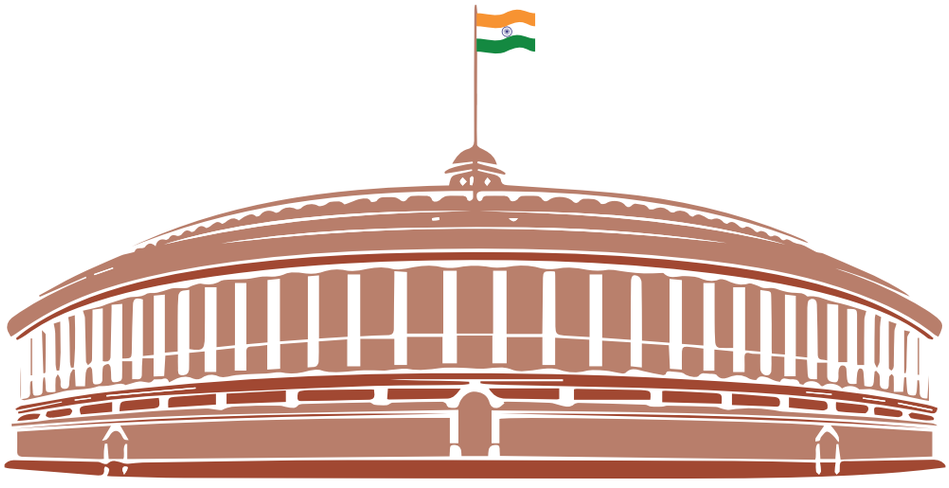
GOVERNMENT OF TAMIL NADU



# HIGHER SECONDARY FIRST YEAR

# POLITICAL SCIENCE

A publication under Free Textbook Programme of Government of Tamil Nadu

**Department of School Education**

**Untouchability is Inhuman and a Crime**

**Government of Tamil Nadu**

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# HOW TO USE THE BOOK?

**Introduction**
A brief abstract of the unit.

**Learning objective**
Describes about what students are expected to learn by the end of every unit.

**Do you know?**
A piece of information which provides a surprise element for the students.

**Knowledge Boxes**
Additional inputs to the content are provided.

**Activity**
To explore further about the subject in order to get better understanding of the subject.

**Debate**
A formal discussion need to be conducted by the students on a particular issue in order to arrive at a synthesis about that issue.

**Case study**
A research strategy and an empirical inquiry that investigates a phenomenon within to a real life context.

**Conversation**
Exchange of ideas which will give better clarity to the subject.

**Quotable quote**
Quotes of eminent political thinkers that helps to bring enlightenment among students.

**QR Code**
To motivate the students to further explore and enrich the concept

**Diagrams**
Schematic representation that illustrates the political happenings which will link the theory with practice.

**Glossary**
Helps the students to become familiar with newly introduced, uncommon and specialised terms.

**Evaluation**
To check the understanding of the students and helps in arriving at most suitable conclusions.

**Reference**
List of books that can be referred when there needs a better understanding.

**Further readings**
Books that will enlarge the knowledge of subject in study.

**Web links**
List of digital resources

**ICT**
Lead to improved students learning and better teaching methods.

**Key Terms**
Helps the students to know the Tamil translation of key terms.



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# Career Opportunities in Political Science

**There are plenty of career opportunities available to the students of political science. The options and opportunities can be detailed in two categories of higher education and employment**




## A. Higher Education Opportunities in Political Science

The students can study the following programmes in colleges and universities after the completion of school educations. There are a number of government universities, colleges and aided colleges that provide these programs in Political Science in our state as well as in our country

- Bachelor of Arts (BA)
- Master of Arts (MA)
- Master of Philosophy (MPhil)
- Doctor of Philosophy (PhD).

### A.1) Tamil Nadu Government and Aided Colleges

1. Presidency College, Chennai.
2. Government Arts College, Coimbatore.
3. Thiruvalluvar Government Arts College, Rasipuram, Namakkal District.
4. Loganatha Narayanasamy Government Arts College, Ponneri, Thiruvallur District.
5. Periyar Government Arts College, Cuddalore.
6. Government Arts College, Thiruvarambur, Trichy.
7. Government Arts College, Salem-0
8. Rajeswari Vedachalam Government Government Arts College, Chengalpattu.
9. Madras Christain College, Tambaram, Chennai
10. Pasumpon Muthuramalinga Thevar College, Usilampatti, Madhurai –25
11. Pasumpon Thiru Muthuramalinga Thevar Memorial College, Kamuthi, Ramanathapuram
12. SIET College for Women, Teynampet, Chennai.
13. Anna Adarsh College for Women, Chennai

### A.2) State Universities

There are manu universities in our state offering political science degrees.

1. University of Madras, Chennai
2. Annamalai University, Chidamparam
3. Madurai Kamaraj University, Madurai
4. Bharathiyar University, Coimbatore (Only Correspondence Course)
5. Alagappa University, Karaikudi (Correspondence course in Public Administration)
6. Tamil Nadu Open University, Chennai
7. Manonmaniam Sundaranar University, Tirunelveli (Correspondence Course)

### A.3) Central Universities

There are number of central universities across India where students can learn political science.

1. The University of Delhi
2. Pondicherry University
3. University of Hyderabad
4. Gandhigram Rural Institute (Deemed to be University), Dindugal and
5. Indira Gandhi Open University, New Delhi
6. Jawaharlal Nehru University(JNU), New Delhi

### A.4) Integrated program

The Department of Social Sciences and Humanities in Indian Institute of Technology, Madras offers the five year integrated MA Program in two streams of Development Studies and English Studies



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### A.5) Jawaharlal Nehru University(JNU), New Delhi

- National Institutional Ranking Framework (NIRF) of the Human Resources Development Ministry has ranked JNU as the second best university in the country.
- It offers Post Graduation, Master of Philosophy (MPhil), Doctor of Philosophy degrees in Political Science.
- While the School of Social Sciences (SSS) provides these programs in Political Science the School of International Studies (SIS) conducts these programs in International Politics.
- The candidates should write the national entrance examination to get admission in post graduation and Master of Philosophy programs. The scholars can get through NET exam with top ranks and avail the Junior Research Fellowship (JRF) for two years and Senior Research Fellowship (SRF) for three more years.

It is overwhelmingly a residential university as the twenty odd hostels provide accommodation to most of the students. The union government provides funds to the university and therefore the cost of education and hostel accommodation is affordable. *Merit cum Means scholarship is available for students.*

The university has a well equipped library consisting of nine floors situated in a lush green environment of the Aravali Hills. It is a central university, with a truly national character as students hail from almost all the states of our country.

### A.6) Madras Institute of Development Studies (MIDS)

- The institute was founded by Dr.Malcom S Adiseshiah and Mrs. Elizebeth Adiseshiah in Adayar, Chennai.
- It offers in social research programs sciences including Political Science.
- The thrust areas of Political Science for doctorate programs include Political Institutions, Governance and Decentralisation, Poverty, Inequality and Discrimination, Caste, Gender and Sexuality Studies

### A.7) Tata Institute of Social Science (TISS)

- TISS is a multi-campus public funded research university creating human service professionals for the nation.
- It offers several Bachelors, Masters and Doctoral programs in inter disciplinary areas from its Mumbai, Hyderabad, Tuljapur and Guwahati campuses.
- The Political Science students can pursue higher studies in different areas like Development Studies, Law, Rights and Constitutional Governance, Social Work, Public Policy and Governance, Human Resources Management, Gender Studies.
- A IIT-campus Public Funded Research University creating Human Service Professionals for the Nation.

## B. Employment Opportunities

The students of Political Science have bright career prospects. They can choose their career in

- Administration
- Politics
- Mass media
- Academics (teaching in schools, teaching and researching in colleges, universities and research institutes)
- Social work
- Police administration
- Judicial service
- Other careers through general competitive exams
- NGO management etc.

### B.1) Civil Service Exam of Union Public Service Commission (UPSC)

The Union Public Service Commission conducts numerous competitive exams to recruit officers for union government. The civil services exam is meant to recruit officers for *Indian Administrative Service (IAS), Indian Police Service (IPS), Indian Foreign Service (IFS), and Indian Revenue Service (IRS) etc.*

The *IAS officers* administer the country by working as *Sub Collectors, Collectors, Joint Secretaries, Secretaries, Chief Secretary and Cabinet Secretary.*

The *IPS officers* protect law and order by working as *Assistant Superintendant of Police, Superintendent of Police, Inspector General of Police, and Director General of Police.*

The *Indian Foreign Service* officers shape and serve the foreign policy interests of India as *Third secretary, Second Secretary, First Secretary, High Commissioner and Ambassador etc*

The civil services exam popularly known as IAS/IPS exam is conducted in three stages of

- Preliminary Test
- Main exam and
- Personal Interview.

**Political Science – a scoring topic**

**In Preliminary test:**

The General Studies paper of the preliminary test contains approximately twenty questions on Indian Politics and International Relations.



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### In Mains Test:

There are seven countable papers in the second stage, Main Exam. The syllabus of the General studies second paper exclusively contains Indian polity and international relations and carries 250 marks. The essay paper normally contains questions from Indian politics and international relations and has 250 marks. The students can choose political science and international relations as their Optional Subject and the two optional subject papers have 250 marks each. Therefore the students with political science optional subject can cover nearly 1000 marks out of the total 1750 marks available in the main test of civil service exam. Even the candidates not choosing political science as optional subject will have to answer around 500 marks (General Studies Second and Essay Paper) in the main exam from political science related topics

**In Personality Test:**

The final stage of the exam is known as Personality Test or Personal Interview containing 275 marks. As civil servants work in Indian democratic system the interview devotes a greater amount of attention to the topics and issues of political science and international relations.

### B.3) TNPSC Exams

The Tamil Nadu Public Service Commission recruits officers and personnel to Tamil Nadu government. It conducts around seventy different exams. The important exams include Group 1 Services Examination, Group 1-A Services Examination, Combined Subordinate Services Examination-1(CSSE-1) and Combined Subordinate Services Examination-2 (CSSE-2) etc. All these exams have a general knowledge paper. Around twenty percent of questions in the question papers will originate from Indian polity and international relations.

The Group One exam is conducted for recruiting officers to the top services in the state like Deputy Collector, Deputy Superintendent of Police, District Employment Officer, District Fire Officer and Assistant Commissioner in Commercial Services. The Deputy Collectors after eight to ten years of service will be promoted as IAS officers. Similarly the Deputy Superintendent of Police will be promoted as IPS officers after eight to ten years of service.

There are three stages in the Group 1 exam. They are preliminary test, main test and personal interview. Indian constitution, politics, international politics and Indian foreign policy are very important in all three stages of the exam and students of political science can attend these questions confidently. The other recruitment tests of TNPSC also contain a certain percent of questions from Political Science

### B.4) Teaching Career in Colleges and Universities

There are three kinds of faculty positions in universities available for the aspirants of an academic career in Tamil nadu and India. They are Professor, Associate Professor and Assistant Professor. There are two levels of faculty positions (Assistant Professor and Associate Professor) in the colleges in our state.

The candidates should get through the State Eligibility Test (SET) conducted by the Tamil Nadu government to qualify for these posts in our state. The candidates can become eligible to join as Assistant Professor in any college or university in the country by getting through the National Eligibility Test of the University Grants Commission. The students can write NET and SET exams after completion or in the final semester of the Post Graduation course (M.A in Political Science).

### B.5) Teaching Career in Schools

There are two exams for recruiting teachers in the schools of our state. The candidates aspiring to become teachers in primary (class I-V) and upper primary (class VI-VIII) schools should write Tamil Nadu Teachers Eligibility Test (TNTET). The candidates who want to join as the **Postgraduate Assistants** in Government Higher Secondary schools in Tamil Nadu Higher Secondary Educational Service should write the second exam. The Teacher Recruitment Board (TRB) conducts the above mentioned recruitment tests.

### B.6) Opportunities in Media

There are plenty of opportunities in mass media for students of Political Science. They can branch into print journalism, television news channels and digital media. The news media preponderantly deals with politics, society, environment, culture and international issues and a good grounding in Political Science and international relations can intellectually empower and enrich a career in media. After graduation in political science the interested students can do a course in media in institutions like

1. Indian Institute of Mass Communication, New Delhi
2. Asian College of Journalism in Chennai and become successful in media.

### B.7) Police Service

They can enter police department as Sub Inspectors after getting through the Tamil Nadu Uniformed Services Recruitment Board (TNSURB) exam for the recruitment of Sub Inspectors or as Constables after cracking police constable recruitment exam of TNUSRB.



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### B.7) Career in Law

Political Science and Law are closely related disciplines. The students of Political Science after 12th standard can study *the five year integrated law course Bachelor of Arts and Bachelor of Legislative Law (B.A.LL.B) or after graduation can pursue the three year Bachelor of Legislative Laws (LL.B) degree*. The important entrance exams include Common Law Admission Test (CLAT) and All India Law Entrance Test (AILET). There are a large number of colleges and universities offering law courses in our state. *The Government Law Colleges located in places like Coimbatore, Madurai, Tiruchirapalli, Chengalpattu, Tirunelveli, Vellore and Dr.Ambedkar Government Law College, Chennai are affiliated to Dr.Ambedkar Law University, Chennai.*

1. The National Law School of India University, Bangalore
2. National Law School,, Jodhpur
3. NALSAR University of Law, Hyderabad
4. National Law University, Bhopal
5. Government Law College, Mumbai
6. Faculty of Law in Delhi University, are among the top institutions in the country.

