intervene in the internal affairs of India and to create situations to make India unstable. India warned Pakistan that its continued support to terrorism against India not only violated the spirit of the Shimla Agreement and the international conduct but also adversely affected the efforts to create an atmosphere of mutual trust in bilateral relations. Pakistan's Inter-Services Intelligence (The ISI) has been playing a role in major terrorist attacks across India including terrorism in Kashmir. In the 1980s-90s, under the fear of Soviet invasion Pakistan began to get huge economic and military aid from the US and China both. The CIA of the USA initiated a program to arm the mujahedeen through Pakistan's ISI. They supplied the latest anti-tank missiles, earth-to-earth and the shoulder-fired anti-aircraft missiles besides destroyer aircrafts such as F-15, F-16, and F-16C, to strengthen Pakistan in the pretext of stopping Soviet expansion in South Asia. Thus, Pakistan armed and fortified by the superpowers also clandestinely acquired nuclear capability in the name of Islamic bomb posed a serious security concern for India. Although Pakistan had to face a humiliating defeat in the Kargil war, but still it has been continuously supporting terrorism and intrusion of terrorists across the Indian borders. Terrorism emanating from Pakistan or territory under Pakistan's control remains a core concern in bilateral relations.

3.14 Indo-Pak Relations: Attempts to Improve Relationships -

India always desires peaceful, friendly and cooperative relations with Pakistan, which require an environment free from violence and terrorism. Efforts have time and again made to normalize Indo-Pak relations. Tashkent Agreement and Shimla Agreement were some of the efforts towards restoring normalcy in bilateral relations. The tripartite agreement that was concluded in 1974, resolved the problem of prisoners of War. In November 1974, agreement was also signed

between the two countries on posts, telegrams, travel etc. Trade agreement was also reached in November 1974. In 1976, the two countries decided to re-establish diplomatic relations. On April 14, 1978, there was a treaty between India and Pakistan regarding the Salal Hydro Power Project, popularly known as the Salal Water Treaty. Salal Hydroelectric Project is built on river Chenab near Reasi in Udhampur district of Jammu & Kashmir in India. When Pakistan abandoned the CENTO membership in 1979, it was granted membership of non-alignment movement at the Havana Summit in September, 1979 and India did not oppose it. On December 17, 1985, a six-point agreement was signed between Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and President Jia-ul-Haq in which it was decided that they would not attack each other's nuclear facilities. On January 10, 1986, a new era began in India and Pakistan's mutual economic relations. In addition to restarting free trade between the two countries, it was agreed to double the public sector trade, to launch direct air services between both the countries and to increase the air service facility. In December 1988, under the leadership of Benazir Bhutto, the democratic government was established. Benazir rejected the proposal of the no-war pact with India and accepted the importance of the Shimla Agreement for resolving mutual disputes, including the Kashmir problem. On December 31, 1988, three agreements between the two countries were signed. The most important agreement between them was related to not attacking each other's nuclear installations. India took initiative to start a Delhi-Lahore-Delhi bus service. Regarding regularizing this service, an agreement and a protocol was concluded on 17 February 1999 in Islamabad. Prime Minister of India, Atal Bihari Vajpayee took a historic initiative in February, 1999, on the occasion of the inauguration of the Delhi-Lahore-Delhi bus service and visited Lahore. The Prime Ministers of both countries signed the Lahore Declaration, which is a milestone for the peace and security of the two countries. Later, many other leaders and delegates of both the countries continued to visit one another. But this did not yield any meaningful results.

3.15 Continuous Dialogues but Cipher Results -

As expected the result of the talks between the Indo-Pak Foreign Ministers (15-16 July, 2010) in Islamabad, was similar. Although the Government of India was hopeful of some meaningful results from these talks, the people of the country knew very well that such a dialogue would neither bring any result and nor was it likely to yield any result in the future. Though millions of people from both countries might have thought of peace and brotherhood between these estranged neighbours, but the dictatorship of Pakistan would never let the two countries board the cart of friendship. Without Pakistan linking its own terrorism with the terrorism in Kashmir no solution to Kashmir problem is possible. If Pakistan sincerely strives to resolve the problem then it has to stop terrorism and violence in Kashmir. If Pakistan wants to save itself from the brunt of terrorism it has to cease its support to terrorists active in Kashmir. Only when Kashmir remains calm Pakistan can escape from burning its fingers from the fire and fury of violence. At the same time, Pakistan must sincerely act to immediately vacate the Kashmiri portion which is an integral part of India but under its illegal possession and control. Peace cannot be endured till Pakistan continues giving shelter to enemies of India such as Hafiz Saeed and Dawood Ibrahim. Pakistan violated the ceasefire on January 8, 2013, by brutally killing two Indian soldiers, which resulted in the peace process between India and Pakistan derailed. The new visa policy was to be introduced between the two countries, in which people over 65 years of age were to be given 'Visa on Arrival' was also postponed. Pakistani players playing in the Indian Hockey League competition organized in India were asked to go to their own country and cultural ban was also imposed with the immediate effect. The hostile action of Pakistanis the root cause of all these developments. After Pakistan's Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif received the strong mandate in the May 2013 election, Prime

Minister Dr. Manmohan Singhin his congratulations expressed his desire to work with the new government of Pakistan to write new chapters of bilateral relations. Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh met with Pakistani Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif during the UNGA in New York on September 29, 2013. In addition to raising the issue of continuous terrorism against India, the Prime Minister stressed the need for quick judicial action on all criminals of the Mumbai attack.

3.16 Positive Initiative of New Indian Government towards Pakistan -

Prime Minister Narendra Modi on May 26, 2014, invited Pakistan Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif to his swearing-in ceremony. It appeared that it would lead to the resumption of dialogue between the two countries. But after the meeting of the Pakistani High Commissioner with the separatist Hurriyat leaders, India stopped the Foreign Secretary level talks to be held in Islamabad on 25 August 2014. There was no talk of Modi-Sharif during the 18th SAARC Summit held in Kathmandu on November 26-27, 2014.Every new start in relations between India and Pakistan proved to be a futile exercise. Prime Minister Narendra Modi, at the eve of Christmas (December 25, 2015), arrived in Lahore for a meeting with his Pakistani counterpart Nawaz Sharif in a surprise visit to this country -the first visit to Pakistan by an Indian premier in more than 10 years. He greeted Nawaz Sharif on his birthday and also blessed his granddaughter on her marriage. It seemed to be the decisive moment of that tireless diplomatic drill throughout the month through which the two countries could once again be involved in the process of dialogue. But only a week later, this enthusiasm was completely shattered when Pakistani armed intruders attacked the Pathankot Air Base on the eve of New Year (January 1, 2016). After this, Pakistan subsequently infiltrated terrorists in Kashmir providing evidence of its interference in our internal affairs. The Government of India is continuously trying to restore peace in Kashmir but the elements supporting Kashmiri militants and sitting in Pakistan are not only provoking the people of Kashmir against the Indian forces, but also providing military and financial assistance to the terrorists.

India-China Relations

3.17 Historical Perspective-

In the decade of 1950 the slogan of ***"Hindi Chini Bhai Bhai"*** (India and China are brothers) was in vogue. The spirit of brotherhood brought China and India together for a brief period. Old cultural relations between the two ancient civilizations were also referred every now and then. India was the first democratic country out of communist camp which recognized the People's Republic of China. Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru sent his friend and assistant K. M. Panikkar to China as the Indian ambassador. India was one of the pioneers in the campaign to provide permanent seat to China in the Security Council. It were the efforts of Nehru and Krishna Menon that China was invited in the Bandung summit on the issue of Tibet. India accepted the sovereignty of China and signed the ***Panchsheel Agreement***. It was ten felt that despite the differences as regards the border dispute, the relations between the two countries would remain cordial. Chinese diplomats got support from India for settling the Indo-China crisis at the Geneva Peace Conference and nobody had the impression that the situation would get worse soon. In 1962 most of the Indians felt that China had betrayed India. China suddenly crushed the hopes of millions of Indians by invading under the guise of border dispute.

In 1962, the far-reaching consequences of the Indo-China border war came out. Before this, India had been claiming that India and China were two major powers in Asia and that both had distinct cultures and thousands of years old civilizations. After this war, it became clear that India was completely alone in the non-aligned African-Asian fraternity. All plans for India's planned economic development were disturbed and the perception of then Indian leadership that India was capable to play

an important role at the international level also misfired. The McMahon line, which India recognizes as its boundary, is not accepted by the Chinese. The line was drawn by Sir Henry McMahon, the surveying officer and the foreign secretary of the British- Indian government who was acting as the chief negotiator in the Shimla conference between Britain, China and Tibet. The Chinese delegate, Ivan Chen, stated he was not authorized to discuss Tibet's border with India. The McMahon line was negotiated between the British and Tibetans, without Chinese participation and when opposed by the Chinese it was declared as a bilateral accord between India and Tibet. The land south of Tibet was declared as British India. This made the Tawang region of Arunachal Pradesh a part of India. Historically, this area was known as south Tibet. In 1950, Tibet lost its status as an independent territory and India took control of the area. In response to China's claim, India argues that China had no sovereignty over Tibet at the time when the McMahon line was drawn. Also historically it has had no claim to the area that is Arunachal Pradesh. It began to raise the claim after it annexed Tibet. Historically, the Ahom rajas and Deb rajas of Tawang have had a tributary system with the tribes of Arunachal. The Tawang monastery that has links with Lhasa exercised a spiritual and not a temporal influence. The tribes of Arunachal were integrated more to the south as the high passes of 14,000 and 18,000 feet restricted contact with Tibet. There was just about 60-75 km of "border" areas where regular contact was possible. So, though some accounts see Tibet "ceding" territories to India at the Shimla conference, even ancient travellers like Hieun Tsang speak of the influence of local kingdoms. Also before China's annexation of Tibet, the latter's relations with India were by and large peaceful. It is worth remembering that in the Shimla Agreement of 1913, where both sides i.e. British India and China had recognized this boundary, but China had never accepted it with serious bent of the mind. It is worth remembering that as far as China's national pride and its traditional boundaries are concerned, all the Chinese governments have had identical views whether they were imperialists, nationalists, communists or the Maoists. The Republic of China was under the impression that the behavior of India would not be similar to its predecessors-the British colonial rulers and it would readily accept its claims over Tibet and Himalayan borders. China was hopeful that it would gain what it had lost in the past because the Congress Party of India had extended full support to China's liberation war.