After completing the law degree the candidates can practice as lawyers or become judges in courts. They can aspire to become the judges in the District Courts, High Courts and Supreme Court. There are constitutionally prescribed qualifications for judges of High Courts and Supreme Courts.

### B.8) Educational and Employment opportunities in International Domain.

There are a great number of reputed universities all over the world that provide courses in Political Science and International Relations

#### In United States

1. The Harvard University
2. Princeton University
3. University of California,
4. University of Berkeley
5. Yale University

#### In United kingdom

1. the University of Oxford
2. London School of Economics and Political Science
3. University of Cambridge

#### In Australia

1. Australian National University

are among the globally reputed educational institutions in Political Science. The students can pursue international careers in media, academics, research bodies, corporate etc. They can seek a career in the administration *of international organizations like United Nations, World Bank, World Trade Organisation, International Court of Justice, and United Nations Framework Conference on Climate Change.*

Political Science is like the skill set of a swimmer. The person with swimming skills can swim in any water body whether it is a pond or a lake or an ocean. A political science student with apt knowledge, attitude and skills can join any career of general nature.

Websites of Political Science institutions:

| National | International |
|---|---|
| 1. http://www.jnu.ac.in | 1. http://www.columbia.edu |
| 2. http://www.mids.ac.in | 2. http://www.yale.edu |
| 3. http://www.tiss.edu | 3. http://anu.edu.au |
| 4. http://www.unom.ac.in | 4. http://www.cam.ac.uk |



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E - Book




Assessment



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# THE CONSTITUTION OF INDIA

## PREAMBLE

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

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

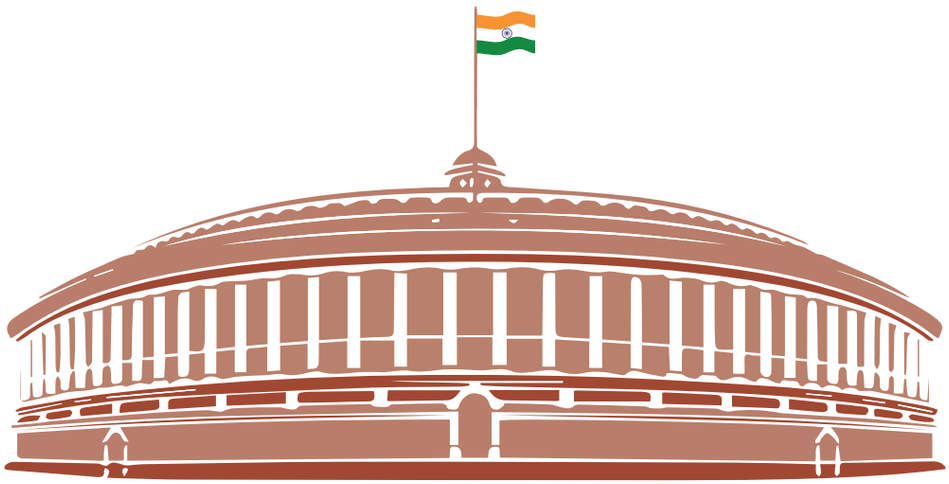
FRATERNITY assuring the diginity of the individual and the unity and integrity of the Nation ;

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



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# POLITICAL SCIENCE



## HIGHER SECONDARY FIRST YEAR



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UNIT 1

# Introduction of Political Science



## 1.1 Meaning, Definition and Origin of Political Science

### Politics

What is Politics??!! I hear about it in tea-stalls, restaurants, buses and in all other places that I go to... I have been hearing this word since childhood... and everybody is so serious when they talk about it... so should I get to know what is politics?





The term 'Politics' is closely related to the Greek word 'Polis' meaning 'city-state' (for affairs of the cities-for affairs of the state). The study of politics dates back to 5th century BC(BCE) Greece with immense contributions by political philosophers ***Plato*** (428/427 BC – 348/347 BC) and ***Aristotle*** (384 BC- 322 BC). Before the 20th century, the study of politics was integrated with other disciplines such as history and philosophy.

### Learning Objectives

- Provides insights into the meaning of Politics and the manner in which it affects the lives of people.
- Examines the definitions of Political Science and the changing nature of the discipline.
- Explains the scope of Political Science.
- Throws light on the various approaches to the study of Political Science.
- Discusses the relationship between Political Science and other Social Sciences.

Politics was primarily concerned with the study of ethics. It further focused on the study of political ideas, political institutions and processes within states and the relations between states. But the last two centuries witnessed the study of politics concentrating on the conflict between liberty and equality. In the 21st century, a central theme has been the constant conflict between liberty and security. Some other major themes that are not central to the study of politics are development, environmental sustainability, gender equality and international peace and co-operation.



POLITICS IS EVERYONE'S BUSINESS

All through history, political philosophers have different perspectives on the central theme of politics. The Greek philosopher ***Aristotle***, the father of Political Science, considered the study of



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politics as a systematic inquiry to understand the truth about politics so as to explain the relationship between the State and the individual. He described and classified different political systems. ***Aristotle*** and ***Plato*** made immense contributions to the origin and development of the discipline. ***Plato*** analyzed different political systems and ***Aristotle***, closely following the trails of his teacher ***Plato***, gave the analysis a historical perspective. They tried to understand the working of different forms of governments.

**ACTIVITY**

Collect information about Arthashastra and have a discussion in class on it.

Politics was a matter of discussion in the churches during the medieval period as political power remained with the church under the Holy Roman Empire. The works of philosophers such as ***St. Augustine*** ('The City of God') amalgamated the principles of political philosophy with those of religion. It must be noted here that for the Greek and medieval philosophers, politics was a knowledge centering on the city-state, which by and large had spiritual bond. It was more of a community than a state.

It was during the Italian Renaissance that ***Niccolo Machiavelli*** laid the foundations of modern political science through his emphasis on empirical observation and investigation of political structures and political behaviour from a secular perspective. Politics, in the words of ***Harold Lasswell***, an American Political Scientist, is 'Who gets What, When and How?' This definition is based on the assumption that all societies exhibit sharp diversities with people pursuing different interests and values and hence there requires a mechanism through which the conflicting interests are reconciled. Also, scarcity of resources is a feature of all modern societies and so politics would mean the mechanism through which goods and resources are distributed. For ***Karl Marx***, politics was all about class conflict and political power and to ***David Easton*** politics meant 'the authoritative allocation of values'.

Political scientists have explained politics through its basic concepts such as power, order and justice. Power is the ability to make and enforce rules and to influence the behaviour of the individuals. Power may or may not be legitimate. One needs to understand the difference between power and authority. Authority is the moral or legal right and is the ability to control. It implies legitimacy, where power is exercised through established institutions and people willingly accept it as proper and just. Power, on the other hand, may or may not be legitimate.

Politics is also concerned about order which denotes the structures, rules, rituals, procedures and practices that make up the political system. As the majority is ruled by the minority, there is always an apprehension of the fairness of the government mechanism. Therefore, the exercise of power should be based on the foundations of justice. Thus, power, order and justice are regarded the basic concepts in politics. Since the late 19th century, the study of politics as an academic discipline is commonly referred to as 'Political Science'.



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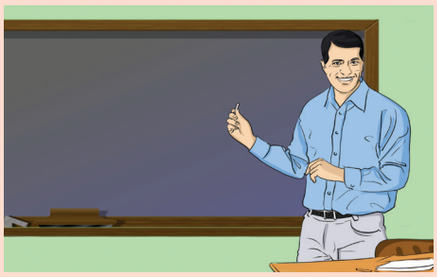
DO YOU KNOW?

## ARISTOTLE ON HAPPINESS

***Aristotle*** believed that happiness was the most important thing in life. He taught that one should not waste one's time in the pursuits of pleasure, but should seek happiness instead. According to him, true happiness lay not in material things, but in understanding one's true nature, and regaling one's full potential. In short, happiness depends upon ourselves, and not on the outside world. One of ***Aristotle***'s most famous quotes is

"...happiness is the meaning and the purpose of life, the whole aim and end of human existence..."

## CONVERSATION



**Student:** Sir, we make a mention of Greek Thinkers like ***Plato*** and ***Aristotle*** in our discussion about the study of politics. In the Indian context, who is considered the first political thinker?

**Teacher:** In the Indian context, ***Thiruvalluvar***, the author of Thirukkural, the ancient legal text, is considered as one of the first political thinker.

**Student:** Sir! It is very interesting to know that an ancient Tamil literature seems to be the first political manual in India.

**Teacher:** Though ***Kautilya***, who was the author of Arthasastra, wrote his book in 300BCE that book concentrated more on the Political Economy, while the Thirukkural of ***Thiruvalluvar*** concentrated more on Political governance.

**Student:** Oh is it! Sir! Will you please say something about Kautilya!

**Teacher:** With Pleasure! ***Kautilya***, was the chief Minister of Chandra Gupta Mauryia, who ruled a North Indian State about 300 BCE wrote the book Arthasastra, which literally means Artha=wealth and Sastra=knowledge. In short a first literary source on political economy.

**Student:** Sir! Then what is the contribution of Thiruvalluvar to political science?

**Teacher:** Thiruvalluvar has given many concepts in Thirukkural regarding king and kingdom which



can be correlated with the contemporary concepts of political science like state, government etc.

**Qualities of King: (Kural no: 382 & 383).**

i) Courage ii)Liberal hand iii) Wisdom & energy iv) Knowledge v) Taking strong decisions.

**What a kingdom should and should not have? (Kural no: 734).**

i) Complete cultivation i) Excessive starvation

ii) Virtuous person ii)Irremediable epidemics.

iii) Merchants with inexhaustible wealth iii).Destructive foes.

**Components of Kingdom: (Kural no: 381)**

i)People ii)Army iii)Resources iv)Ministry v)Friendship vi)Fort

**Duties of King:**
i) Identifying resources
ii) Collecting revenue
iii) Protecting revenue.
iv) Distribution of revenue.

**Student:** Oh! It is very much Interesting to know more from you, about our ancient literary sources on Political Science!



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There is a limited amount of power in society, which can only be held by one person or group at a time.

***- Karl Marx***



Power is a relationship in which one group of persons are able to determine the actions of the others in the direction of the former's own end.

***- David Easton***



Power breeds power and this form the central tenet of elitism.

***- Robert Michel***

## Political Science

The switch from 'Politics' to 'Political Science' occurred as the discipline began to emerge as an autonomous discipline in the modern period. The term politics referred to the affairs of the city state, which was a small community, in the ancient Greece. But the term nowadays refers to as ***Gilchrist*** says, 'current problems of the government'. It means that when someone says he is interested in politics it implies that he is involved in several political activities relating to political issues, legislations, labour issues, party activities and the rest which has far wider canvass. On the other hand, the political studies are distinct and hence they need to be differentiated from current problems. Further, politics in one country differ from the others. What is 'politics' in India may not mean the same in other places. But 'political science' will mean one and the same thing everywhere. Hence it would be better to name the discipline as Political Science than as Politics. The Political Scientists who met at Paris in 1948 also found the term 'Political Science' more acceptable. It is not appropriate to use the two terms as synonyms, though a few still prefer to style the discipline also as politics.

The important developments in Political Science since the time it became a distinct academic discipline occurred in the United States. Until then, Politics was a part of disciplines such as philosophy, law and economics. Political Science as an autonomous discipline dates back to 1880 when ***John W. Burgess*** established a School of Political Science at the Columbia University. By 1920's most of the leading Universities established an exclusive department for the study of Political Science. The American Political Scientists showed tremendous interest in this direction and took efforts to separate it from history, law and philosophy. The discipline then had very formalistic and institutional approach and this trend continued up to the Second World War.

But later, scholars such as ***Woodrow Wilson*** and ***Frank Goodnow*** stressed more on the study of social facts over the study of static institutions. There was a conscious effort by scientists such as ***Arthur Bentley*** to develop an objective, value-free analysis of politics and the principle impetus in this regard came during the 1920's from the Chicago University. ***Charles E. Merriam*** was the leading figure in this movement for empirical observation and measurement in political analysis.