3.18 Independent India & China

Initial Stage-

Right from the very beginning the attitude of India was friendly towards China. During freedom struggle of India Pt. Nehru had emphasized on friendly relations with China. In Oct 1949 the communist revolution was supported by India. India was among the first countries to give diplomatic recognition to China and made its best efforts to help China get recognition by the UNO. India also accepted the sovereignty of China in Tibet, which was proved to be a blunder on the part of India later. Panchsheel, or the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence, were first formally enunciated in the Agreement on Trade and Intercourse between the Tibet region of China and India signed on April 29, 1954. India was a new and messy democracy, China an impoverished communist dictatorship. Culturally, politically, and socially, they were worlds apart. Yet for a brief period in the mid-1950s, China and India came together in the spirit of "Hindi Chini Bhai-Bhai" (India and China are brothers). Unfortunately this spirit was a short-lived delusion for India.In1956 there was an uprising against the Chinese rule in the Kham area of Tibet which continued till the end of 1959.this rebellion had full support of Dalai Lama, the Buddhist religious leader of the Tibetan Lamas. The People's Republic of China brutally crushed the rebellion and Dalai Lama had to flee China and took shelter in India on 1 March 1959. Back in Tibet, thousands died fighting the Chinese forces. All fighting-age men who had survived the revolt were deported, and those fleeing the scene reported that Chinese troops burned corpses in [Lhasa] for 12 hours. India giving

political asylum to Dalai Lama was considered by China as a hostile action. These developments woke up the Prime Minister of India to harsh realities that accepting all Chinese claims unconditionally in the Himalayan region and in Tibet's area could eventually be very harmful to India. Accordingly, in strategic context, Pt. Nehru wanted to have a buffer state or territory as an intermediary strip between China and India, despite having good relations and traditions with the former. Nepal was considered important as a 'buffer' state and strategic utility of Tibet was equally significant for India. In 1950, when China had occupied Tibet, Nehru deemed the policy of Panchsheel as useful for the peaceful resolution of the disputes with China.

Sino-Indian Relationship Got Sour over Tibet-

In 1956 when the teenage Dalai Lama came on a journey to India and showed the reluctance of returning to Tibet, Nehru understood and convinced him that China would get annoyed if he stayed in India. When the Dalai Lama, who had been struggling with the growing atrocities of Communist China in Tibet, returned to India with his supporters in 1959 as a refugee, then China considered it hostile action. It was obvious that the escape of Dalai Lama from Tibet and his seeking asylum in India would expose China as a violator of human rights

Border Dispute between India and China and the Series of Unconcluded Talks-

Sino-India relations have been marred by their territorial disputes in the past decades. There were several rounds of diplomatic talks to resolve the border disputes between India and China which included both the talks held at the level of officials and the summit talks. Unfortunately, neither the deadlock could be removed nor any positive progress was made to reach an agreement. India was not ready to give even one inch of its land to China. China believed that relations between both the countries should be based on Asian brotherhood and the unity of the Third World. While India's emphasized on western international laws and the treaties, which were avoided by the People's Republic of China. Futile and unconcluded bilateral negotiations are in progress even to this day. Moreover, now China has adopted a more aggressive policy by adopting a more aggressive and expansionist policy.

China's Expansionist Policy -

China had already occupied more than fifty thousand square kilometers in the Himalayan Plateau. Where he had completed the construction of strategic importance and had deployed his troops on a large scale. China had taken possession of Aksai Chin region of Ladakh.

Sudden Encroachment on Indian Terrain -

The Sino-India war began on October 20, 1962 when the People's Liberation Army of China invaded Ladakh and Arunachal Pradesh (then known as the North East Frontier Agency) in a synchronized move. The Chinese forces made rapid advancement into Indian territories as the Indian Army was ill-prepared, poorly equipped and short in supplies. They could not resist the aggressor effectively for the lack of equipment and weaponry. In this hour of crisis, many ordinary Indians made extraordinary sacrifices out of the tide of ecstatic love for their country. Almost a month later, after completing all their strategic diplomatic purposes, China announced a one-way ceasefire and something went back. The war lasted till November 21, when China unilaterally withdrew from Indian territories before the snow could block safe passage to its forces. Around 3,250 Indian soldiers were killed. India lost about 43,000 square kilometers of land, captured by China in Aksai Chin. The 1962 war was jolt to India and Nehru. This led to reversal of defense policy of the country putting the Indian Army on the path of modernization. The greater emphasis on nuclear power and use of nuclear weapons became part of India's defense policy. Thus, relations between India and China have been permanently marred since 1962. China continues to

pursue its expansionist policy firmly and trying to make strategic encirclement of India from all sides whether it is Himalaya or the sea route.

Indo-Russian Relations Develops to Balance Chinese Influence -

There were many far-reaching consequences of Indo-China border war of the 1962. In China, Mao adopted a different Communist model as a single alternative for its development which was influenced by the policy of 'Great Leap Forward' which invented by him. Unlike China, India had not chosen the communist model based on armed guerrilla war for its development rather it adopted a unique democratic model premised on peaceful mixed economy. The India-Russia relationship was born of mutual necessity. The Soviet Russia became apprehensive of growing expansionist and extremist attitude of China and inclined towards India, because it also had border dispute with China. Thus, Russia chose India to balance its relations with China. Gradually, this relationship grew intensively and both became good friends. It as a natural friend has always stood with India in the hour of each of its crises. Whenever there was a conflict between Indo-Pak or Indo-China, Russia always supported India. USSR always supported the Indian stance over Kashmir at the United Nations. The Indo-Russian strategic collaboration is unique. Both states have had strong diplomatic, economic, and strategic ties since the 1950s. Their defense trade includes enhancing India's armored, naval, nuclear and air strike capabilities as well as counter terrorism and surveillance exchange. Close collaboration in the nuclear field is also vivid. Even today, in the changed political equations; Russia continues to provide strong support to India by supplying nuclear fuel, transfer of technologies and strategic equipment.

Ceremonial Agreements -

It is claimed time and again that an agreement to increase mutual trust between the two countries can be signed to prevent the border disputes getting explosive. But the officials of the Chinese army have emphatically said that such an agreement should merely be “political” or “ceremonial” in nature and it would not have any effect on ground reality or on the strategic equation. The functioning of China's army is different from the Indian Army because the latter follows the orders of the elected representatives of the people. The relationship between the People's Liberation Army and the Communist Party of China is very intimate and complicated. The Chinese government cannot dismiss its point of view.

Water Dispute -

The conflict of interests between India with China is not limited to the border dispute. There are outstanding water disputes between them. As water scarcity in both China and India worsens, the competition over shared water resources in their trans-boundary rivers, particularly the Brahmaputra River, is set to intensify. Without an effective working mechanism between the two countries, water conflicts could potentially become a serious challenge to Sino-India relations. As lower riparians, India and Bangladesh rely on the Brahmaputra River for water, agriculture and livelihoods. Upstream, China holds an important strategic advantage over the river's flow. Chinese dam-building and water division plans along the Brahmaputra (the Yarlung Zangbo in China) is a source of tension between the two neighbors. Diverting waters of Brahmaputra River by China will have adverse effects on the downstream countries. The Chinese ambitious project of diverting water flow from south to the north is known to all. To ensure water security China is building a giant dam in the high mountains which will, due to the water security and environment of the entire Indian subcontinent. In this matter, India has given technical information.

3.19 Relationship on the Ladder of Development-

During the rule of the Janata government in India and post Maoist leaders in China diplomatic relations were also re-established. The two

countries tried to forget the past events and re-establish an intimate relationship afresh. Through many diplomatic channels, India learnt that Peking was keen to improve relations with India. In 1975, a team of Chinese players took part in the table-tennis competition held in Kolkata. In January, 1978 a high level Chinese delegation led by Wang-Ping-Nan visited India. Later trade-delegates also visited each other and there was a trade of about 1.22 million in 1978 between the two countries. China's agricultural scientists visited India in September 1978 and Foreign Minister Vajpayee met with Chinese Foreign Minister Huang Hua in New York. Vice President BD Jatti attended the celebration of the 29th anniversary of the establishment of China organized on October 29, 1978. In November 1978, Indian Dance Troupe led by Mrinalini Sarabhai was extended a grand welcome in China. Foreign minister Vajpayee termed his Chinese visit beginning on February 12, 1979 as a 'reconnaissance mission'. According to Foreign Minister Vajpayee, the purpose of his Peking trip was not to do any transaction, but to know as what was in the air in China after the troubled relationship of so many years. Since 1980 till date, various delegations of India and China have visited each other and reached many commercial-trade agreements and also negotiated other trivial issues.

China is a big and powerful neighboring Asian country and situation of constant conflict with it is unpleasant and harmful to the overall interests of both the countries. If both countries sit together to mutually resolve their outstanding issues, the impact of Asia in world politics is bound to increase. In addition, the expenditure incurred on military preparedness for meeting situation of mutual conflict can be greatly reduced by mutual goodwill and cooperation. China is also forced by many internal and external compulsions to make friendship with India. China knows that India is opposed to the aggressive attitude of expansionist policy and rivalry of the superpowers. A viable and powerful Asian confederation can only be formed in collaboration with India. Therefore, the process of improving relations with India is in the interest of China.

Later, the gradual process of dialogues and agreements paved the way for mutual co-operation between India and China. Representatives, diplomats and delegates of both the countries have constantly been visiting each other to negotiate further on disputed issues and reach viable agreement to move forward on the progressive path. The visits of recent years of the present Prime Minister Narendra Modi and President of China's Jinping can be considered positive diplomatic moves towards improving the mutual relations. Mutual cooperation cannot be one sided and it requires sincere efforts from both the parties. But China on its part is not extending full support to India on the mutually beneficial matters in the international forums. Mutual suspicion and apprehensions do not help in building a positive relationship with each other.

3.20 Economic Relationship-

As neighbors and two of the world's oldest civilizations, China and India have shared a long history of cultural, scientific, and economic linkages. In modern times, economic ties between the two countries were almost completely severed from 1949 to 1978. There is also a need to rethink seriously about developing a balanced economic relationship between India and China. The trade imbalance is unfavorable and unbalanced for India. Bilateral trade reached a record high of $84.4 billion last year, up 20.3 per cent from 2016, the fastest growth for five years. The trade between the two countries touched the historic high despite bilateral tensions over a number of issues, including the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), China blocking New Delhi's move to designate Pakistan-based Jaish-e-Mohammed terror group Chief MasoodAzhar a global terrorist, Beijing blocking India's entry into the Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG) and the Doklam stand-off. Unfortunately, the trade volume is almost unilateral and China's trade pressure is continuously growing. China is our number one partner, but our trade in China is not even at the tenth place. Although it is true that when

the whole world is in the grip of the overwhelming economic slowdown, then we cannot afford any kind of risk and continue doing business with China is in the country's interest. China is the world's largest market and there is a huge cache of cheap labor. In the field of state-of-the-art technology, China is also far ahead of India. Its status in sectors such as food security to energy security confirms this fact. So, India should carry on with the existing trade practices but it must strive hard to raise its exports to China and reduce the imports to make the economic partnership balanced and favorable to its interests.

China's President Xi Jinping's India visit -

President Jinping arrived in Ahmedabad on September 17, 2014 for the first time on a three-day visit to India. There were three agreements between the Chinese and the Gujarat government in the presence of Prime Minister Modi. The first agreement was related to the development of Gujarat on the lines of Guangdong, the second agreement was related to the development of Ahmedabad similar to Guangzhou and the third one was related to the development of industrial park near the Vadodara. China also consented on opening a new route for Kailash-Mansarovar pilgrimage. In all 12 agreements were signed between the two countries on September 18, 2014. China agreed to invest about 1,200 billion rupees in five years in India. India will also get support from China for running a bullet train and in modernization of its railway stations. But no agreement was reached on the border dispute between the two sides. Prime Minister Modi empathetically said that there must be "quick settlement of boundary dispute." Whereas Jinping said, "Intrusion possible until the boundaries are set."

Visit of Prime Minister of India Narendra Modi to China -

Prime Minister Narendra Modi visited China from May 14-16, 2015 .India and China signed 24 agreements of 10 billion dollars. Again on 26th May, 26 agreements of 22 billion dollars were signed between the companies of India and China. Modi invited investors of China to invest in India. Modi announced the e-visa to Chinese citizens. For those going to Kailash-Mansarovar, the Nathula route has been opened since June 2015.

PS : India-China Doklam Stand-Off and Current Scenario-

It may be recalled that last year, a face-off situation that had arisen in the Doklam region. It was later resolved following diplomatic discussions between India and China, based on which both sides arrived at an understanding for the disengagement of their border personnel at the face-off site. When China started constructing a road in the disputed area of Doklam, Bhutan asked for help from India and it sent the army to stop the construction. The military standoff at the area lasted more than two months. However, after diplomatic conversations between the two sides, both countries agreed to withdraw troops from the region. Doklam (or Zhonglan or Donglong) is a disputed area between China and Bhutan just like Jakarlung and Pasamlung. It is an area with a plateau and a valley which lies on the Bhutan-China border, near India. Doklam's geographical position makes it a strategically important area as it is located between Tibet's Chumbi valley to the North, Bhutan's Ha valley to the East and India's Sikkim state to the West. The area of Doklam carries huge military advantage and if it falls into the hands of China, it will not only compromise the security of Bhutan but also of India. If China comes in control of the Doklam, it will get the high ground which would enable it to completely crush Bhutan in case of a war.

Conclusion-

In short, it can be said that final settlement of the boundary dispute between India and China is bound to have comprehensive and far reaching impacts and consequences for the international and regional politics. There was usually peace on the

Indo-China border barring few incidents of military skirmishes and intrusion bids by Chinese troops before the recent Doklam deadlock. The two countries have also repeated their commitment to maintaining peace and tranquility in accordance with the Agreement on the Maintenance of Peace and Tranquility along the Line of Actual Control in the India-China Border Areas (1993) and Agreement between the Government of the Republic of India and the Government of the People's Republic of China on Confidence-Building Measures in the Military Field Along the Line of Actual Control in the India-China Border Areas (1996). China did not support Pakistan on the Kargil issue and showed goodwill towards India. Close relationship between India and China has become inevitable in the changed international conditions. India's growing status in the world order, fast economic development and its expertise in the field of modern technology, especially in the IT sector are the reasons for bringing the two countries closer. Trade between the two countries has increased manifold in the last five years and now the trade is also gradually balancing. China has almost accepted India's stand on many issues of border dispute. He has accepted Sikkim as part of India and Nathu-la pass has been opened for business. However, in the coming years, stiff competition between these two is likely in many fields. Since China has shown its true colors in the border standoff at Doklam, it is unlikely that it will make any compromise in its traditional expansionist foreign policy towards India and its small neighboring countries. Since doing trade with India is its economic compulsion, it may not indulge in full scale war with India. However, India needs to be extra-cautious of the conduct of its hegemonic neighbor and to move forward slowly and cautiously.

India and Nepal Relations-

The geographical region which is called “South Asia” is historically identified and known as "India" or “Hindustan” and consisted of India, Pakistan and Bangladesh. They were until the year 1947, an undivided state, which had fought jointly in their fight for independence. “South Asia” signifies the notion that the region forms a geographical, historical and cultural entity. Other related terms are Greater India and South Asia. Sometimes, the term “South Asia” is used interchangeably with “Indian subcontinent”, although that is typically defined to include Afghanistan as well. Politically, the Indian subcontinent usually includes Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka. Sri Lanka and Burma (now Myanmar) were also closely linked to the Indian subcontinent in the administrative system of the British Empire. Not only did large numbers of Indian immigrants reside in these two countries but they also played an active role in economic and cultural life. It is also true that Burma or Sri Lanka did not consider any Indian as 'foreigner'. Even Nepal cannot be said to be different from these examples. Geographically, socially, culturally and historically, the two countries are linked most intimately. Cultural ties between India and Nepal have existed since the dawn of civilization. The Pashupati Nath temple, with four priests from South India still shines out as the most precious cultural link between the two. As close neighbors, India and Nepal share a unique relationship of friendship and cooperation characterized by open borders and deep-rooted people-to-people contacts of kinship and culture. There has been a long tradition of free movement of people across the borders. There are possibly no two countries in the world other than India and Nepal whose histories, cultures and traditions have been so closely interlinked for such a long time. They are more than just neighbors and the relationship is “special.” One aspect of this is that the Indian establishment has always viewed Nepal as being within India's larger security envelope in relation to China. But, since late 2015, cultural and political issues have strained relations between the two countries with anti-Indian sentiment growing amongst the government and people of Nepal.

3.21 Initial Phase-

Nepal is a small country inhabited in the

Himalayan Mountains. It is a "buffer state" between India and China. It was the only Hindu state in the world until few years back. Presently, there is a democratic and secular system of governance. Founder of modern Nepal king Prithvi Narayan Shah (1723-1774) once said that the country Nepal was like a flower blossomed between two rocks. He also said that Nepal should have friendly relations with both the Chinese emperor and India which ruled the seas. But out of two of his neighbors, he considered India as a major source of danger. The key feature of history of Nepal's foreign policy of past 200 years is keeping good relations with both the neighbors and fulfilling its own interests. Nepal, which is located in the northeast of India, is very important in strategic terms. After China occupied Tibet, the political importance of Nepal's strategic position has increased in the Indo-China relations. India's security in the north depends on Nepal's security to a large extent today. On March 17, 1950, Pandit Nehru said, "India cannot tolerate any attack on Nepal. Any possible attack on Nepal will surely be a threat to Indian security." In 1956, the President of India, Dr. Rajendra Prasad during his visit to Nepal, had said that any threat to Nepal's peace and security is a threat to Indian peace and security. Friends of Nepal are our friends and enemies of Nepal are our enemies.

3.22 Nepal during British Period-

In view of the international law, Nepal was always independent, but the independence of the King of Nepal was not very different from the 'subordination' of other Indian princely states. The Maharaja of Nepal also had to accept the appointment of British resident in his court, and accepting British dominance (paramountcy), this mountainous land was governed by the directives of Government of British India. In the external affairs Nepal was completely under the control of the colonial government in India. Even in domestic politics, the King of Nepal was not free. The real power was vested with autocratic Prime Minister who hailed from Rana dynasty and was also the army chief. They were connected with the dynasty of kings of Nepal as well as many other Indian princely states by marriage alliances. Obviously, for this reason the British had continued to maintain the feudalism in Nepal.

3.23 India Nepal Border Connectivity-

The western end of the Indo-Nepal border is small-Baitadi-Karnali in the Mahakali zone. It stretches along Nepal's far western border with India, marked by the Kali River or Mahakali River. The land of the valley touches hundreds of miles of the invisible international boundary with the Indian states of Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. It has always been a porous border and the free flow of people, goods and other articles was never preventable. Indians and Nepalese living in this area happily consider themselves children of the two countries and it is very difficult to differentiate them by way of language and religion. Majority of people of both the countries worship the same religion. Moreover, Nepal is the only foreign nation whose citizens are recruited in the Indian Army. It is noteworthy that even before Independence, although Nepal was not formally a part of India, its close and intimate relationship with India was not less important than that of Pakistan, Bangladesh or Sri Lanka. It was the protected state of India during the British era, which voluntarily accepted the advice of the Government of India in the matters related to external affairs and defense.