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***Charles E. Merriam***'s 'Political Power' and ***Harold Lasswell***'s 'Politics: Who Gets What, When, How?' made the aspect of power the central theme of politics. The totalitarian regimes in Europe and Asia in the 1920's and 30's and the onset of the Second World War turned the discipline away from its focus on institutions and procedures. Works during this phase focused more on political parties, pressure groups, elites and the basis of electoral choices. This new focus on political behaviour came to be known as 'behaviouralism'. The term was borrowed from 'behaviourism' in psychology. Later, the 1960's saw the emergence of a new trend known as 'Post-Behaviouralism'. It was a reaction against the orthodoxy and dominance of the behavioural methods in the study of politics. The call for the development of this trend was given by ***David Easton***, who ironically, was one of the leading advocates of the behavioural revolution. He claimed that the behavioural method lost touch with reality and hence post-behaviouralism argued that research did not have to be necessarily value free and the emphasis had to be on relevance over precision. Thus, The intellectual revolution resulted in many political scientists attempting to comprehend the sociological, anthropological and psychological aspects of the study of Political Science. They vehemently criticized the traditional methods and its formal and parochial tools of analysis. They pointed out that the political theorists in the past concentrated on state, government, institutions and their formal structures and did not take into consideration the interactions between them and the subjects and failed to examine the political behaviour of humans. Thus, modern political analysis began to rest upon the following four principles:

- the search for comprehensive scope
- the search for realism
- the search for precision
- the search for intellectual order

**ACTIVITY**

Why is ***Aristotle*** regarded as a great political philosopher? Discuss

Why do we say that both ***Plato*** and ***Aristotle*** had a profound influence on Greek social, political and economic life?

Read more about ***Charles E. Merriam***, ***Woodrow Wilson*** and ***Arthur Bentley*** and find out their important works.

## Definition of Political Science

Scholars have defined Political Science in different ways. For ***Garner*** it begins and ends with State. ***Leacock*** and ***Seeley*** see its dealing with government. ***Robson*** and ***Lasswell*** regard it as the study of power and influence. Some scholars define it as the study of political aspects of organized human society. But the latter one instantly enlarges the scope of political science as it tends to include everything. Thus Political Science has been variously defined though for most part of the history the emphasis was placed on state, its institutions, laws and processes. Political behaviour of individuals and groups also became a part of it after the behavioural revolution. The latest addition to this has been the concept of governance.



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Political Science deals with the origin, development, purpose and all political problems of the State.- ***Garris***

The study of Politics concerns itself with the life of men in relation to organized states.- ***Harold Laski***

Political Science investigates the phenomena of government as Political Economy deals with Wealth, Biology with Life, Algebra with Numbers and Geometry with Space and Magnitude.- ***Seeley***

Political Science is an empirical enquiry in the study of shaping and sharing of power.

***- Harold Laswell***

It is the historical study of the past, analytical study of the present and ethical study of the future. ***-Gettel***

Political Science is the process by which scarce resources- human, economic, spiritual are allocated within a social limit, be it a city, a state, a nation or an organization for the purpose of providing for human needs and desires. ***- David Easton***

**On the basis of your reading / understanding of the above report answer the following questions briefly:**

1. What do you understand by the term "Tryst with destiny" ?
2. List any three challenges highlighted by the Prime Minister Nehru.
3. Discuss why freedom, power, peace and security are considered as core components in our day to day life.

## 1.2 Nature of Political Science

Human being is a social animal. They prefer company to solitude. Humans are never self-sufficient and depend on fellow beings for the satisfaction of their diverse needs. So, they have always lived in social groups. They have been a part of the society with set rules of common behaviour. Such a society had to be properly organized with individuals to enforce rules and regulations and also their observance had to be ensured. The society thus organized is called the State, the rules that govern social conduct are the laws of the State and the individuals who enforce the same and ensure their observance is the government. Thus, Political Science deals with human being in relation to the State and government. It is the study of humans in the process of governing themselves.

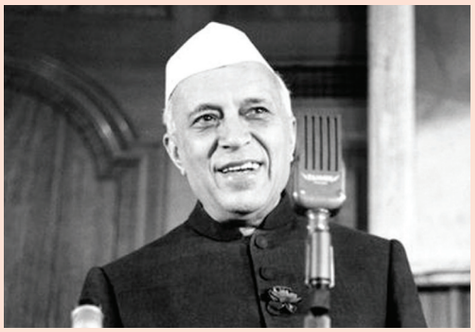
Political Science is concerned with the theory and practice of politics. It describes and analyzes political systems and political behaviour. It traces the origin and development of State. It studies the associations and institutions related to the State. Political Science attempts to explain what men and women do in political situations. At the initial stages the discipline was closely aligned with subjects such as history and philosophy. The American Political Science Association founded in 1903 made efforts to separate



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## Case Study

### "Tryst with Destiny"



The following is the report by The Hindu on 14.8.1947delivered by the first Prime Minister of India Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.

"Long years ago, we made a tryst with destiny and now the time comes when we shall redeem our pledge, not wholly or in full measure, but very substantially", declared India's first premier, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, moving the resolution prescribing an Oath for the members in the Constituent Assembly to-night.

"At the stroke of midnight hour," Pandit Nehru said, "when the world sleeps, India will awake to life and freedom. (cheers) The moment come, it comes but rarely in history, when we step our from the old to the new, when an age ends, and when the soul of a nation, long suppressed, finds utterance. It is fitting that at this solemn moment we take the pledge of dedication to the service of India and her people and to the still larger cause of humanity".

"Freedom and power bring responsibility. That responsibility rests upon the Assembly, a sovereign body representing the sovereign people of India. Before the birth of freedom, we have endured all the pains of labour and our tears are heavy with the memory of this sorrow. Some of those pains continue even now. Nevertheless, the past is over and it is the future that backons to us now.

The service of India means the service of the millions who suffer, it means the ending of poverty and ignorance and disease and inequality of opportunity. The ambition of the greatest man of our generation has been to wipe every tear from every eye. That may be beyond us, but so long as there are tears and suffering, so long our work will not be over. And so we have to labour and to work and work hard to give reality our dreams. Those dreams are for India, but they are also for the world, for all the nations and peoples are too closely knit together to day for any one of them to imagine that it can live apart. Peace has been said to be indivisible, so is freedom, so is prosperity now, and so is prosperity now, and so also is disaster in this one world that can no longer be split into isolated fragments".



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the study of politics from other social sciences such as history and economics. At the later stages, when scientific approach became the order of the day it was aligned with disciplines such as psychology and anthropology. The behavioural revolution stressed on the need for a scientific and systematic analysis of individual and group behaviour. With the advent of Post-Behaviouralism, relevance to social problems along with political facts became the focus of Political Science.

**ACTIVITY**

Make a list of the important works of ***Plato*** and ***Aristotle***.

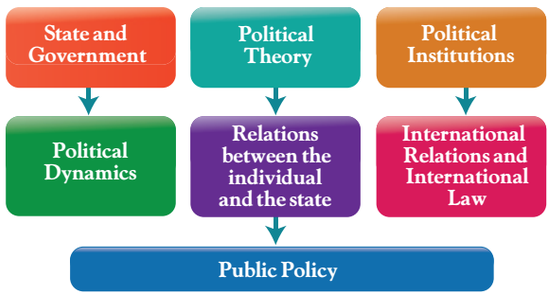
## 1.3. Scope of Political Science

Scope of the discipline implies its jurisdiction or subject-matter. Political Science covers a vast field. Basically it is seen as a study of State. The state is located on a territory with its own people and a government to maintain and promote orderly and happier life. Hence the scope of the discipline takes a quantum jump. Further the human nature will not remain static. Men Change and the scope of the discipline keep expanding. As the subject matter of political science includes enacting legislations that binds every one and every other activity its areas of inquiry also includes fields like economics, commerce, sociology, law, etc.,

In the year 1948, the International Political Science Association mentioned the following as the Scope of Political Science;

- Political Theory
- Political Institutions
- Political Dynamics
- International Relations

As the scope of Political Science cannot be limited to the above mentioned sub-disciplines, the following diagram illustrates the broad scope of Political Science.




Political Science primarily studies the problems of the State and Government. State possesses the authority to frame rules for governing its people. The State executes its will through the government. The government is an agency of the State. Some political theorists such as ***Bluntschli*** have restricted the scope of Political Science to the study of State alone as they believe the State includes also the government. The government is considered the part and parcel of the State. On the other hand, other writers such as ***Karl Deutsch*** *opines* that Political Science deals only with the government. Scholar such as ***Harold Laski*** argue that Political Science is the study of both state and government. Despite the fundamental differences between the state and government, the scope of one cannot be separated from that of the other. The scope of Political Science includes the study of the past, present and future developments of the State.

Political Theory is an important component of Political Science. It includes political thought and philosophy and



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further explains the basic concepts of the discipline. Political Science examines the nature, structure and working of political institutions. It undertakes a comparative analysis of different constitutions and governments. The scope of the discipline also includes the study of contemporary forces in government and politics. This includes the study of political parties, interest groups and pressure groups. An empirical study of political dynamics explains the political behaviour of individuals, groups and organizations. Most importantly, Political Science throws light on the relationship between individuals and the state. Consequently, modem political scientists under the behavioural and systems approach have widened the scope of political science to cover many more aspects like political socialization, political culture, political development and informal structures like pressure groups, etc.

Moreover, the study of International Relations which includes diplomacy, international laws and international organizations also come within the purview of Political Science. It is also a study of Public policy explaining the governmental and non-governmental responses to public issues.

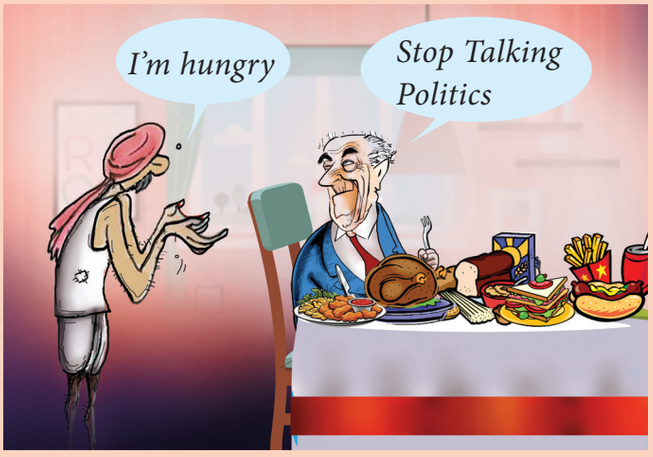
## 1.4. Is Political Science, a Science or an Art?

### What is Political Science?

**What is political science?**
The scientific study of politics and government

**What political science is not?**
A perfect science that has all the answers

**Is political science is a science? If so, how is politics scientific?**




The subject of Politics is popularly called as Political Science only after the empirical approaches entering into the subject after the Contributions of American Political Scientists' contributions. Though it is called as "Political Science" it cannot be claimed a status of a pure science like Physics, Chemistry, Biology, etc. It can be called only as social science, as it is mainly dealing about human behaviour.

There is a great debate on the scientific nature of Political Science. Some scholars consider it a science of the State and the Government. While others are of the opinion that it is one of the most backward of all the arts. Writers like ***Auguste Comte*** and ***Maitland*** are of the opinion that social sciences lack scientific character as there is no consensus of opinion among experts on its nature, methods and approaches. It lacks continuity and development and the elements that constitute a basis of precision. There are no universal principles and the scientific methods of observation and experimentation may not be applicable to Political Science. The elements of reliability, verifiability, precision and



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accuracy found in natural sciences are absent in Political Science. There is no uniformity in the principles of Political Science and it does not strictly observe the relation of cause and effect as the other sciences do. Similarly we do not find that exactness and absoluteness in Political Science as it is found in Physics and Chemistry. Hence several scholars identify it with Arts.

On the other hand, some writers argue that Political Science is the science of state and government. ***Aristotle*** was the first one to call it as a supreme science. Writers such as ***Bodin***, ***Hobbes***, ***Montesquieu*** and ***Bluntschli*** subscribe to this view. ***Dr. Garner*** defines science as knowledge relating to a particular subject acquired by a systematic study, observation or experience. If science is thus defined, conclusions in Political Science are also drawn after systematic study, observation or experience. Though Political Science cannot claim of universal laws as in the case of natural sciences, there are conclusions that can be proven. For instance, it cannot be denied that democracy is the most suited form of government in pluralistic societies and that it is best possible one to promote social welfare. This conclusion was derived after a systematic study of the other forms of governments in different parts of the world during the ancient, medieval and modern period. There is no consensus among scholars on the nature, methods and principles of the discipline as it engages in the study of human beings and the institutions manned by them. These institutions adapt themselves to changing needs of human life and hence scholars are also of different views and opinions. Nevertheless, all Political Scientists unanimously agree that imperialism, colonialism, inequality, illiteracy and poverty affect the society at large.

Though Political Science does not strictly adhere to the theory of cause and effect, certain political phenomena have their own cause and effect. For instance, poverty and unemployment are causes that can result in the consequence of revolution. Hence, some writers conclude that Political Science is undoubtedly a 'Science'.

Though Political Science cannot be equated with the natural sciences but nevertheless, it is a social science dealing with individuals and their relations with the State and government. One can say that, whether Political Science could be seen as an Art or Science would largely depend on the chosen subject matter for the study and the approaches used to carry out the study.

**Quotable Quote**

Whoever you are or want to be, you may not be interested in politics, but politics is interested in you. - ***Marshall Bermen***

## 1.5 Approaches to the Study of Political Science

An approach is the way of looking at a political phenomenon and then explaining it. The approaches and methods to the study of Political Science are many. There are both traditional and modern or scientific approaches. The traditional approaches are highly speculative and normative and the modern approaches are more empirical and scientific in nature.