3.24 Complications with Nepal-

Relations with Nepal have a vitally important domestic as well as a foreign policy dimension for India. Many factors make India's relationship with Nepal critical. The irony is that all the other neighboring countries except Pakistan were our friends; but they have moved away from us gradually. The deep cultural relations we have with Nepal can hardly be with any other country. Even its citizens can be recruited in the Indian Army. But Anti-Indian sentiment or Indophobia which refers to negative feelings and hatred towards India was rising in the speeches of people and the politicians

which were very rarely heard before 2015. Sometimes the Treaty of Peace and Friendship signed between India and Nepal in 1950 and water disputes have acted as irritants in the relationship. The pitch of Nepalese criticism at any given time has depended on the degree of hostility or political insecurity felt by a particular power center in Kathmandu vis-À-vis India. If India was uneasy about the smugglers and terrorists taking shelter in Nepal and using its land to perpetrate crimes against India, then the Nepali nationalists complain about one sided business which was more profitable to Indian businessmen. Swadhin Nepal says that India cannot decide about the friends and foes of Nepal. But it must also understand that in the atmosphere of growing dissension and suspicion about India it cannot be supported and treated as someone special. Nepal can enjoy special relationship as long as it also supports India's concerns. India's vision is that the model of Nepal's stability and development is in line with the Indian mold. India's policy of supporting Nepal's monarchy created a lot of tension in the Indo-Nepal relations. Nepal has also from time to time projected its concerns about elements from India misusing the open border. But, the assessment of political role of Nepalese Maoists in tune with Indian Maoists is not conducive to us. We cannot see the interests of India in Nepal only through the prism of its relationship with China. Nepali society is not less diverse than India. Unbalanced economic development is a big challenge for Nepal too. India needs to be more practical and pragmatic in its approach towards building new relationship with Nepal. We cannot weave the future with the fond memories of the past alone.

3.25 Treaty of Peace and Friendship 1950-

On the demand of the prime minister of Nepal in 1947, the Indian government sent a senior Indian diplomat to Nepal, to assist in preparing the constitution of Nepal. But the proposed constitution provided for abolition of absolute monarchy in Nepal so the king of Nepal did not let it execute. Since 1950s, there has always been desire in the society of Nepal for establishing democracy, but various attempts to establish it were either unsuccessful or thwarted by ruling Shah Dynasty. The Indian government also wanted to make a new treaty with Nepal. In 1949, a draft of the treaty was also prepared but it could not be signed because government of Nepal became skeptical of India because India wanted to include establishment of democratic rule as one of the conditions of the treaty. India's anxiety about Nepal's security increased due to China's activities in Tibet, and on March 17, 1950, Prime Minister Nehru said in Parliament that any possible attack on Nepal would definitely be a threat to India's security. Finally, in the year 1950, General Vijay Shamsher and N.M. Dixit travelled to India as a representative of the Nepal government. The historic treaty between the two countries was signed on July 30, 1950. Treaty of Peace and Friendship between the Government of India and The Government of Nepal is a bilateral treaty between Nepal and India establishing a close strategic relationship between the two South Asian neighbors. In the meantime, the relations between the Government of India and the Rana government of Nepal became sore due to the incidents occurred in Nepal.

3.26 Opposition of Monarchy in Nepal & Role Played by India-

When the British left India the Rana government deviated from the principle of political isolation and tried for international recognition by extending diplomatic relations to evade political pressure from India. The independent India regarding the Rana system as outdated and tyrannical showed growing support for oppositional politics in Nepal, especially among the exiled Nepalese living in India. But accruing from this was the danger of Nepali dependency from India and of losing her identity. This had a very negative impact on the Indo-Nepali relations during the following decades. Leading Indian politicians time and again not only stressed the close historical and cultural foundations of both countries, but even went as far as saying that Nepal had always been a part of India.

These declarations were confirmed by exiled Nepali leaders, who being mainly members of high Hindu castes stressed their descent from India. Nepal's political events of 1950/51 have often been praised as a people's revolution (janakranti). This proves problematic because political changes were not brought about by the masses, but they were the result of the cooperation of internal and external forces in a highly effective regional political situation. Independent India was looking for internal stability and external security. In face of the Chinese invasion of Tibet and declared Chinese claims for the Himalayan region, the rotten Rana system and the actions of exiled Nepalese in India constituted an enormous threat to Indian interests. So, India was looking for a system that satisfied Nepal's three political interest groups Ranas, King and the young party politicians and that at the same time gave India direct control over the political affairs in Nepal. In the year 1950, an attempt was made to liberate Nepal from the absolute rule of Rana-Shahi. There was an uprising in Nepal. On November 16, 1950, Maharaja Tribhuvan of Nepal deserted his palace with 14 members of the royal family and took shelter in India. Civil war broke out against Rana Shamsher which was being run from the territory of India. In the end, with the help of India, the rule of Rana-Shahi came to an end in Nepal and Maharaja Tribhuvan of Nepal became the real ruler and democracy was established. At this time Pandit Nehru said, "While respecting Nepal's independence, we cannot tolerate any chaos in Nepal." Thus, the events of 1950/51 have not been a turning point for the Nepali civilization. They only brought the replacement of one autocratic government, that of the Ranas, by another one, that of the Shah kings, with a mere touch of democracy. As a result of this unfinished political change the fifties became the stage of power struggle between the traditional feudal forces, represented by the institution of monarchy, and the young but totally inexperienced leaders of the political parties. The more the party politicians demonstrating their own incompetence turned for advice to India the more could the king as "father of the revolution" play to the gallery as unifying bond, symbol of the nation and popular leader. This already started in the early fifties under the ailing King Tribhuvan who played the party leaders off against each other. By several amendments of the initially democratic interim constitution of 1951, Tribhuvan stabilized his political position in the sense of an absolute monarch and successfully foiled elections for a constituent assembly. With the help of India, Nepal became a member of the United Nations in 1955. Nepal's foreign minister said in a speech on February 1, 1955 that Nepal would not be against India in any of the circumstances. India helped Nepal to get international recognition and said that she is Nepal's biggest friend.

3.27 Growing Interest of China in Matters of Nepal-

India's traditionally strong relations with Nepal are being challenged by fast-evolving regional political and security dynamics. Nepal is important for China in order to check the rise of India. In recent years, China is increasingly exploiting anti-Indian feelings prevailing among the Nepalese in a big way to achieve this objective. China was always apprehensive of India-Nepal special relationship and wanted to make foothold to meet its strategic interests. Nepal on its part also wanted to get free from the hold of Indian dependency and so it gradually started moving away from India and closer to China. In 1959, Prime Minister of Nepal Koirala traveled to China and invited Chau-En-Lai to visit Nepal. There was also an agreement about the Everest Mountain Peak between China and Nepal, which was strongly criticized in India. The council of ministers of Prime Minister of Nepal was dissolved shortly afterwards and many Nepalese Congress leaders were arrested, but some of them fled to India and from there they started organizing mass movement in Nepal. It was misconstrued in Nepal that India was involved in the activities against the monarchy of Nepal. This resulted in bitterness in the relations between the two countries which continued for a long time. Paying no heed to the warnings of India, the then

Maharaja Mahendra created a threat to India by reaching an agreement with China for construction of the Kathmandu-Lhasa route. Maharaja Mahendra traveled to China and spoke of the historic and unbreakable relationship of Nepal with India, but he also referred the ancient relation with China. When India-China war broke out in 1962, Nepal remained neutral which caused disappointment and apprehensions in India.

3.28 Re-establishment of Relationship-

After the Chinese invasion, it became necessary for India to reinforce its position in Nepal. The then Home Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri visited Nepal and removed many doubts from Nepal with a simple moral policy. Afterwards king of Nepal came for 13 days visit to India and Dr. Radhakrishnan visited Nepal. The Government of Nepal assured that there would be no invasion of India through the territory of Nepal. On 23 September 1964, an agreement was reached between the two under which India would construct a 128-mile long road between Akhauri in the border town of Nepal and Akhora Valley in Middle East Nepal. There were also agreements on construction of another road scheme from Kathmandu to Raxaul in the Indian border and the Kosi project. The objective of Kosi project was to save Nepal from floods, to fulfill the power requirements and to benefit from irrigation. These agreements were followed by many other mutual negotiations between India and Nepal. The diplomats, leaders and experts from both countries continued to visit each other. After the Indo-Pak war of 1971, Nepal became quite cautious about Pakistan. It understood that India was no more the weak and humbled country of 1962, but had become a strong and powerful country now.

3.29 Indo-Nepal Economic and Technological Relations -

India has invested the most in Nepal's developmental activities. Nepal receives all types of training, technical and non-technical assistance from India. India has trained many Nepali nationals under the Colombo plan. India has provided assistance in most of the projects in Nepal which includes :-

1. Hydro power projects of Devi Ghat, Trishul, Karnali and Pancheshwar;
2. Tribhuvan Ganpath, Kathmandu-Trishuli Marg and Tribhuvan Airport;
3. Kathmandu-Raxaul telephone plant;
4. Sage Canal Project, Kosi and Gandak Project;
5. The work of geological research and mineral exploration;
6. Construction of Veeraganj and Haitoda railways; And
7. Establishment of an industrial settlement in Patan, a suburb of Kathmandu valley.

One of India's famous projects in Nepal includes the construction of 22 bridges in the Kolhapur-Mahakali area on the East-West Highway of Nepal. In December, 1991, Nepal accepted the Indian proposal to establish "India Nepal foundation" on the death anniversary of the great patriot and freedom fighter B. P. Koirala. This foundation was established by the contribution of both the countries to promote bilateral cooperation and mutual ties between the two countries. Both countries also agreed to set up joint ventures in the industrial sectors such as sugar, paper and cement. On the request of Nepal, India extended full support in various works such as B. P. Koirala Memorial Medical College at Biratnagar, a telephone plant in Rangeley, Renovations of Janakpur-Bijalpur rail line, construction of Biratnagar-Jhapa and Chatarivipur road, and converting railway line to Raxaul in broad-gauge.

3.30 Collapse of Bilateral Treaty of 1950-

After the end of bilateral mutual trade and cooperation between India and Nepal on March 23, 1989, the matter started with small differences between the two countries finally turned into deep tension. India decided to close most of the border in March 1989, causing severe economic hardships for Kathmandu, after Nepal refused Indian terms for a renewal of old pacts. India wanted the Nepal

government to respect the conditions of peace and friendship treaty of 1950 or reestablish the structure of bilateral relations afresh. The Treaty of 1950 was the basis on which the foundation of India-Nepal relations was laid. According to Article 7, "The Governments of India and Nepal agree to grant, on reciprocal basis, to the nationals of one country in the territories of the other the same privileges in the matter of residence, ownership of property, participation in trade and commerce, movement and other privileges of a similar nature. "As a result of this treaty Nepali citizens enjoy full rights as any Indian citizen does. He has freedom to live in India, to move freely, to work and to get government jobs. Even in Nepal, Indians got similar rights till 1967, but after that the condition of getting work permit was imposed on Indians. According to India; these steps violated the conditions of special treatment with Indian nationals and Indian goods. Moreover, Nepalhad not even consulted India before making such restrictions. However, according to the provisions of the treaty it could not discriminate between its citizens and Indians. India has not imposed any such restriction on nearly 50 lakh Nepalese living here. India is the largest trading partner of Nepal and biggest source of its FDI. As per statistics of Nepalese financial year ending July, 2014, the bilateral trade with India was 66.5 percent of total external trade of Nepal. India has 46 percent of total foreign investment in Nepal.

3.31 Disputes between India & Nepal-

1. Pressure for Nepal to Declare It a Peace Zone -

Though India and Nepal have equal security interests and concerns, their relations have under gone many ups and downs. Nepal often ignored Indian interests or mostly acted against the interests of India. Nepal entered into an agreement with communist China and compromised the security concerns of India. There have always been misconceptions, apprehensions and differences in terms of transit facilities and trade operations of goods between the two countries. The anti-India activities of China in Nepal, which were mostly violent, aroused suspicion in Indian establishment. The agreement with China in relation to Nepal's construction of the Kathmandu-Lhasa road was a clear anti-India step. The agreement on Mount Everest reached between Nepal and China was a betrayal for India. Nowadays Nepal urges to be declared a "Peace Zone". The view of the Government of India is that not only Nepal but the entire Indian subcontinent should be declared as the "Peace Zone." India considers this move of Nepal to be against its interests. It is indirectly an indictment on India that it is a threat to Nepal. The main purpose behind declaring Nepal as a "peace zone" is to deny India's influence and specific status, which it considers as a hindrance in the search of its national identity. It is also a form of historical syncretic role it played between India and China. Nepal wants to use this proposal as a bargaining tool to get more financial support from India.

2. Murder of Ruling Family of Nepal and Declaration of Emergency -

After the murder of his brother Raja Birendra and his entire family in June 2001, king Gyanendra ascended the throne of Nepal under very mysterious and controversial circumstances. Since becoming a king, Gyanendra worked for destroying Parliamentary democracy, dissolving Parliament and sacking and appointing the Prime Ministers at his will. Significantly, this was done by Gyanendra in Nepal at the time when the bloody civil war of the Maoists was continuing in Nepal. On February 1, 2005, King imposed Emergency in Nepal, demolished democracy and established the absolute monarchy.

3. Death of Democracy in Nepal -

Since taking over the political power in January 2005, all political actions of Raja Gyanendra had been reactionary. While the acquisition of power by the king strengthened the Maoist movement, the political suppression and oppressive policy created a deep gap between the king and his political claims. The ambition of king Gyanendra to the center of power brought all the political parties and the Maoists on one platform. Under the rising international pressure and the

strong popular movement against the monarchy, King Gyanendra had to announce the reinstatement of the old parliament on April 24, 2006. The new parliament took away almost all rights from King Gyanendra and also made the Parliament supreme. The Maoists now decided to join the interim government.

3.32 Nepal on the Path of Democracy -

The Maoists' armed struggle of 11 years came to an end on November 21, 2006, when they signed the Comprehensive Peace Agreement with the interim government of political parties. This bloody war was initiated in February 1996, by the Communist Party of Nepal-Maoist (CPN-M) to establish a Mao-style "people's republic." A decade later, however, they signed a peace agreement with the government, joined the mainstream political parties in parliament and in an interim government, and participated in democratic elections. The two sides agreed that all rights of the King of Nepal will be over, and all the property related to the royal palace will be of the government. In the armed movement of the Maoists, more than 20 thousand people were killed in the last one and a half decades of violence. While welcoming the agreement, India reiterated that through this treaty between the government and Maoists, Nepal would move forward on the path of peace and democracy. With that the 240 years old monarchy of Nepal also came to an end on May 28, 2008 and the newly elected Constituent Assembly declared the country a secular federal democratic Republic. Consequently, the status of Maharaja of Nepal was like any other common citizen of Nepal. The Foreign Secretary of India visited Nepal on January 2011. He met the leaders of political parties during the visit. In these meetings, he emphasized the need for the strengthening of close and multidimensional relations between the two countries. During the visit, he also emphasized that India wants to see Nepal as a democratic, stable and prosperous nation. India will continue to extend full support to strengthen the multi-faceted democracy in Nepal and to make the Nepali-led peace process a success. He also promised help in the process of drafting of their constitution. Unfortunately, the beginning of democratic process in Nepal had started a new phase of political instability. The ambition of the Maoist leader Prachanda and the new Nepalese constitution giving second grade citizenship status to the Madhesi community resulted in yet another class struggle in Nepal.

3.33 Prime Minister Narendra Modi's Goodwill for Nepal Government -

Nepal was among Mr. Modi's first destinations abroad, in keeping with his 'neighborhood first' policy. Prime Minister Narendra Modi visited Nepal on August 3-4, 2014 on an official isit. He addressed the Assembly and Legislative Parliament of Nepal. Modi also paid homage at Pashupatinath Temple and gifted the temple 2500 kg of sandalwood. During his visit, Modi also flagged off the Kathmandu-Delhi passenger bus service 'Pashupatinath Express' with a green flag. He promised that the Government of India will fund the cost of about INR 550 crores towards construction of the proposed National Police Academy in Panauti, PM handed over one Dhruv Advanced Light Helicopter (ALH) Mark III to the Nepal Army. In the earthquake that erupted in Nepal on April 25, 2015, India provided immediate relief under the 'Operation Friendship' campaign and relieved thousands of people.

3.34 Madhesi Movement and Indo-Nepal Relations -

Geographically, Madhes is the lowland region or middle country between the hills of Nepal and the plains of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. Madhes is a 50 km wide strip of land, which is inhabited by half the population of Nepal. The Madhesis constitute 35% but have traditionally been marginalized, live in the Terai areas bordering India and share close ties (roti-betikarishta) with their kin across the border. Madhes is the most backward, poor, marginalized and neglected area of Nepal. Political power in Nepal has always been held by upper caste Brahmins, Kshatriyas and Nevadi people of the hilly

regions, whereas Madhes is dominated by backward and Dalit society of Maithil and Bhojpuri people of Indian origin. Nepalese rulers always discriminated with Madhesis. Continuous exploitation and discrimination by the upper-caste Pahadi migrant communities (especially during the monarchy period) and the Nepali state has played an important role in the consolidation of the Madhesi identity. In September 2015, as a new constitution was being drafted in the Himalayan country of Nepal, violent protests broke out in the southern plains area. Clashes between demonstrators and police led to the deaths of several people. On Sept. 17, 2015, despite the climate of unrest in the southern plains of Nepal, the new constitution was ratified by the parliament without discussions with the Indian government. The new constitution did not accommodate the judicious and genuine demands of the Madhsis. As a result, a political movement known as Madhesi Movement was launched by various political parties, especially those based in Madhes, for equal rights, dignity and identity of Madhesis and Tharus, Muslisms and Janjati groups in Nepal. In nearly a decade, Nepal witnessed three Madhes Movements- the first Madhesh Movement erupted in 2007, the second Madhes Movement in 2008and the third Madhesh Movement in 2015. Ramesh Mahato was first Madhesi martyr in 2007 at Lahan. In the new constitution of 2015, hill leaders ignored the logic of the population and ensured their majority in Parliament. Consequently, the Madhsi leaders started a movement to change the constitution to accommodate their genuine demands. The Nepalese government suppressed the Madesi movement and openly violated human rights. Madhesis and Tharus, indigenous tribes of Nepal's Tarai region, had been protesting in the run up the promulgation, and claimed the constitutional draft had eroded their political representation, compromised the architecture of inclusion, divided up their territory and carved out federal units which would deprive them of self-rule, and institutionalized discriminatory citizenship provisions. During their protests Madhesi blocked the India-Nepal border as a last resort to get their demands met. Knowingly or unknowingly, the Government of India had to stand with the Madhsis. There was a crisis of petrol, gas and medicines across Nepal. Centuries-old India-Nepal relations were in danger. The Nepal government called it an undeclared Indian blockade; it systematically raised the anti-Indian nationalism sentiment; it tried to cozy up to China and use it as an alternative source of supplies, but with little success. In view of the crisis in the country, the Nepal Government has reached a new agreement with China. The Maoists had to reach a new agreement with Madhesis under the pressure of stiff resistance from Madhsis and blocking of supply from India. Now the constitution is being diluted to accommodate Madhesis and other tribes on the basis of their share in the population which would enable them to move forward and join parliament, government and other places. Hopefully this will improve Nepal's situation.

3.35 Nepal-China Petroleum Products Agreement -

After the heavy shortage of supply of petroleum products from India, Nepal turned to China. Nepal signed two agreements with 'Petro-China' on October 28, 2015. Under the agreement, China will supply 1000 metric tonne petroleum products and 1.3 million liter gasoline Nepal. By reaching this agreement with Nepal, the dragon has defeated India on the front of diplomacy. China is increasing its relations with all our neighboring countries. There is a communist government in Nepal at this time, which is more inclined towards communist China than democratic India. In 2014 when Modi visited Nepal, he had promised to make all possible efforts to bring the relations back on the track. The people of Nepal also welcomed his assurances, but this agreement has proved that India is needed to urgently reconsider its Nepal policy. The Nepal-China Accord also threatens the security of India. The 10 key agreements signed with China

has lessened Nepal's excessive dependence on India and provided a "psychological boost" to the land-locked country to become self-reliant. Nepal and China signed major deals in 2016 which included a landmark transit treaty that will see the end of Nepal's near-total dependence on Indian sea ports for trade. As relations with India soured, Nepal's northern neighbor China came to the rescue with a deal to supply a third of the country's required petroleum. The deal signaled to Kathmandu the importance of diversifying its trade away from India. Chinese engagement in Nepal is sharply increasing with new areas of cooperation, making India uncomfortable. India views Nepal as its traditional sphere of influence, and wants to contain Chinese influence.