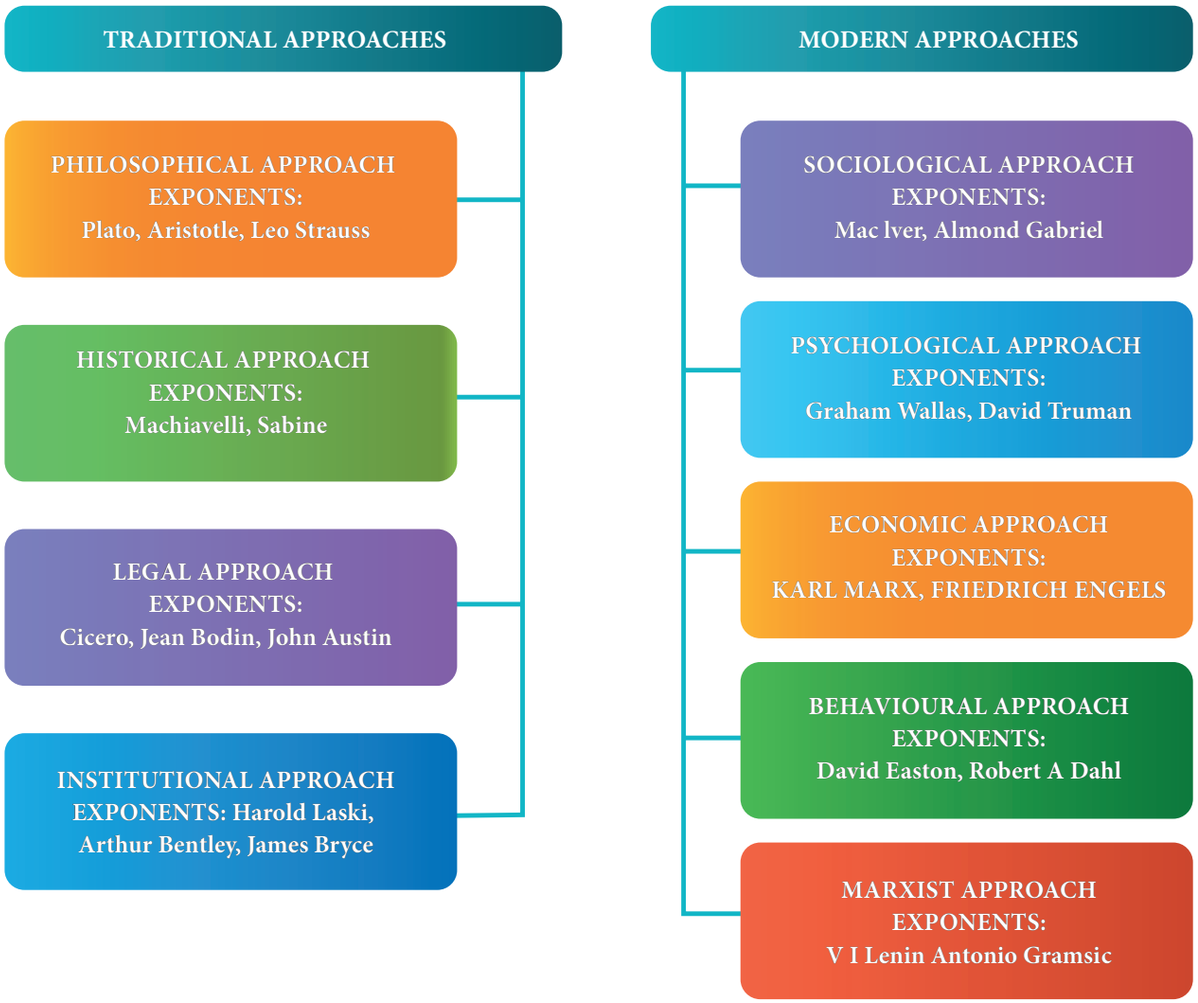


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## I. Traditional Approaches

### i. Philosophical Approach

It is the oldest approach to the study of politics. It is also known as speculative, metaphysical or ethical approach. The study of state, government and the political behaviour of man is intricately linked with the quest for achieving certain goals, morals or truths. Here, the discipline moves closer to the world of ethics. The approach is criticized for being highly speculative and abstract.




### ii. Historical Approach

This approach throws light on the past and traces the origin and development of the political institutions. It seeks to study the role of individuals and their motives, accomplishments and failures in the past and its implications for the future. In understanding the political issues of today, the help of historical parallels are sought. However, critics argue that historical parallels can be illuminating, but at the same time they can also be misleading as it is loaded with superficial resemblances.

### iii. Legal Approach

The study of politics is linked with the study of legal institutions created by the State for the maintenance of the



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political organization. As the State is engaged in the maintenance of law and order, the study of judicial institutions become the concern of political theorists. This approach looks at the State as an organization primarily concerned with the creation and enforcement of law. However, critics argue that this approach has a narrow perspective. The State has various other functions to perform other than enforcement of law and order. Laws deal with only one aspect of an individual's life and do not enable the complete understanding of his political behaviour.

### iv. Institutional Approach

This approach is also known as the structural approach. It lays stress on the formal structures of the political organization such as legislature, executive and judiciary. The informal structures are also studied and a comparative study of the governmental systems are encouraged. However, this approach is criticized for laying too much emphasis on formal and informal structures and ignoring the role of individual in those institutions.

## II. Modern Approaches

### i. Sociological Approach

This approach emphasizes on the understanding of the social context to explain the political behaviour of the members of the community. The state is considered primarily as a social organism and politics is understood through the sociological factors. But critics are of the opinion that too much of emphasis on the social context can affect the very autonomy of the discipline.

### ii. Psychological Approach

This approach studies and explains political and social institutions through psychological laws. It assumes that the psychological analysis of political leaders reveals significant knowledge about politics. However, this approach ignores the sociological, legal and economic factors in the study of politics.

### iii. Economic Approach

As matters pertaining to production and distribution of goods are regulated by the State, the economic matters also become a concern for the political theorists. This approach emphasizes on the role of the State in regulating the economic matters and argues that economic affairs are intimately linked to the political process of the State. The approach is inclined towards linking and understanding the political and economic life of individuals. However, the approach takes into account only the economic factors and ignores other factors such as social and psychological factors.

### iv. Behavioural Approach

This approach focuses on political behaviour and studies the attitudes and preferences of humans in the political context. Thus, the study of politics moved its focus from formalism and normativism to the study of political behaviour. However, critics argue that this approach is based on a false conception of scientific methods.

### v. Marxist Approach

This approach is basically different from the other modern approaches. It perceives State as an inevitable consequence of class contradictions. It assumes that there is a continuous interaction between the political and economic forces and separating one from the other is not possible. However, this



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approach gives undue importance to the economic factors and ignores the other important factors.

After careful analysis of the approaches, it is understood that each approach has its own relevance in the study of political phenomenon and also suffer from certain limitations.

## III. Relationship with other Social Sciences

### i. Political Science and History

The state and its institutions are a product of slow historical growth and Political Science uses historical facts to discover general laws and principles. Political History is the narrative of political events and movements. The relationship between History and Political Science is well explained by Freeman as he says 'History is Past Politics and Politics is Present History'. ***John Seeley*** adds to it through his quote, 'History without Political Science has no fruit, Political Science without History has no root'.

### ii. Political Science and Economics

Economics was considered a branch of Political Science and in fact, the Greeks called Political Science by the name of Political Economy. Political Economy attempts to understand how political institutions, political environment and economy influence each other. Historians have explained as to how groups with common economic interests have utilized the political process and environment to effect changes for their own benefit. The study of Political Science and Economics are directed towards the same end providing the best possible life for its people.

### iii. Political Science and Ethics

Philosophy is closely associated with ethics. Ethics deals with morality and formulates rules and regulations governing the behaviour of individuals in the society. Ethics is the science of moral order and Political Science is the science of political order. Both Political Science and Ethics aim at the noble and righteous life of humans.

### iv. Political Science and Sociology

Political Science and Sociology are intimately related and it is Sociology that provides the basic information regarding the origin and evolution of state and other political institutions. Political Science is also called as Policy Science and policies of the State cannot be formulated without the careful analysis of the social needs of the people. Political Science provides information to Sociology about the organization and functions of the state and how the policies and programmes of the State affect the society at large.

### v. Political Science and Psychology

Psychology deals with all the aspects of human behaviour while Political Science deals only with the political behaviour of humans. Psychology throws light on why individuals and groups behave in a certain manner. It aids Political Science in understanding the behaviour of political parties and varied other groups in the state. ***Barker*** rightly says, 'The application of psychological clue to the riddles of human activity has indeed become the fashion of the day. If our forefathers thought biologically, we think psychologically'.



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### vi. Political Science and Public Administration

Political Science is closely related to Public Administration and in fact, the term 'public' denotes 'government' though Public Administration also includes the study of non-governmental organizations. Public Administration is the implementation of governmental policies and Political Science deals with the process of policy formulation. There is a similarity in the objective of Political Science and Public Administration as they both aim at optimum use of resources and social welfare.

Thus, we understand that Political Science is the systematic study of governance by the application of empirical and scientific methods of analysis. Though it involves empirical investigations, it does not generally produce precise predictions. Political Science examines the state and its organs and institutions. It also encompasses the study of societal, cultural, economic and psychological factors that influence the government. It borrows heavily from the other social sciences but its focus on power differentiates it from the other disciplines. Apart from power, Political Science also focuses on comparative politics, international relations, political theory, public law and public policy. Most importantly, the study of Political Science gives us the basic understanding of the political process, the system of government and the way in which it affects the life of every citizen.



**ACTIVITY**

Write a short note on how politics affects your daily life.



**ACTIVITY**

Collect pictures on the life and works of your favorite political thinker and explain to the class about his contributions to the discipline.



**Glossary**

Political Systems Various Forms of governments with different types of Constitutions

Arthashastra It is a work on political economy and administrative governance written by Kautilya in 3rd century BC.

City-State A community oriented small state with the governance of small population centered around a city.

Political Behaviour It may be defined as any action regarding authority in general and government in particular.

Authority Ability of a person or an institution to use its power and influence with legal sanction. It can also be called as legitimate use of power.

Tryst It is an appointment to meet at a certain time and place, especially one made somewhat secretly.

Destiny The things that will happen in the future

Political Dynamics The continuously changing and moving in political institutions from one stage to another stage.

Politics It is the art or science of government or governing, especially the governing of a political entity, such as a nation, and the administration and control of its internal and external affairs.



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Political Science It is the branch of knowledge that deals with the state and systems of government and the scientific analysis of political activity.

Behaviouralism It stressed on objective and quantified approach to explain and predict political behaviour.

Post-Behaviouralism It is a reaction against the behavioural orthodoxy and the emphasis was on relevance over precision.

Democracy Democracy refer to a popular government based on the will of the people.

Totalitarianism It refers to the subordination of all aspects of human life to the authority of the state.

Oligarchy It is a government by the few, especially despotic power exercised by a small and privileged group for corrupt or selfish purposes.

Imperialism The policy of extending the rule or authority of an empire or nation over foreign countries, or of acquiring and holding colonies and dependencies.

Colonialism The control or governing influence of a nation over a dependent country, territory, or people.

## Evaluation

### I Choose the Correct answer

**1) The term 'Politics' is closely related to the Greek word 'Polis' meaning,**

a) City-state b) Police Forces
c) Politics d) Police state

**2) Who told the central theme of politics is 'Who gets What, When and How?'**

a) Harold Laski b) Harold Laswell
c) Charles E Merriam d) Franck Goodnow

**3) According to David Easton Politics is**

a) 'The authoritative allocation of values'
b) 'The authoritative allocation of resources'
c) 'The authoritative allocation of authority'
d) 'The authoritative allocation of power'

**4) In the Indian context, who are all considered as the ancient political thinker?**

a) Kautilya and Thiruvalluvar b) Valmiki and Varahamihira
c) Charaka and Susrutha d) Viyasar and Aryabatta

**5) The Concept 'Legitimacy' is closely related to**

a) Study of Law b) State and Government
c) Legitimate ownership of Property d) Power and Authority



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**6) Who told that 'Power breeds power and this form the central tenet of elitism'?**

a) Robert Michel
b) Harold Laski
c) David Easton
d) Charles E Merriam

**7) Who can be called as the Father of Political Science?**

a) Aristotle
b) Socrates
c) Plato
d) Machiavelli

**8) Who told that 'Man is by nature a Political Animal'?**

a) Plato
b) Jean Bodin
c) Aristotle
d) Socrates

**9) Who changed the subject matter of politics from the religious approach to the empirical observation with secular Perspectives?**

a) Thomas Hobbes
b) Niccole Machiavelli
c) John Locke
d) J.J. Rousseau

**10) Who gave the famous quotation, 'History is past Politics and Politics is present History'?**

a) Harold Laswell
b) Freeman
c) Charles E Merriam
d) John Marshall

## II Answer the following questions very shortly

1) Define the origin of the word 'Politics'.
2) What do you understand by the term "Tryst with destiny"?
3) Describe the view of Karl Marx about Power.
4) Write about the views of Aristotle on Happiness.
5) List any three challenges highlighted by the Prime Minister Nehru.
6) Write about the Concept of secularism.
7) Explain the basic concept of Post-Behaviouralism.