3.36 Nine Agreements between India and Nepal-

In February, 2016 Nepalese Prime Minister K.P. Sharma 'Oli' made maiden foreign trip to India after assuming charge. It was first bilateral visit by any Nepalese Prime Minister to New Delhi since Baburam Bhattarai's in October 2011. His visit eased out the sagging period of relations between the two countries. 9 agreements of cooperation were also signed in the presence of the Prime Ministers of both countries under which construction of 518 km of roads in the valley of Nepal would be under taken by India. It includes 17 roads. After the resignation of Oli, the next Prime Minister again reiterated it.

3.37 Psychology of Nepal -

Nepal is suffering from the psychology of the junior partner in the context of India, and the ghost of the fears of southern neighbor overpowering it haunts him. Nepal wants to develop relations with India and China on the basis of equi-distant theory to satisfy China too. But India does not accept the relationship at par with China and wants to have a special relationship with Nepal on the traditional basis. India reiterates that Nepal is an internal country and it is historically and culturally linked more to India than any other country so it is natural to have a special relationship with Nepal.

3.38 Future Strategy of Nepal-

In the treaty in 1950, one thing was also said that Nepal would inform India if any imports of weapons were made. Basically, the provision was kept to fulfill Nepal's requirements for arms through India so that it did not have to spend its foreign exchange in importing arms from other countries. Primarily it was responsibility of India to make supply its arms and weapons requirement. But, contrary to Indian wishes Nepal feels that such a move dilutes its national sovereignty. It is also said that the treaty of 1950 was signed in the context of the situation prevailing in the world at that time but much has changed today. In recent years, Nepal has begun to increase its proximity to China by taking lessons from economic blockade on the Indian border. Former Nepal Prime Minister K.P. Sharma 'Oli' has urged China to build a rail line from Nepal to Tibet through China to reduce its dependence on India. On March 20, 2016, China agreed to it. During Oli's visit to China, Nepal and China have signed 10 agreements to strengthen their relations. In April, 2018, Nepalese PM Oli visited India in an attempt to repair Nepal's ties with New Delhi. India had offered these mega projects during Oli's visit as a move to counter China's efforts to expand influence over Kathmandu by offering various infrastructure projects. Prime Minister Narendra Modi paid a return visit in May, 2018. His visit is seen more as a realization that the relationship between the two countries had deteriorated in recent years and there was an urgent need to arrest the slide. Beginning in Janakpur, Modi paid homage at the Janaki Temple and gave a speech in which he eulogized Nepali culture and emphasized the deep links between Nepal and India. Flying to Muktinath in the mountain region, he worshipped at the temple there, highlighting the unity of cultures from the Himalayas to the Tarai. And finally visiting the Pashupatinath temple in Kathmandu, he completed his visit to religious sites in all topological regions of Nepal: the Tarai, the mountains and the middle hills. These visits made evident that Modi's chief purpose in visiting Nepal was to help eliminate the negative

sentiments towards New Delhi that has prevailed among a large section of Nepal's population since the blockade of 2015-16. Although it is too early to say, it appears that visit has served its intended purpose. In this way, the Indo-Nepal relationship is again back on the track and beginning of new chapter will surely have far-reaching consequences. India has residual concerns over enhancing the constitution's provisions for Nepal's plains-based Madhesi population, but these should be taken up discreetly and diplomatically. Recovery in the relationship is still fragile, and any grandstanding must be avoided. India needs to very cautious in handling tricky diplomatic issues with its northern neighbor because any step taken by Nepal to move close to China will be detrimental to our security concerns.

Important Points

- India, Pakistan and Bangladesh were an undivided state till 14th August, 1947.
- The causes of bitterness in relations between India and - Treaty of 1950 and River water dispute.
- The cause of the dispute between India and China is problem of Tibet and Geographical Boundaries.
- Partition of Kashmir and subsequent incidents has been the cause of mutual differences between India and Pakistan.

Exercise

Multiple Choice Questions -

1. Which ruler of Nepal took refuge in India in 1950?
   (A) Prithvi Narayan Shah
   (B) Raja Tribhuvan
   (C) Shamsher Bahadur
   (D) Girija Prasad Koirala ( )
2. What is the name of geographical boundary between India and China?
   (A) McMahon Line
   (B) Durand Line
   (C) Palk Strait
   (D) Redcliffe Line ( )
3. Which principles did Nehru propose to maintain India's good relations with China?
   (A) Doctrine of Peace
   (B) Doctrine of Lapse
   (C) Doctrine of Panchasheel
   (D) Doctrine of Non-alignment ( )
4. What is the cause of tension in relations between India and Pakistan?
   (A) Tibet problem
   (B) Dam problem
   (C) Kashmir dispute
   (D) Afghanistan ( )
5. Which section of the Constitution gives a special status to Kashmir?
   (A) Article 356 (B) Article 352
   (C) Article 360 (D) Article 370 ( )

Very Short Answer Type Questions-

1. When does Pakistan celebrate its Independence Day?
2. Write the names of countries adjacent to India's borders.
3. When was the famous treaty between India and Nepal signed?
4. Who is considered the founder of modern Nepal?
5. Whom did India give shelter in India in 1959, which China considered a hostile action?
6. What is the name of the part of Brahmaputra River in China?
7. When did Prime Minister Narendra Modi visit China?
8. How many agreements were signed in

Ahmedabad in September 2014 during the visit of Chinese President Jinping?

9. What was attitude of China in the Kargil war?
10. How much money does Pakistan spend in promoting the terrorist activities?
11. How much money does India have to spend every year on the security of its borders?
12. Which day did Pakistan infiltrate Kashmir in the first place?
13. How much land of Kashmir is under occupation of Pakistan?
14. What was the cause of the1971 war?

Short Answer Type Questions-

1. What is the strategic importance of Nepal that lies on the north-eastern border of India?
2. What agreement did China reach with Nepal in 1959?
3. What assurances did Prime Minister Narendra Modi gave during his visit of Nepal?
4. Discuss India's contribution in the economy of Nepal.
5. What is the main cause of the Madhesi movement in Nepal?
6. Which three agreements did China reach with the government of Gujarat?
7. Write a brief comment on India-China trade.
8. What are the three major disputes of India with China?
9. How did Russia become our partner during our conflict with China?
10. Why is China not supporting the claim of India for securing the membership of the Security Council?
11. What decisions were taken in Tashkent Agreement?
12. Why is Pakistan called as a bastion of terrorism?
13. What steps Prime Minister Narendra Modi has taken to improve relations with Pakistan?
14. What were the intentions of Pakistan behind carrying out the terrorist attacks at Mumbai and Pathankot?
15. What action has India taken against the human rights violations in Pakistan?

Essay Type Questions-

1. Why are the relations of India and Nepal repeatedly disturbed? What are the main causes of strenuous relations of both countries?
2. Why China is considered a hindrance to the good relations of India and Nepal? Why is China's special interest in Nepal?
3. Discuss critically on Indo-Nepal relations.
4. What is the historical basis of India-China relations? What is the status of the relations between the two countries at present?
5. How has the India-China economic relationship added to the growth of the economics of both countries? Write in detail.
6. What is the status of China as the main component of Indian foreign policy?
7. "Kashmir is the opposite pivot of Indo-Pak relations." Describe as to how the situation in Kashmir has worsened due to Pakistan factor?
8. Pakistan is increasing relations with our other neighbors with the aim of disturbing India. How does this affect India?
9. Write an essay on the foreign policy of our Prime Minister Narendra Modi towards Pakistan.

Answers to Multiple Choice Questions-

1. B 2. A 3. C 4. C 5. D

4. Regional Organizations: ASEAN & SAARC

ASEAN

South-East Asia is the most important strategic region in the world politics. In this region consists of various countries located in the south of China and east of the Indian subcontinent. This region includes countries like Myanmar, Brunei, Thailand, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, Singapore, Kampuchea, Vietnam and Philippines etc. The recent dispute of the South China Ocean recently is linked to the strategic interests of the region. The dispute involves both island and maritime claims among several sovereign states within the region, namely Brunei, the People's Republic of China (PRC), Republic of China (Taiwan), Malaysia, Indonesia, the Philippines, and Vietnam. This region has become very important since the Second World War. The term 'South East Asia' came into being in the world politics after the Second World War. The term was used for the first time by Admiral Mountbatten in the Quebec Conference in 1953 during the establishment of the South East Asia Command under his leadership. Southeast Asia has long been a crucially important region in world politics. There is a renewed recognition globally that developments in Asia will determine the landscape of international politics over the coming decades. Ten countries (as listed above) are located in this region. South East Asia is strategically and geographically important because it is located on the sea route which connects the Indian Ocean to the Pacific Ocean and connects Asia and Australia via the natural bridge. Thailand, which is located in this region, is called "The Rice Bowl of Asia" for its highly fertile land. Malaya is the largest producer of Rubber in the world. Indonesia, Sarawak, and Northern Brunei are among the major oil producing countries. Politically, communist superpower China which is located near this region is continuously and aggressively increasing its influence. At the same time, the western countries led by the United States are trying to stop spread of China's communist ideology and its influence in this region. Indigenously, the countries of this region are mostly inhabited by the people of Mongoloid race. The decline of the power of Britain after the Second World War, created power void in this region and China tried to fill this vacuum. China's expansion in the region threatened the interests of the small countries and they became apprehensive and cautious towards China. The establishment of the communist rule in China in 1949 had both direct and indirect bearing on the region. The countries of this region emphasized on the policy of mutual cooperation and remained neutral towards the China's increasing expansionist and imperialist policy. Finally, to promote mutual economic cooperation, they established the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) on 8 August 1967 at the initiative of Indonesia.