## III Answer the following questions shortly

1) Explain the Nature of Political Science.
2) Define the concept 'Power'.
3) Write the relationship between Aristotle and Plato.
4) Explain the philosophical approach of Political science.
5) "History without Political Science has no fruit, Political Science without History has no root"- John Seeley: Explain.
6) Explain the legal approach to political science.



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## IV Answer the following questions in detail

1) Is Political Science an Art or Science? Substantiate your answer.
2) Explain the relationship between Political Science and other social sciences.
3) Explain the Traditional Approaches to study political science .
4) Explain the basic principles of Post Behaviouralism.
5) Explain the Context by which the subject of politics was released from the clutches of Religion.

### Reference books




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### Further readings




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2. Aristotle, Politics.
3. Laski, Harold J. A.Grammar of Politics. London: George Allen & Unwin, 1925.
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UNIT 2

# State



Dear Students, in the last chapter the discipline Political Science was introduced to you. Did you question what is Political Science dealing with? If Botany is concerned with the study of plants and sociology the study of society then what Political Science is about? What is the main focus of study of Political Science?



## Introduction

Political Science is the systematic study of State. We all live in State. The world is viewed as an embodiment of many States. State as an idea or a concept is derived from a historical process of political, cultural, religious and economic contexts of a region. Today when the word 'State' is mentioned and used it usually indicate the modern State. The world today comprises of modern States. Modern State is a public order completely different from the pre-modern notion comprising of a body politics consisting of the rulers and the ruled. Hence a proper understanding of what State is and what not is quite essential to students of political science.

### Learning Objectives

- This explanatory chapter about the State will enable you to understand what are the major concerns of the study of political science especially what is State and its functions.
- Demonstrate the different views of various thinkers about the State.
- Introduce you the elements of the State.
- Facilitate you to identify the linkage between Society, State and Government.
- Familiarize the concepts of Modern State, Welfare State and Soft State.

## 2.1 Meaning and Definition of State

The State is the most universal and most powerful of all social institutions. The State is a natural institution. ***Aristotle*** said 'Man (Human) is a social animal and by nature s/he is a political being. To him, to live in the State and to be a man were identical. The modern term 'state' is derived from the word 'status'. It was ***Niccolo Machiavelli*** (1469 – 1527) who first used the term 'State' in his writings. The state is necessary because it comes



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into existence out of the basic needs of life. It continues to remain for the sake of good life. The aims, desires, and aspirations of human beings are translated into action through the State. Though the State is a necessary institution, no two writers agree on its definition. This disagreement makes the study of the State more creative and interesting. For instance, we have social Contract theory in political science. The three main thinkers associated with social contract theory are ***Thomas Hobbes***, ***John Locke*** and ***Jean Jacques Rousseau***. The three thinkers collectively agree that humans need to be controlled by the State. At the same time, they disagree on to what extent the control can be exercised by the State on humans.

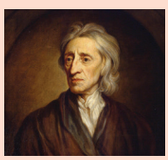
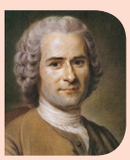


| Political Thinkers | Human Nature | State of Nature | Social contract |
|---|---|---|---|
| ***Hobbes*** | Man is a wolf unto his fellow man | A state of war | Leviathan |
| ***Locke*** | Man has perfect freedom | Property is not secure | Common wealth |
| ***Rousseau*** | Man is free but immoral | No security or morality | State guided by the general will |

**ACTIVITY**

**Find Me....**

The social Contract Theory of the State was put forth by the three main proponents collectively called contractualists. The three agreed that humans need to be controlled by the State. But to what extent that control should be has been debated in their unique way. Find out who the three are?

## 2.2 Essential Elements of State

The state is a set of institutions which has an unquestionable authority over people. Hence all modern States have their own Constitution that moderates the freedom and privileges of the citizens of the State with the coercive and unquestionable power of the State. Hence Constitution is considered as a limiting agent on the overwhelming authority of the State.

The ***Montevideo*** Convention on Rights and Duties of States held in 1933 gave the fundamental understanding of State. A State must have a permanent population, a defined territory and a government that can control the territory and its people and conducts international

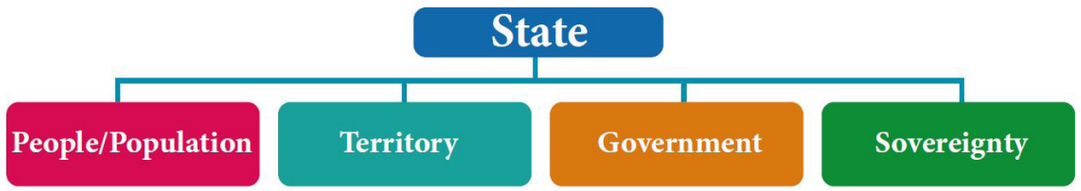


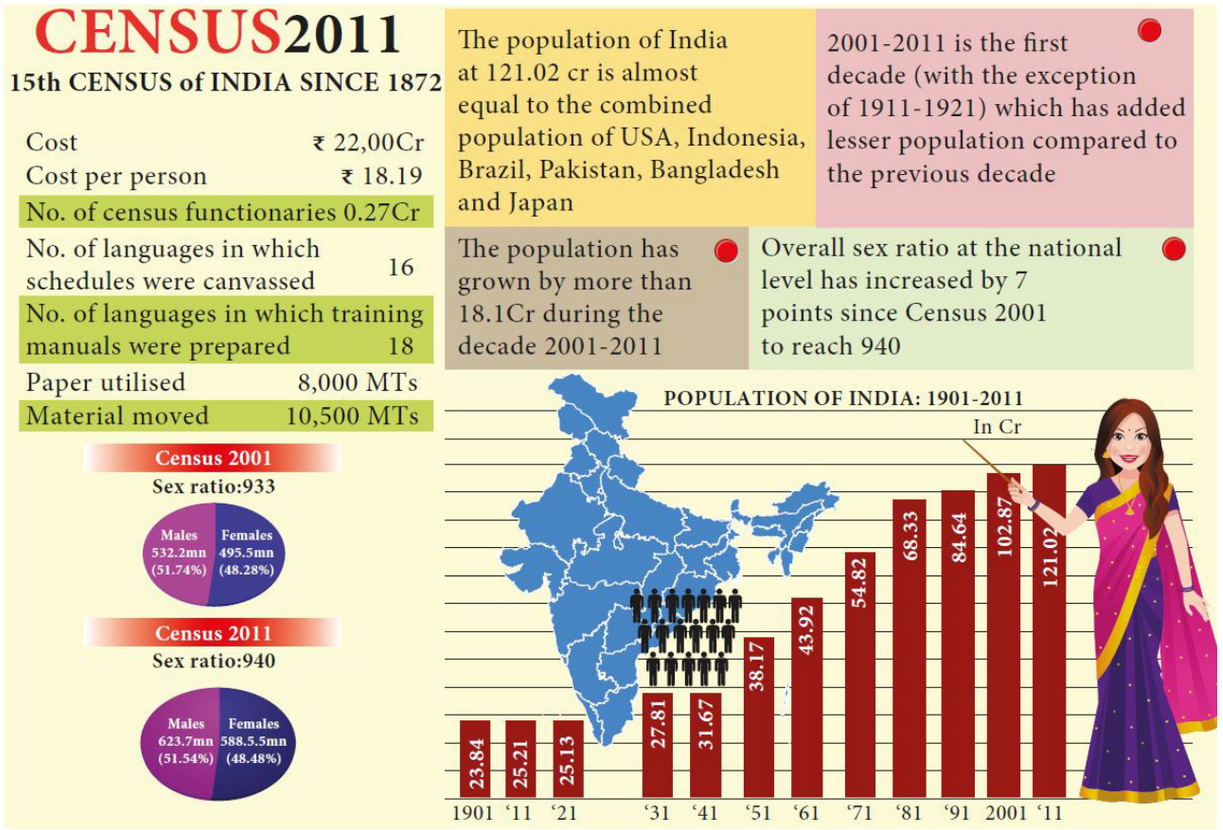
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relations with other States. Consequently, the recognition of a State by other States becomes crucial for the legitimacy of the State from an external point of view.

## Definition of State

- ***Aristotle*** defined the State as a "union of families and villages having for its end a perfect and self – sufficing life by which it meant a happy and honorable life".
- To ***Holland***, the State is "a numerous assemblage of human beings generally occupying a certain territory amongst whom the will of the majority or class is made to prevail against any of their number who oppose it."
- ***Burgess*** defines the State as "a particular portion of mankind viewed as an organised unit."
- According to ***Garner***, "State is a community of people occupying a definite form of territory free of external control and possessing an organised government to which people show habitual obedience."




**Census 2011: population pegged at 121.02 cr**



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## Population

It is the people who make the State. The population is essential for the State. What should be the size of the population has been a debate by thinkers from ancient time. According to ***Plato***, the ideal number would be 5040. According to ***Aristotle***, the number should be neither too large nor too small. It should be large enough to be self – sufficient and small enough to be well governed. ***Rousseau*** determined 10,000 to be an ideal number for a State. Ancient thinkers view on the number was based on the small city – States like Athens and Sparta. The modern States vary in population. India has a population of 121.02 cr people according to 2011 census of India.




According to Plato, the ideal number of State is 5040. The reason is the number 5040 is divisible by numbers from 1 to 12. In the case of 11 the reminder is 2. During the time of emergency the population can be divided in various columns and instructions could be given.

## Territory

People need territory to live and to organize themselves socially and politically. It may be remembered that the territory of the State includes land, water, and air space. The modern States differ in their sizes. The territory is necessary for citizenship. As in the case of population, no definite size with regard to extent of the area of the State can be fixed. There are small and big States. In the words of Prof. Elliott, "Territorial sovereignty or the superiority of State, overall within its boundaries and complete freedom from external control has been a fundamental principle of the modern State life".

India has an area of 32,87,263 sq. km. approximately India occupies 2.4% of the global area. The opening article of the Indian Constitution speaks about the Territory of India.

There is a restriction of movement of individuals from one State to another State in the name of territorial sovereignty. But sitting in one country you can communicate to a person to another country using the internet. How do you see this to do with the sovereignty of the States? Examine why social networking websites like Facebook, twitter and YouTube are banned in some countries.

## Government

Government is the working agency of the State. It is the political organization of the State. Indian political scientist ***Prof. A. Appadurai*** defined government as the agency through which, the will of the State is formulated, expressed and realized. According to ***C.F. Strong***, in order to make and enforce laws, the State must have a supreme authority. Government is a fixed structure.

## Sovereignty

The fourth essential element of the State is sovereignty. The word 'sovereignty" means supreme and final legal authority above. No legal power can exist beyond sovereignty. The concept of "sovereignty" was developed in conjunction with the rise of the modern State. The term Sovereignty



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is derived from the Latin word "superanus" which means "supreme". In a traditional understanding, the characteristics of sovereignty are absoluteness, permanence, universality, indivisibility, exclusiveness, and inalienability.

The father of the modern theory of sovereignty was ***Jean Bodin*** (1530 – 1597) a French political thinker. According to ***Harold J. Laski***, "It is by possession of sovereignty that the State is distinguished from all other forms of human association". Human Association would mean anything from family, society and even voluntary organization similar kinds through which humans identify themselves together.

**DO YOU KNOW?**

- Can there be a Permanent Chief Minister or Permanent Prime Minister in a democracy?
- Find out the maximum term of office, a person can be elected as President of the United States of America? Why?



**ACTIVITY**

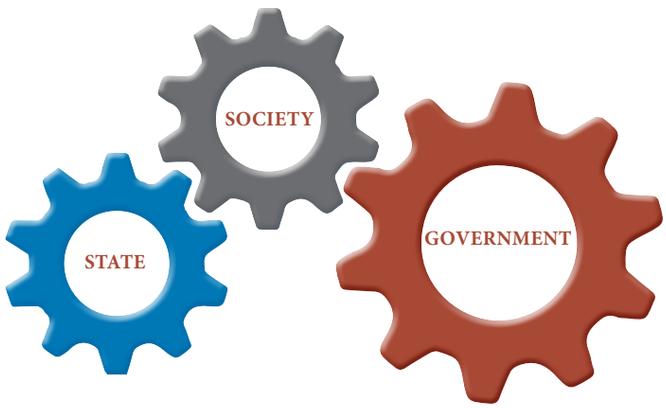
**Look at the newspaper advertisement given by the Government of India. Answer the following questions:**

- What do you understand by the word 'State'?
- List five ways in which you think that the government affects your daily life.
- Why do you think the State needs to make rules for everyone in the form of laws?

## 2.3 Society, state and Government

### Society, State and Government – How are they interrelated?

Historically when humans evolved from hunters and gatherers to a settled community, they started to produce goods. Group of families constituted a community and a group of communities constituted what we call as a society. Individuals for their emotional need that is often reciprocal lived in the family.




Families came together under the umbrella of the community for a greater objective of security. The communities so formed made a higher level of organization called society.

When society degenerates, it has a consequent effect on the communities and ultimately upon its constituent families and each and every individual would lead to suffering. Thus, it was, for this reason, humans came together, guided by reason felt the need of the State.



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State came into existence out of an imminent need that in the absence of a centralized and a coercive authority human cannot be saved from each other. This control in modern States is done legally through a set of rules and regulations. In a democracy, these rules and regulations are framed by the legislature, enforced by the executive and the judiciary adjudicates the made laws and the implemented laws on the basis of their legality and judiciousness. The function of law making, implementing and interpreting is the function of government.

The society consists of a large number of individuals, families, groups, and institutions. The early political thinkers considered both State and society as one. The state is a part of society but is not a form of society.

The membership of the State and society are the same. But they differ as regards to their purpose. The State exists for one great but single, purpose; society exists for a number of purposes; some great and some small. From the point of view of the organization, the State is a single organization – legal, whereas society comprises within itself many organizations. The State exercises its control over humans by coercion and exact obedience. On the other hand, the society employs a method of voluntary action. The purposes for which society exists makes the persuasive methods necessary. The multiplicity of the organization of society gives ample opportunity to the members to relinquish one association and join another in the event they are subject to any coercion. Thus you must understand a State without a centralized authority of coercive force and a society without the method of persuasion will fall apart.

| STATE | SOCIETY |
|---|---|
| State came into existence after the origin of the society. | Society is prior to the State. |
| The scope of the State is limited. | The scope of society is much wider |
| The state has fixed territory. | Society has no fixed territory. |
| The state is a political organization. | Society is a social organization. |
| The State has the power to enforce laws. | Society has no power to enforce laws. |

| STATE | GOVERNMENT |
|---|---|
| The state consists of population, territory, government and sovereignty. | Government is part of the State. |
| The state possesses original powers. | Powers of the government are derived from the State. |
| The state is permanent and continues forever. | Government is temporary. Governments can be replaced with peoples will |
| State is abstract and invisible | Government is concrete and is visible. |



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## State and Government

Government is often used with the 'State' as a synonym. But both the government and the State are two different entities. There are differences between the State and the government. They are explained in the table given below.

## Modern State

Before examining the functions of Modern State, you must understand what is Modernity? What is called as a Modern State?

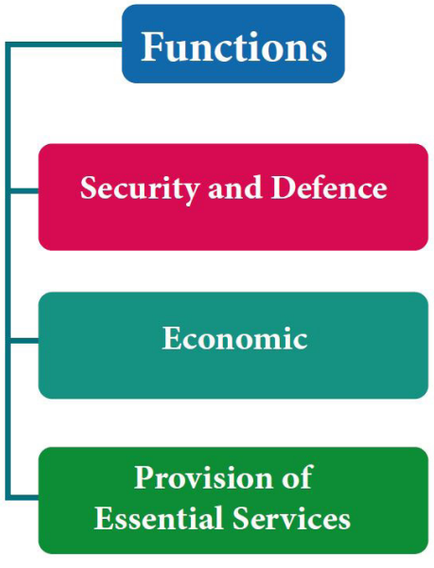
Modernity in historical term means the period of questioning the tradition or rejecting the age-old set of beliefs, practices and socio-cultural norms. Modernity laid the foundations of the prioritization of individualism, freedom, equality, fostering of scientific temper in every walk of life and thus modernity led humans from agrarianism towards industrialization, urbanization, and secularization. This intellectual shift drastically influenced the understanding of the society, State and government. For instance, the efforts of Raja Ram Mohan Roy to reform the Indian society are directly linked with the influence of western modernity on Indian thinkers. In Political science, modernity impacted on the concepts of State, liberty, equality, justice and so on. The rational foundation of modern State is often argued to be the treaty of Westphalia signed in the year 1648.

The idea of modern State was exported throughout the world during the nineteenth century by the process of European Colonization. The South Asian States that became independent from colonial control after second world war can be brought under the umbrella of post-colonial States and can be compared with the post-colonial States of the other parts of the world to assess their relative merits and drawbacks for improving their governance systems.

## 2.4 Functions of Modern State

The modern State is a developed State. The State should strive to keep its people secure and safe. The State should ensure that its borders are sealed and protected. The market needs to be integrated into the society by a well-knit macroeconomic structure. 'Citizen first' should be the motto of all the activities of the State. The sole principle of governance of modern State is whether the action of the State leads to the promotion of the welfare of its people. Accordingly, the State engages itself as a provider of essential services.

It is largely accepted that the modern State focuses on three main functions.




## Security and Defense

The States of today's world consider the meaning of security from multiple



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standpoints. Terms like Human Security have emerged to put citizens first. Inspired by the philosopher Immanuel Kant's idea of perpetual peace, the States of the world came together as 'league of nations' and later as the 'United Nations Organisation and have been debating the terms security and defence in terms of promoting peace.

### Economic functions

The modern state is supposed to intervene in the economic functions of the political system. The State needs to support the people, make them realize their potential for their betterment. Protecting consumers, weaker sections, investing in areas where there is no profit are those included in the economic functions of the modern state.

### Provision of Essential Services

From 'cradle to grave' modern state is supposed to care for its citizens. The fundamental needs such as food, clean drinking water, providing education, healthcare, and social security for the population are the responsibilities of the modern state. You can find the number of schemes and projects of Government of India and the various state governments to be in this direction. The noon meal scheme and the nutrition's meal schemes in all Government schools initiated by the Government of Tamil Nadu and adopted in different parts of the country is one such example.

The modern State strived for the welfare of its people and hence another concept came into existence called 'Welfare State'.

## 2.5 Concept of Welfare State

Have you ever noticed that the Directive principles of the State policy of the Indian Constitution have been placarding the western European idea of the Welfare State? Have you ever thought why the propelling mechanisms of socio-economic development have been kept in Part IV of the Constitution as an advisory to the State whereas the guarantee of political and civil rights has been made as a non-negotiable guarantee as Fundamental Right? What is the reason? Why could economic rights figure as the part of Fundamental right in the constitution?

### ACTIVITY





- Examine the relevance of MGNREGA, Right to Education Act, The National Food Security Act. Are these rights, legal rights or fundamental right?
- Discuss about the contributions of J.S. Mill and H.J.Laski towards the concept of welfare state.



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It is a reality that the abundance of resources with a minimal population has been the main reason for the successful functioning of welfare State model. The Scandinavian countries are excellent examples of welfare State. Though the Constitution of India strives for a welfare State the non-abundance of resources and a huge population has been the impediment in realizing the goals of the Welfare State.

The concept of welfare State has its origin in Western Europe after the Second World War. The main idea of welfare State is that the government of welfare State plays a vital role in human development. The role of the welfare State extends to the protection and promotion of the well being of its citizens. The economic and social well being of the citizens is based on (1) The principle of equality of opportunity (2) Equitable distribution of wealth (3) Public responsibility for those who cannot afford themselves the minimal provisions for leading a good life.

India before independence was a Colonial State under British rule. Indians were subjects of the English crown. Once India attained Independence, we had our Constitution that has been deeply inspired by the western model of welfare State.

## 2.6 Concept of Soft State

Nobel Laureate Karl Gunnar Myrdal identified what he called as societal indiscipline in the Asian States when compared to the western countries. He identified this societal indiscipline as the characteristics of soft State. Social indiscipline, corruption, and weak law enforcement are the main characteristics of a soft State.

- In western countries, the gender of the unborn baby (fetus) is disclosed as part of the standard procedure and it is usual that the expecting mother knows the gender of the unborn baby.
- Why in India the Pre-Conception and Pre-Natal Diagnostic Techniques (PCPNDT) Act, 1994 prohibits the communication of gender of the foetus to the pregnant woman or to her relatives by words, signs or any other method?

The post-colonial developing States are generally categorized as soft States where their institutions of governance are not fully developed. Our inability to adhere to standards and to enforce law and maintain discipline makes our country as a soft State. A soft State cannot advance further in refining its democratic values.

**ACTIVITY**

Find the difference between soft state and soft power, now relate these concepts with independent India.

As a student identify the list of social indiscipline and the ways of correcting them from your view.

## 2.7 Concept of Over Developed State

Almost all the States of South Asia are modern democracies. Yet, what makes them lag behind the western countries in development? When the institutions of governance such as the Parliament, the bureaucracy, and the planning machinery



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are imported and customized during colonial times, why is it that development is a slow process in these countries? Hamza Alawi, explains the case of the gover nability crisis of Pakistan and Bangladesh using the concept of Over Developed State

Overdeveloped State is an explanation offered to the ineffectiveness of the functioning of post-colonial States that operate with the similar structure of bureaucratic governance before and after their independence. Despite political liberation, the transformative approach did not percolate down the administrative structure of the States after they emerged free from the colonial yoke. The colonial powers of western Europe maintained double standards in designing the polity of the colonized States. When their respective States recognized political life, liberty and economic freedom of its citizens and in total the State was like a pet for its people, on the contrast the States were over centralized with unquestionable power in the colonized States. Such an arrangement was congenial to the colonizers to have unfretted siphoning of wealth from their colonies. This massive exploitation was effectively engineered by the bureaucracy that continued the colonial legacy even after independence with no or little change in the attitude of the political class that replaced the colonial masters.

When the State gets increasingly modernized when the society and its economy are lagging behind without modernization the State and the society grossly mismatched each other. This creates a divide between the people and the State's apparatus. What is good for people are not decided by them in a representative democracy but by an influential few. In the case of Pakistan and Bangladesh, Hamza Alawai coins the word 'military bureaucracy oligarchy' that is similar to the license raj of India and over-centralization as a continuation of colonial legacy that has been constantly addressed by the government of India.

## 2.8 Concept of post-colonial State

Post-colonial State is the name of new nation States that have emerged out of the process of decolonization after the Second World War. Post-colonial State is used synonymously with developmental State. The post-colonial State has the features of colonial State as far as the political institutions are concerned but there is only a shift in the objective of these institutions.

In general, post-colonial States exhibit a high degree of poverty, political instability and the crisis of governance. The mismatch between the society with its traditional power structure overlapping with modern States has largely resulted in such a situation.

It is obvious that the Colonial powers that ventured into newer worlds destroyed the main parts of native traditions and cultures and further constantly replaced them with their own ones. This cultural import led to conflicts as and when they became independent as they suddenly faced the challenge of developing a new national identity and self-confidence. This is one of the aspects why the sharp divide of the ruler and ruled remained in post-colonial States whereby the State actors tend to behave with an upper hand.



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## Glossary

State: A nation or territory considered as an organized political community under one government.

Government: The group of people who officially control a country

Social Contract Theory: The theory that advocates that persons' moral and/or political obligations are dependent upon a contract or agreement among them to form the society in which they live.

Society: A large group of people who live together in an organized way, making decisions about how to do things and sharing the work that needs to be done. All the people in a country, or in several similar countries, can be referred to as a society

Individualism: A social theory favoring freedom of action for individuals over collective or state control.

Scandinavia: Scandinavia is a group of countries in northern Europe. It always includes Denmark, Norway and Sweden

## Evaluation

### I. Choose the correct answer

5WG98

**1. Name the Political Thinker who first used the word State**

a) Niccolo Machiavelli b) Plato c) Aristotle d) Locke

**2. Who authored the book 'Leviathan'?**

a) Hobbes b) Locke c) Rousseau d) Morgenthau

**3. Which is the main component of State that determine citizenship status**

a) Territory b) Government c) Sovereignty d) Population

**4. Which of the following is regarded as the Limiting authority of the State's Authority**

a) Constitution b) Religion c) Judgement d) People

**5. "Territorial sovereignty or the superiority of State, overall within its boundaries and complete freedom from external control has been a fundamental principle of the modern State life" is stated by**

a) Elliot b) Bodin c) Austin d) Machiavelli

**6. Who of the following is regarded as the father of Modern Theory of Sovereignty?**

a) Jean Bodin b) Hugo Grotius c) Austin d) Machiavelli

**7. Which of the following is not the states function of Modern State**

a) Security and Defence b) Economic Functions
c) Provision of Essential Services d) Religions duties



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**8. Which flagship programme of Government of Tamil Nadu followed by all other states in India**

a) The Noon Meal Scheme b) Rain Harvesting
c) Gold for marriage d) Bicycle for school children

**9. The idea of Welfare State in the Indian Constituion is contained in**

a) Part IV b) part III c) Part I d) Part II

## II. Answer the following questions very shortly

1. What is the objective of Political Science as a discipline?
2. Mention a feature of modern state.
3. Name the thinkers associated with Contractual Theory.
4. What are the essential elements of State?
5. Mention the characteristics of sovereignty.
6. What are the functions of Legislature, Executive and Judiciary in a modern democracy?
7. What are post-colonial states?
8. What are the factors responsible for the emergence of 'Soft State'.

## III. Answer the following questions shortly

1. Compare and contrast the ideas of Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau.
2. What are the factors that contribute to make a State?
3. Distinguish State from Society.
4. What are the differences between State and Government?
5. Write a short note on Modernity.

## IV. Answer the following questions in detail

1. Describe the functions of Modern State.
2. Discuss the idea of Welfare State.
3. Demonstrate the factors responsible Overdeveloped State.

### Reference books


1. **Introduction to Political Science**, R. G Gettel, Ginn and Company, New York.
2. **Political Theory: An Introduction**, Rajesh Bhargava & Ashok Acharya, Pearson, New Delhi .
3. **Political Science: An Introduction**, Michael G. Roskin et al, Pearson, New Delhi.