4.1 Organization of ASEAN -

The South East Asian Nations Association was established on August 8, 1967 by five nations as a civilian organization with the objective of regional cooperation. It promotes economic and political co-operation among its members as well as regional peace and security. Its early members included Indochina, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore and Thailand. In 1984, Brunei also became a member of

ASEAN. Initially, Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia and Myanmar were given the status of Observer. Vietnam was made a full time member of ASEAN in 1995 and Cambodia on April 30, 1999. Initially, India was made 'sectoral dialogue partner' of ASEAN. On July 24, 1996, India has been made a 'full dialogue partner'. China and Russia have also been made full dialogue partners like India. The ASEAN secretariat is in Jakarta (Indonesia). The president of ASEAN is called the Secretary-General. Dato Paduka Lim Jock Hoi from Brunei Darussalam became the 14th Secretary-General of ASEAN on Jan 1, 2018. So far, ASEAN's subsidiary, the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) which is an important forum for security dialogue in Asia Pacific region comprises 27 members: the 10 ASEAN member states (Brunei, Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, Burma, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand and Vietnam), the 10 ASEAN dialogue partners (Australia, Canada, China, the European Union, India, Japan, New Zealand, the Republic of Korea, Russia and the United States), one ASEAN observer (Papua New Guinea), as well as the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Mongolia, Pakistan, Timor-Leste, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka. ASEAN's first summit was organized in Bali (Indonesia) in 1976 and its 28th and 29th conference was held in Vientiane (Laos) from 6 to 7 September 2016. ASEAN's 30th Summit was held at Manila (Philippines) from 26 - 29 April 2017.

4.2 Nature & Objectives of ASEAN-

All the ten member states of the ASEAN have different backgrounds. They also differ in the colonial heritage, historical background, and political, economic and social life values. However, all these nations had some common interests and challenges and the ASEAN came into being to collectively face these challenges. The challenges of population explosion, poverty, economic exploitation and security were the main common concerns of these countries. They thought of resolving these challenges through mutual regional cooperation. The main objective of the construction of ASEAN was to accelerate economic progress in Southeast Asia and to provide sustainability to member economies. Aim of this organization was to have collaboration of the member countries in political, social, economic, cultural, trade, scientific, technical and administrative fields and to find solutions to the various common problems together. One of the most important goals of this organization was to create a 'common market' and to promote the mutual trade among these countries. ASEAN is primarily a non-military organization based on economic cooperation. It is a civilian organization and not a military alliance. The member countries of ASEAN are not bound by any mutual military obligation or any other conditions of collective security. In fact, this organization is not working under the influence of any of the super powers.

The ASEAN Declaration states that the aims and purposes of the Association are:

(1) To accelerate the economic growth, social progress and cultural development in the region through joint endeavors in the spirit of equality and partnership in order to strengthen the foundation for a prosperous and peaceful community of Southeast Asian nations, and

(2) To promote regional peace and stability through abiding respect for justice and the rule of law in the relationship among countries in the region and adherence to the principles of the United Nations Charter. In 1995, the ASEAN Heads of State and Government re-affirmed that "Cooperative peace and shared prosperity shall be the fundamental goals of ASEAN."

4.3 Role & Functions of ASEAN-

The scope and arena ASEAN have been growing steadily. By and large, it has been active in most the sectors such as -political, cultural, economic, social, technical and administrative. Its members have been are trying to resolve their working mechanisms on a regional basis. The span of ASEAN has become quite wider in past many years since its inception. Many significant

agreements covering different range of issues and subjects have been signed among the ASEAN members. The major notable agreements are-Agreement for the Promotion of Cooperation in Mass Media and Culture Activities 1969 for exchange of various programs of radio and television in all the countries, Agreement for formation of a group called ASEAN Tourism Association (ASEANTA) in 1971 to promote visa free mutual tourism among these countries, Multilateral Agreement on commercial rights of non-scheduled air services 1971,Agreement for the Facilitation of Search for Aircraft in Distress and Rescue of Survivors of Aircraft Accidents1972, Agreement for providing assistance to ship in distress and Agreement on Disaster Management and Emergency Response 2005.Another important agreement is-The ASEAN Free Trade Area (AFTA), a trade bloc agreement local manufacturing in all ASEAN countries. In order to give priority to the production of food grains in the agricultural sector and food grains in ASEAN, concrete steps have been taken to give introductory technical education to the farmers. In the same way, efforts are also being made to set up independent trade zones in these countries so that export-import becomes possible among them. As an intergovernmental institution, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations is in the process of a long evolution that may transform it into a regional association with a significant role in post-conflict reconstruction and rebuilding, a departure from its usual role of low-key engagement in the internal affairs of its members. Historically, ASEAN has not had much of an appetite for democracy building initiatives in its member states, including in those affected by conflict. While some regional associations are now playing a role in humanitarian issues in countries where there is an ongoing conflict or a post-conflict scenario, ASEAN has not played any major role in such activities.

4.4 India & ASEAN-

India-ASEAN relations have traversed a long, dynamic path interspersed with multiple achievements to reach the year 2017, when the two celebrated 25 years of their partnership. India and ASEAN uphold each other's centrality in shaping the evolving regional architecture. In pursuit of this objective, India's 'Look East' policy had morphed into 'Act East' by 2014. Common concerns and aspirations bind the ASEAN countries and India at a time when Asia is in the throes of a disruptive phase that could well determine the future balance of power in the region. The two remain indispensable to the creation of new 'rules of the game' in Asia. India is a “full dialogue partner” of ASEAN and is also a member of ASEAN's subsidiary organization ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF). Present Prime Minister of India, Narendra Modi has established a very close and intense mutual relationship with the ASEAN and all its member countries under his 'Act East' policy. He stressed on combating terrorism and fundamentalism together by addressing the 14th ASEAN India Summit in Vietnam's capital Vientiane, between 6 and 7 September. While addressing the ASEAN Summit, he said that ASEAN is the center of India's Act-East policy. The India-ASEAN Strategic Partnership acquired a new momentum with the announcement of “Act-East Policy” in the 12th Summit in 2014. It conveyed a clear intent on the part of India to up-scaling its engagement with the ASEAN Member States. The Act-East Policy emphasizes Connectivity, Commerce and Culture as the focus areas of action for a greater ASEAN-India integration. It takes into account the blueprints of the three pillars of ASEAN community building process, the ASEAN vision document ASEAN 2025-Forging Ahead Together, the ASEAN Master Plan for Connectivity 2025,the ASEAN ICT Master Plan (2016-2020) and the Initiative for ASEAN Integration Work Plan III. At this conference, Narendra Modi tried to isolate Pakistan by terming it as an exporter of terrorism and said that the country which is exporting terrorism should be punished. He stressed on mutual cooperation for tackling the threat of terrorism which is a collective threat to regional security. He emphasized on establishing a new trade and strategic relationship with all Southeast Asian

nations including Japan. India- ASEAN relationship has ushered in new era in all the arenas. India and ASEAN celebrated 25 years of their Dialogue Partnership, 15 years of Summit Level interaction and 5 years of Strategic Partnership in 2017 both in India and in ASEAN Member States. The celebrations involved conducting key activities in various sectors of our engagement to highlight the strengths of the relationship. These activities culminated in a grand Commemorative Summit of ASEAN and Indian Heads of States/Governments on the theme "Shared Values, Common Destiny" hosted in India. In perhaps the most significant exposition of its 'Act East' India invited the heads of state or government of all 10 ASEAN member countries to witness its Republic Day celebrations on Jan, 26 2018.India and ASEAN are also "actively" engaged in negotiations on forging a 'regional comprehensive economic partnership', which is expected to emerge as the largest regional trading arrangement accounting for about 40% of world trade.Issues concerning economics, security, and connectivity have always been at the center of ASEAN-India relations. In the year 2016-17, ASEAN accounted for around 10.4 percent of India's exports and 10.6 percent of India's imports. India has a Comprehensive Economic Cooperation Agreement with various countries of the ASEAN region. This has resulted in concessional trade and a rise in investments. Around 10 percent of the total FDI equity inflows to India come from the ASEAN region. On the security issues; inclusion in ARF was a major positive for India, which missed out on a permanent seat on the UN Security Council. Over recent years, ASEAN and India have seen their interests converge on the issue of nontraditional security in the Indian Ocean region. Many argue that India's growing engagement with the ASEAN countries is primarily driven by the China factor. The recent developments of Doklam standoff between India and China, South China Sea dispute, and other outstanding disputes of China with India and ASEAN countries are causes of worry for both and have brought them together. China's unmatched rise and unusually aggressive postures pose serious threat not only to India but also to collective regional security which is a serious concern for ASEAN too.

1. Brunei Darussalam 2. Cambodia 3. Indonesia 4. Laos 5. Malaysia
6. Myanmar 7. Philippines 8. Singapore 9. Thailand 10. Vietnam

4.5 Appreciation & Contribution of ASEAN-

When all the activities and achievements of ASEAN, since its inception are analyzed, it is found that the goals for which ASEAN was established could not be achieved completely. This organization has not been able to increase economic and other cooperation among member countries fully. ASEAN has not succeeded like European Common Market. The reasons for slow economic cooperation in ASEAN are basically the lack of required capital and low purchasing capacity of the ASEAN member countries. The clash of interests among member countries have also given rise to international disputes. It appears that most of the ASEAN countries are inclined more towards western powers. Apart from Indonesia, other ASEAN member countries such as Malaysia, Singapore, Philippines and Thailand are linked to western countries through security alliances and not only on various issues of international politics, but even on Indochina , they have supported the western countries. There are external military stations also on the soil of ASEAN member countries. Nonetheless, despite all such criticisms, ASEAN remains a non-military cooperation organization. The doors of ASEAN membership are open to all those nations of South East Asia who endorse its aims, objectives and goals. Making ASEAN region as free trade area is an important step forward towards regional cooperation. The significance of ASEAN can be gauged from the fact that 27 important countries which include USA, Russia, Japan, china and India are the members of ARF (ASEAN Regional Forum).

SAARC (South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation)

The establishment of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) in Dhaka on 8 December 1985 was a historical step towards regional cooperation in South Asia. Its Secretariat is in Kathmandu. The organization promotes development of economic and regional integration. Originally it had seven members - India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal, Sri Lanka, Bhutan, and Maldives. Afghanistan became the eighth member of the SAARC on April 2007. In addition to its member countries it also has some observer states, which include USA, Australia, China, Japan, South Korea, Myanmar, Mauritius, Iran and European Union. Meetings of heads of state are usually held on annual basis and meetings of foreign secretaries twice a year. SAARC comprises 3% of the world's area, 21% of the world's population and 9.12% of the global economy. SAARC maintains permanent diplomatic relations at the United Nations as an observer and has developed links with multilateral entities, including the European Union.