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UNIT 3

# Basic Concepts of Political Science

Part I



## 3.1 SOVEREIGNTY

### Introduction

### 3.1.1 Let us discuss about Sovereignty

Sovereignty, the term has been derived from the Latin word 'superanus' which means 'supreme' or 'paramount'. Roman jurist and the civilians during the middle ages employed the term 'summa potestas' and 'Plenitude potestas' to designate the supreme power of the state. In political science the use of the term 'sovereignty' dates back to the publication of ***Bodin's*** 'The Republic' in 1576.

The stability of a nation depends on the supremacy of the sovereignty the nation enjoys. Sovereignty as a concept represents the legal supremacy of the state. Constitution lays down rules and laws of the state and the constitution of the state is just the representation of the sovereignty. The word sovereign in the preamble of the constitution of India means that the state has the power to legislate on any subjects in conformity with constitutional limitations.

### 3.1.2. Characteristics of Sovereignty.

#### 1. Permanence

The chief characteristic of sovereignty is permanence. Sovereignty lasts as long as the state lasts. The death of the king or the overthrow of the government does not affect sovereignty. Hence, the people of England say 'King is dead, Long live the king'.

**Learning Objectives**

- The meaning and characteristics of Sovereignty
- The aspects and kinds of Sovereignty
- Meaning and dawn of Pluralism

#### 2. Exclusiveness

Exclusiveness here implies that there cannot be two sovereign in one independent state and if it exists the unity of the state will be destroyed.

#### 3. All comprehensiveness

Every individual and every association of the individual is subject to the sovereignty of the state. However rich or powerful association or group may be, it cannot resist or disobey the sovereign authority.

#### 4. Inalienability

Sovereignty is the life and soul of the state and it cannot be alienated without destroying the state itself.

#### 5. Unity and Everlasting

The spirit of sovereignty lies in its unity. Sovereignty is not bound by time and lasts until the state lasts.



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### 6. Indivisibility

Indivisibility is the life line of sovereignty.

### 7. Absoluteness

Sovereignty is unconditional and unlimited. Sovereignty is beyond obedience and it is entitled to do whatever it likes.

### 8. Originality

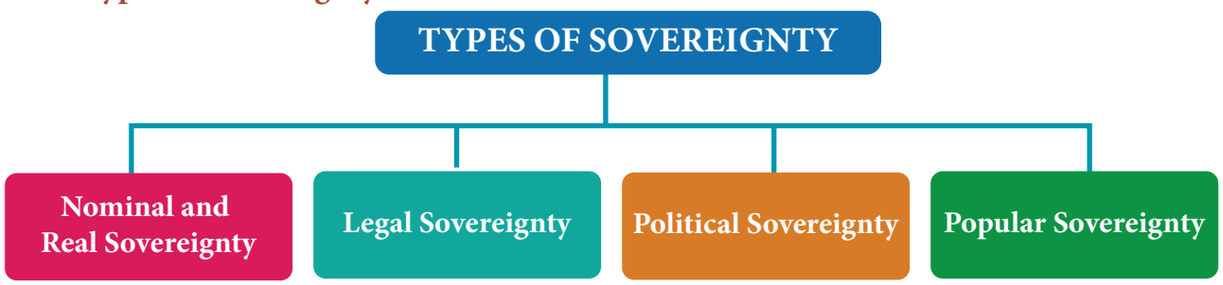
Sovereignty wields power by virtue of its own right and not by anybody's mercy.

### 3.1.3 Two aspects of Sovereignty

**Internal sovereignty:** This sovereignty exercises its absolute authority over all individuals or associations of the individuals in the state.

**External sovereignty:** In simple terms external sovereignty means National Freedom. Every state enjoys absolute liberty to determine its foreign policy and join any power block it likes. External sovereignty implies that every state is independent of other states.

### 3.1.4 Types of Sovereignty




Have you read about the different types of Sovereignty? Let us together learn about them.

| Nominal and Real Sovereignty | Legal Sovereignty | Political Sovereignty | Popular Sovereignty |
|---|---|---|---|
| **a.** Ancient times many states had monarchs. Kings exercised real sovereignty and were considered Real Sovereigns | **a.** The authority of the state has the legal power to issue final commands | **a.** Political Sovereignty in the representative democracy is understood as the whole mass of the people, i.e. electorate or the public opinion. | **a.** Popular sovereignty designates public as supreme |
| **b.** The French revolution transformed the situation. | **b.** The power which has the legal authority to issue and enforce these law is legal sovereignty | **b.** Political sovereignty rests in that class of people under whose influence the mass of the people are with. | **b.** During ancient period popular sovereignty was used as a weapon to challenge the absolutism of the monarchs. |
| **c.** The Council of Ministers were considered the Real Sovereign while the King enjoyed only nominal power. | **c.** The legal sovereign is always definite and determinate and the authority of sovereign is absolute and supreme. | | |



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## "De-facto and De-jure sovereignty"

### De-facto sovereignty

De-facto sovereign is one who has no legal claim to sovereignty but possesses it in fact and exercises necessary force to make and enfore its laws.

**Sovereignty**

"Sovereignty is the absolute and perpetual power of the state that is, the greatest power to command."
*- Jean Bodin*

**Here is an interesting piece of information!**

Napoleon became the de facto sovereign after he had over thrown the directory. Franco became the de facto sovereign after he had dislodged the legal sovereign in Spain after Mussolini's black shirt march on October 28, 1922. Mussolini became the prime minister in the legal manner. He ruled the parliament and ruled the country through parliament. Parliament remained the legal sovereign but he was the actual or de facto sovereign. Hitler also did the same in Germany. He controlled the legal sovereign and became the de facto sovereign.

**Quotable Quote**

Sovereignty of the people therefore can mean nothing more the power of the majority of the electorate, in a system of approximate universal suffrage prevails, acting through legally established channels to express their will and make it prevail.

*-Dr. Garner*

### De-jure sovereignty

De-jure sovereign is one who has a legal claim to sovereignty but does not possess it in fact.

**DO YOU KNOW?**

Sovereignty can no more be alienated than a tree can alienate its right to sprout or a man can transfer his life or personality to another without self destruction *- Lieber*

### 3.1.5 What is Pluralism?

Pluralism is a powerful protest against the monistic theory of sovereignty, which endows the state with supreme and unlimited power.

### Exponents of pluralist theory

- Harold J. Laski
- J.N. Figgis
- Ernest Barker
- G.H Cole
- Maciver



**Pluralist Theory**

The nature of the state is such it attempts to resolve the disputes or conflicts that arise between these various groups in a way the is in everyone's best interests.

### The dawn of pluralist theory

With the advent of the welfare state there came a rapid increase in the functions of the state and there remained no sphere of life with which the state did not interfere, the sovereign and the supreme state also



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faced revolt and reaction. This reaction against the sovereign and supreme state resulted into the dawn of pluralism.

**John Austin** (1780-1859) the English Jurist, gave an elaborate exposition of the Legal Theory of sovereignty in is book 'Lectures on Jurisprudence' published in 1832. He is regarded as a greatest exponent of Monistic Theory.



### Is Pluralism important?

- Pluralism upholds the importance of associations and claim more autonomy for it.
- For democracy to flourish the sovereign state must not be subject to any legal authority.
- Division of sovereignty leads to the destruction of sovereignty and in the absence of sovereignty, anarchy will prevail in society.

### Indian Constitution and Sovereignty

In Indira Gandhi Vs Raj Narain (1975) case Supreme Court added, 'India as a Sovereign democratic republic' as one of the fundamental elements of the basic structure of the constitution. It is understood that Indian constitution enshrines 'sovereignty' as an important aspect of constitution and the preamble makes the people sovereign . In simple term it is said that sovereignty lies in the constitution and people are the ultimate source of the constitution.

### What are the criticisms for Pluralism?

- It is the Sovereign state that brings about unity and regulates all the associations existing in society.
- Laws are framed by the state unlike the belief of pluralist.
- State is needed for protecting people from the excess of associations.

## 3.2 EQUALITY

Introduction

### Understanding Equality



The idea that human beings are equal is enigmatic. A nation that seeks equality creates laws to bring change in its society. A law for equality is inadequate and opposed where pluralistic pattern of society has become the order of the day whether it's a developed or under developed nation. Liberty and rights lead to a third principle in political theory, which is of equality. Equality determines how rights are to be distributed amongst the individuals as citizens and groups, both whether equally or unequally.

### 3.2.1 Meaning of Equality

Equality, which means state of being equal, is derived from aequs/aequalis, meaning fair. It signifies 'having the same rights, privileges, treatments, status, and opportunities'. Equality is treated as something that relates to distributive principle because of which rights, treatments, and opportunities are distributed amongst the beneficiaries in a fair manner. Fairness

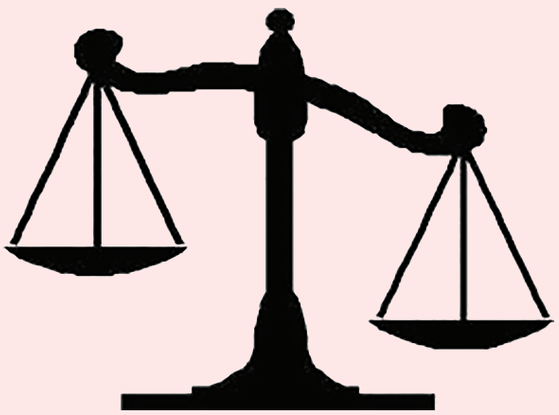


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### Discuss the visuals











does not mean all to be treated equally in all circumstances. In fact it very well means unequal treatment for those who are unequal. Essentially it relates to the principle of justice because it requires fair distributive principle .

## 3.2.2 Importance of Equality

### Why equality is important?

The concept of equality as a political ideal invokes the idea that all human beings have an equal worth regardless of their color, gender, race, or nationality. It urges among human beings equal consideration and respect because of the common humanity. The belief in this notion of humanity led us to the declaration of universal human rights.

Equality became the slogan in the struggle against states and social institutions which uphold inequalities of rank, wealth, status or privilege, among people during the modern period. In the eighteenth century, the French revolutionaries used the slogan 'Liberty, Equality and Fraternity' to revolt against the landed feudal aristocracy and the monarchy. The demand for equality was also raised during anti-colonial struggle in Asia and Africa during the twentieth century. It continues to be raised by struggling group such as women or dalits who feel marginalized in our society.

Equality now has become a widely accepted ideal which is embodied in the constitutions and laws in the world. However the most visible and disturbing factor around us in the world and as well in our society is inequality. We can see in country slums existing side by side with luxury housing, schools which may lack even drinking water facilities or toilets, waste of food as well as starvation. There are visible difference between what law promises and what we see around us.

India through its constitution attempts to fill the gap between equal and



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unequal with the principle of equality as enshrined in the constitution.

**What is distributive justice?**

Distributive justice requires a principle of equality in which unequal distribution is effected to ensure the principle of equality. The state for example should not tax a poor and a rich equally.

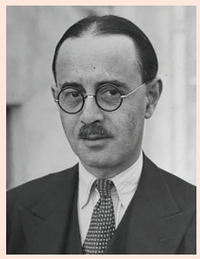
### 3.2.3 Dimensions of Equality

#### What is Equality?

We live amidst distinctions between human beings on the ground of race and color, knowing well it is unacceptable. In fact such distinctions violate our intuitive understanding of equality which tells us that all human beings are entitled to similar respect and consideration because of their common humanity. No society treats all its members in exactly the same way under all circumstances. There can be no identity of treatment so long as men are different in wants, capacities, and needs. Injustice arises much from treating unequal's equally as from treating equals unequally. And most importantly apart from the natural inequalities, there are inequalities created by the society- inequality based upon birth, wealth, knowledge and religion.

The movement of history is not towards greater equality because as fast as we eliminate one inequality, we create another one: the difference being that the one we discard is unjustifiable while the one we create seems reasonable. Hence the social political, educational equalities are always in need of reinforcement and reinterpretation by every new generation.

Like liberty, equality can also be understood in its negative and positive aspects. Negative equality was associated with the end of such privileges and positively it meant the availability of opportunity.



A state divided into a small number of rich and large number of poor will always develop a government manipulated by the rich to protect the amenities represented by their property.

***- Harold laski***

**According to Laski equality means:**

- Absence of privileges. It means that will of one is equal to the will of any other. It means equality of rights
- Adequate opportunities are laid open to all. Opportunities should be given to all to realize the implications of his personality.
- All must have access to social benefits and no one should be restricted on any ground. The inequalities by birth or because of parentage and hereditary causes are unreasonable
- Absence of economic and social exploitation

**According to *Barker*, the concept of equality means**

- Fundamental equalities of all
- Equality of opportunity
- Equality of conditions where there is an attempt to make the conditions of life equal
- Equality of outcome of results



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## Equality of opportunities

The concept of equality implies that all people as human being are entitled to the same rights and opportunities to develop the skills and talents, to pursue their goals and ambitions.