4.6 Historical Background -

The historic unofficial conference on Asian relations convened in New Delhi in 1947, marked the beginning of formation of a regional organization in South Asia. Thereafter, the 1950 Baguio Conference was called by Philippine President in the hope of establishing an Asian regional organization. Again, in 1954, in Colombo Conference the process for establishing such organization was discussed. Politically, the mutual tension between India and Pakistan had adverse effect on the entire region of South Asia and impaired the prospects of regional cooperation. The necessity of formation of an organization for a broad regional cooperation was felt in the 1970s. The success of many other regional organizations of the world, especially the ASEAN forced the leaders of South Asian countries to think seriously about having such an organization in South Asia. In 1977 initiative for establishing a regional organization was taken by the then Prime Minister of Bangladesh President Zia Ur Rahman. He emphasized that a regional organization which would give the leaders of South Asian countries an opportunity to improve their understanding of one another's problems and to deal with conflicts before they turned into crisis.

Then, in the meeting of foreign ministers of the seven countries held at Colombo in 1981, the proposal mooted by Bangladesh was given a serious

thought. After detail discussions five major issues were earmarked for regional cooperation. The first South Asian foreign ministers' conference was held in New Delhi from August 1-3, 1983, where the Integrated Programme of Action (IPA) on mutually agreed areas of cooperation (i.e., agriculture, rural development, Telecommunications, meteorology, health and population control, transport, sports, arts and culture, postal services and scientific and technical cooperation) was launched. The first summit of SAARC was held in Dhaka on 7-8 December 1985. Eighteen summit meetings have been held so far. The headquarters (Secretariat) of SAARC is in Kathmandu (Nepal). With the establishment of SAARC, a new era of regional cooperation among 8 countries of South Asia has begun. Eighteenth summit meeting of SAARC was held in 2014 in Kathmandu.

4.7 Summit Meetings of SAARC-

1985	-	Dhaka
1986	-	Bengaluru
1987	-	Kathmandu
1988	-	Islamabad
1990	-	Male
1991	-	Colombo
1993	-	Dhaka
1995	-	New Delhi
1997	-	Male
1998	-	Colombo
2002	-	Kathmandu
2004	-	Islamabad
2005	-	Dhaka
2007	-	New Delhi
2008	-	Colombo
2010	-	Thimphu
2011	-	Addu
2014	-	Kathmandu

2016 (was proposed in Islamabad, which could not be held because of the boycott by India and other member countries in the wake of Uri terror attack).

The 19th summit meeting of SAARC was proposed to be held in Islamabad in October 2016. But , the continuous Pak sponsored terror activities in India and terror attack on military camp in Uri (J&K) in which 20 soldiers were martyred and consequent Indian surgical strike inside Pakistan occupied Kashmir by Indian army created tension in the region which ultimately led to the cancellation of the Islamabad Summit meeting.

4.8 Charter of SAARC -

The SAARC Declaration or the Charter which was accepted in the conference in 1985 in Dhaka contains 10 Articles. The main principles, objectives and organizational structure are described in the charter. As defined in the charter of the SAARC the primary objectives of SAARC are to promote the welfare of the people of South Asia and to improve quality of their life through accelerated economic growth, social progress and cultural development in this region. The cooperation shall be based on respect of principles of sovereign equality, territorial integrity, political independence, non-interference in the internal affairs of the states and mutual benefit. The objectives of the ASSOCIATION shall be:

1. To promote the welfare of the peoples of SOUTH ASIA and to improve their quality of life;
2. To accelerate economic growth, social progress and cultural development in the region and
3. To provide all individuals the opportunity to live in dignity and to realize their full potentials;
4. To promote and strengthen collective self-reliance among the countries of SOUTH ASIA;
5. To contribute to mutual trust, understanding and appreciation of one another's problems;
6. To promote active collaboration and mutual assistance in the economic, social, cultural, technical and scientific fields;

South Asian Association for Regional Co-operation (SAARC)

Member Countries-

1. India
2. Pakistan
3. Nepal
4. Bhutan
5. Bangladesh
6. Sri Lanka
7. Maldives
8. Afghanistan

7. To strengthen cooperation with other developing countries;
8. To strengthen cooperation among themselves in international forums on matters of common interests; and
9. To cooperate with international and regional organizations with similar aims and purposes.

Article two describes the main principles of SAARC. It includes cooperation, equality, regional integrity, intervention in interdependent matters etc.

4.9 Organizational Structure-

Article 3 provides for the Summit Conference of the SAARC Heads of States.

Article 4 provides for the council of foreign ministers of member countries which must sit twice every year.

Article 5 provides for a standing committee with foreign secretaries of member countries as its members. One meeting of this committee in a year is compulsory and it identifies the areas of cooperation and also monitors its progress.

Article 6 provides for Technical committees to coordinate cooperation in newer areas.

Article 7 provides for Executive Committee.

Article 8 provides of the SAARC Secretariat. It was established in 1987 with headquarters at Kathmandu. There is a General Secretary whose tenure is for two years. Besides Secretariat, 12 regional centers have also been formed in different member countries for mutual cooperation. Apart from these, 6 other high level institutions and 17 recognized institutions are in existence for social, economic and literary cooperation.

Articles 9 and 10 provide for financial institutions and economic share.

South Asian Free Trade Area (SAFTA)-

Under the umbrella of SAARC, the ideas of SAARC preferential trading agreement (SAPTA) and SAFTA were developed. The proposal to establish the South Asian Free Trade Area was mooted and agreed for the first time in the meeting of SAARC Foreign of Ministers in 1995. In the 10th SAARC Summit held in 1998, a decision was taken to constitute a committee of experts to prepare the background of SAFTA. Finally, The South Asian Free Trade Area (SAFTA) agreement was reached on January 6, 2004, at the 12th SAARC summit in Islamabad, Pakistan and it came into effect from January 2006. It created a free trade area of 1.6 billion people in Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka. The seven foreign ministers of the region signed a framework agreement on SAFTA to reduce customs duties of all traded goods to zero by the year 2016. SAFTA requires the developing countries in South Asia (India, Pakistan and Sri Lanka) to bring their duties down to 20 percent in the first phase of the two-year period ending in 2009, but it was not possible due to policies of Pakistan. In the final five-year phase ending 2012, the 20 percent duty will be reduced to zero in a series of annual cuts. The least developed nations in South Asia (Nepal, Bhutan, Bangladesh, Afghanistan and Maldives) have an additional three years to reduce tariffs to zero. India and Pakistan ratified the treaty in 2009, whereas Afghanistan as the 8th member state of the SAARC ratified the SAFTA protocol on 4 May 2011.The total trade between the SAARC nations is just around 1 per cent of the GDP of those countries, while the trade volume of ASEAN nations is 10 per cent of their GDP. This failure of SAFTA can be considered as the slow pace of economic cooperation and lack of mutual trust among the SAARC nations.

4.10 Evaluation and relevance of SAARC-

The declared objective of SAARC is to develop socio-economic and cultural development on the basis of mutual cooperation among the countries of SAARC, but the ongoing process of cooperation has slowed down due to the political disputes between India and Pakistan. India has expressed its concerns about the deadlock in the economic cooperation in the Summit held at Islamabad in 1988. Pakistan and to some extent Bangladesh opposed the large scale cooperation in

the economic field because they feared that huge economy of India would swallow their small economies. Nonetheless, their apprehensions are baseless. In the early years, cooperation in agriculture, culture and scientific sectors did increase as a part of increased the integrated programme (IPA). Political disputes have also disrupted that mutual cooperation. Problems such as Kashmir, terrorism, Chinese interference and other trivial outstanding disputes between various member countries have disrupted the effective working of the SAARC and made it irrelevant. In last few years many displaced Rohingya Muslims of Rakhine province of Myanmar have migrated in mask scale to countries such as Bangladesh, India and other South Asian Countries and settled there illegally. They have caused a great human catastrophe and also magnified the menace of terrorism in these countries. The SAARC has to face the challenge of this complex problem.

India has made tremendous progress in economic, political and diplomatic fields. Politically, successful working of Indian democracy has been appreciated everywhere. Therefore, it is but natural for India to seek a decisive role in South Asia. If Pakistan does not accept this fact in the SAARC, then possibly the relevance and future of the SAARC will be at stake.

Important Points

- ASEAN was established by 5 countries on 8th August 1967.
- The full name of ASEAN is Association of South East Asian Nations.
- Myanmar, Brunui, Thailand, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, Singapore, Cambodia, Vietnam & Phillippines are member of ASEAN.
- India is full dialogue partner and a member of ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF).
- SAARC was established in 1985 as South Asian Regional Organization.
- SAARC has 8 member countries India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal, Sri Lanka, Bhutan, Maldives & Afghanistan.

Exercise

Multiple Choice Questions-

1. When was the SAARC established?
   (A) 1985 (B) 1995
   (C) 2004 (D) 1947 ( )
2. In which city is the headquarters of SAARC located?
   (A) Dhaka (B) Colombo
   (C) Kathmandu (D) Mumbai ( )
3. What is SAFTA?
   (A) South Asia Free Trade Area
   (B) South Asia Free Tennis Association.
   (C) An agency of the United Nations
   (D) None of these. ( )

Very Short Answer Type Questions-

1. Write the full name of the SAARC.
2. Write the full name of SAFTA.
3. Write the full name of ASEAN.
4. When was the ASEAN established?

Short Answer Type Questions-

1. Write a brief about the ASEAN organization.
2. Explain the role and functions of ASEAN.
3. Why SAARC was established?
4. What is SAFTA?
5. Write the names of the SAARC member nations.

Essay Type Questions-

1. Write an article on the ASEAN organization.
2. 'SAARC is a prominent medium of dialogue and deliberation of South Asian countries.' Elaborate this statement in the backdrop of organizational structure of the SAARC.

Answers to Multiple Choice Questions-

1. A 2. C 3. A