## Natural inequality and social inequality

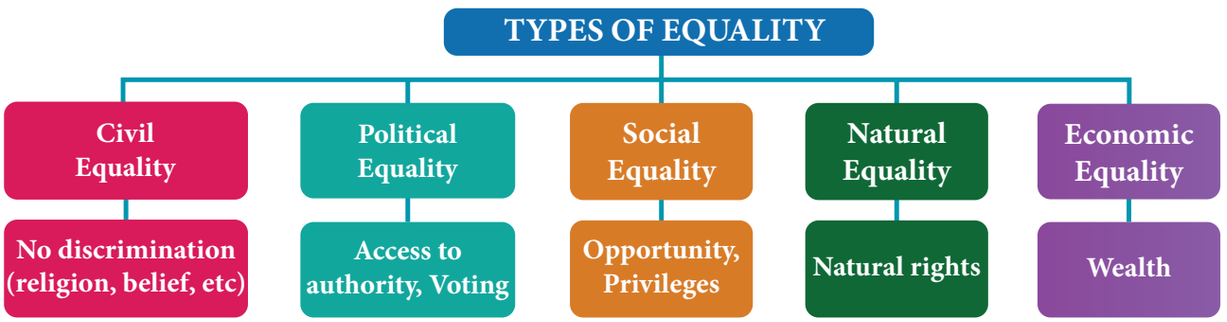
Natural inequalities are those that emerge between people as a result of their different capabilities and talents. These kinds of inequalities are different from socially produced inequalities which emerge as a consequence of inequalities of opportunity or the exploitation of some groups in a society by others. Natural inequalities are considered to be the result of the different characteristics and abilities with which people are born with. Social inequalities on the other hand are those created by society. Unequal treatment in society based on race, color, gender and caste are of social inequalities. Women were denied equal rights for centuries similarly, Blacks were treated as slaves until the institution of slavery was questioned . Even people born with disability with modern technological innovations are able to contribute like any other normal person.



Stephen Hawkings, contribution despite his disability is remarkable. Political philosophers have contributed various theories, philosophies and ideologies for further understanding and innovation to place society on equal platform.




Read the cartoon and identify the context of what type of inequalities are represented in this cartoon?




### (i) Social Equality

Social equality means no one should be discriminated in the distribution of rights, privileges and opportunities based on birth, caste, religion, race, colour, gender or social status. Each one should be given equal opportunity to develop his personality. Social equality implies few important aspects. They are: removal of discrimination based on social status, absence of special privileges to few and finally ensuring equal opportunity in terms of acquiring education.



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Martin Luther king Jr. was an unquestioned leader of nonviolent civil Rights movement in USA. Civil right movement was a struggle for social justice happened during the 1950s and 1960s for blacks to gain equal rights under the law in the United states. Similarly Dr.B.R.Ambedkars liberation movement for millions of dalits was a historic movement in India. A seed for the movement for social equality

French declaration of Rights of Man and citizens declared that 'men are born and always continue free and equal in their rights. The United Nations organization on 10th December, 1948, declared the charter of human rights which laid stress on social equality.

### (ii) Civil Equality

The word 'civil' is derived from the Latin word civilis or civis, which means citizen. Civil equality means equality in which each citizen is provided with equal civil rights and liberties. Civil equality consists of similar civil liberties and civil rights by all the citizens. Civil laws should treat all the individuals equally.

There should not be any discrimination of superior and inferior, the rich and the poor, caste and creed, colour and race, clans and tribes, groups and classes.

**How is the 'Rule of law' related to civil equality?**

Quotable Quote

"What good is freedom to a starving man? He cannot eat freedom or drink it". – ***Thomas Hobbes***

CASE STUDY

### Case Study

#### Economic Inequality and Arab Uprising

Poverty is an issue that can threaten the stability of the country. For example, the Jasmine Revolution takes the authoritarian rulers in Tunisia by surprise and triggers anti-government protests across the Arab world. The 29-day-long struggle ended Ben Ali's 23- year rule. The self-immolation by Mohammad Bouazizi, an unemployed man who was harassed by the police in the Tunisian town of Sidi Bouzid on December 17, 2010 was the spark the ignited the Arab street. It first started the "Jasmine "Revolution (Jasmine is Tunisia's national flower). The residents of the sleepy town, who were already angry about routine police brutality and the lack of economic opportunities, took to the streets spontaneously with "a rock in one hand and a cellphone" in the other…

A great wave of anger, frustration, defiance and democratic demand is sweeping across the Arab world. The upsurge in Arab world is not simply about democracy versus dictatorship. It is also a revolt against a manifestly unjust economic order.

Courtesy : Frontline, Feb.26, 2011.

### (iii) Political Equality

Political Equality means equal right of all citizens, without any distinction, allowed to participate in the affairs of the state. Political right of all citizen is ensured through universal adult franchise.



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The other factors that ensure the political rights of citizens are:

- Right to vote
- Right to contest in election
- Right to hold public office
- Right to petition the government and criticize public policy

Political equality is actually the test on the experiments of democracy. It is also believed that political equality in itself is not adequate to disperse political power, it also needs socio-economic equality to achieve political equality.

**Quotable Quote**

"Economic Equality is the attempt to expunge all differences in wealth, allotting to every man and woman an equal share in worldly goods". ***–Lord Bryce***

### (iv) Economic Equality

Economic equality is justifiable only when all people have reasonable opportunities to develop themselves fully. Economic equality is meaningful only when there is an adequate scope for employment, reasonable wages, adequate leisure and equal share in the management of economic concern. Professor Laski explains economic equality, "Political equality is, therefore, never real unless it is accompanied with virtual economic liberty; political power otherwise is bound to be the hand-maid of economic power".

Economic equality here means the provision of equal opportunities to all so that they may be able to make their economy progress. Ideologically this is possible in Socialism and not in Capitalism.

### (v) Equality of opportunity and education

Equality of opportunity and education means, all the citizens should be given equal and similar opportunities by the state. All the citizens should have similar chances to receive education and equal opportunities be given to develop their personality. Social inequalities such as race, caste, religion, language, rich, poor and gender based discrimination should be eradicated. In India, constitution provides provisions for equal opportunities and equal education.

## 3.2.4 Relation between Liberty and Equality

There is no value of liberty in the absence of equality. They are understood from different perspectives by political thinkers such as ***Lord Acton***, ***De Tocqueville*** and ***Harold. J.Laski. Lord Acton*** and ***Alexis De Tocqueville*** were the ardent advocates of liberty.

Professor ***H.J. Laski*** in his remark said that 'Where there are rich and poor, educated and uneducated, we always find a relation of master and servant'.

Laissez faire is an economic system in which transaction between private parties are free from government intervention such as regulation, privileges, tariffs and subsidies.

***Adam Smith*** was the ardent supporter of the view that the Individualists maintained that there should be a free competition between the capitalists and labor leaders. They did not want the government to involve in the economic matters. Formula of



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Demand and Supply was adopted. It was expected that the economic difficulties will be removed by this formula, but resulted in dangerous consequences in Europe.

The capitalists exploited the opportunity to the core and as a result of it, the gap between rich poor got wider. The labor class was worst affected and the reaction against individualism resulted in the dawn of Socialism. Socialism rose to condemn and refute the principles of Individualism. The transition made clear that Liberty is meaningless in the absence of economic equality.

Economic equality is essential for the existence of political freedom. Otherwise it will be a **capitalist democracy** in which the laborers will have right to vote but they will not get their purpose served. Hence liberty is possible only in **socialistic democracy** where liberty and equality go together. There is only one solution to liberty. It lies in equality. Thus liberty and equality are complimentary to each other said Pollard.

### How Equality can be promoted

A few methods for promoting equality. They are,

- Establishing formal equality
- Equality through Differential Treatment
- Affirmative action

### Perspectives of various Ideologies on Equality by Andrew Heywood

**Liberals** believe that people are 'born' equal in the sense that they are of equal moral worth. This implies formal equality, notably Legal and political equality of opportunity, but social equality is likely to be purchased at the expense of freedom and through the penalizing of tablet.

**Conservatives** have traditionally viewed society as natural hierarchical and have thus dismissed equality as an abstract and unachievable goal.

**Socialist** regards equality as a fundamental value and in particular, endorse social equality. Despite shifts within social democracy towards a liberal belief of opportunity, social equality, whether in its relative (social democratic) or absolute (communist) sense, has been seen as essential to ensuring social cohesion and fraternity, establishing justice or equity and enlarging freedom in a positive sense.

**Anarchists** place a particular stress upon political equality, understood as an equality and absolute right to personal autonomy, implying that all forms of political inequality amount to oppression. Anarcho-communists believe in absolute social equality achieved through the collective ownership of productive wealth.

**Fascists** believe that humankind is marked by racial inequality, both between leaders and followers and between the various nations or race of the world. Nevertheless, the emphasis on the nation or race implies that all members are equal, at least in terms of their core identity.

**Feminists** take equality to mean sexual equality, in the sense of equal rights and equal opportunities (liberal feminism) or equal social, economic power (social feminism?) irrespective of gender.



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**Ecologist** advance the notion of bio centric equality, which emphasizes that all life forms have an equal right to 'live and blossom'.

### 3.2.5 Equality in Indian Constitution

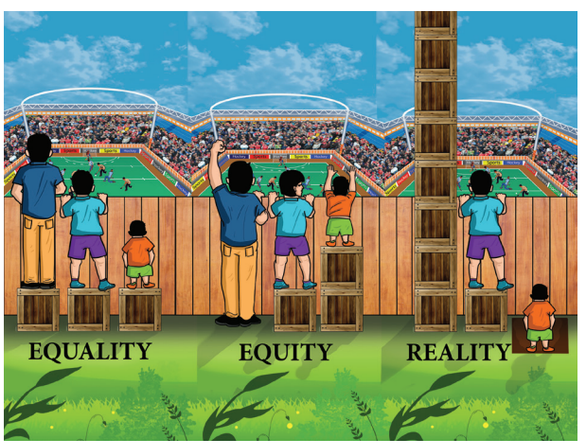
#### The concept of Equality in Indian constitution

The Indian constitution under article 14 provides for equality before law or the equal protection of laws to all persons. This is a statement of formal equality and gives meaning to what preamble seeks to ensure in terms of 'equality of status and of opportunity'. This also means that laws of the land will apply to all equally and there should not be discrimination on grounds of birth, caste, color, gender, language, race, religion, etc. in fact article 15 of the constitution substantiates article 14 further by prohibiting any such discrimination.

Equality before law and equal protection of law have been further strengthened in the Indian constitution under article 21. It ensures that 'No Person shall be deprived of his life or personal liberty except according to procedure established by law. This means that a reasonable fair and just procedure should be followed for depriving a person of his personal liberty and life. It admits no arbitrariness, discriminatory procedure or unequal treatment for different individuals'.

**Right to Equality (Article 14-18)**

- Equality before law (Article 14)
- Prohibition of discrimination on grounds of religion (Article 15)
- Equality of opportunity in matters of public employments(Article 16)
- Abolition of Untouchability (Article 17)
- Abolition of titles (Article 18)




#### How Equality can be achieved through differential treatment?

It is necessary sometime to treat people differently in order to ensure that they can enjoy equal rights. Certain differences may have to be taken into account for this need. Similarly some of the policies are needed to overcome the hindrances of equality by the government. For example, India follows the principle of reservation and other countries follow affirmative action.

## 3.3 LIBERTY

**Learning Objectives**

- The importance of liberty is introduced by briefing the meaning and various views of exponents of liberty.



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- While learning the classification of liberty students, are actually introduced to different forms of freedom and they way state views liberty.
- The concept of liberty is so important that it helps every citizen realize the value of freedom in a society where state is empowered with constitutional authority.
- Students are given a direction here that some form of restrictions such as law are also a form of liberty.
- The safe guards of liberty especially democracy and independents of judiciary are few key factors that inculcates the value of liberty.

## Introduction to Liberty

Liberty remained an essential element for both man and state for progress. History records very well the cruelty of absolute monarchy that ignored the claims of liberty in ancient and medieval ages of England. People could no longer tolerate and rose in revolt against the absolute monarchy. The struggle continued until Emperor John had to bow down and ensure freedom for his subjects. Attempt of emperors after Tudor and Stuart, and the continued absolute monarchy resulted in civil war. King Charles was beheaded and even during the period of Cromwell people could not attain freedom.

This resulted in the famous "Glorious revolution" in England in the year 1688, containing the absolute monarchy for some period and later led to the outbreak of French revolution in 1789.

However it had not given a desired liberty. The successors of Napoleon behaved like monarchs. The fall of Napoleon III, resulted in establishing the Third Republic. After the fall of Third Republic in 1940 and Fourth Republic in 1958, Fifth republic was established. Struggle against countries that colonized got liberated after a long struggle for independence. Italy in nineteenth century and India in twentieth century made untold sacrifices for attaining national liberty.

## Meaning Of Liberty

The term 'liberty' has been derived from the Latin word 'Liber' which means free from all shackles. The Latin word 'Liber' denotes the absence of all restraints. It means one can do whatever one likes, regardless of all conditions.

**Quotable Quote**

Liberty is the eager maintenance of that atmosphere in which men have the opportunity to be their best selves.

***-Harold.J.Laski***

## Exponents views on Liberty

- "Liberty is the positive power of doing and enjoying those things which are worthy of enjoyment and work"-Gettel
- "Liberty is the freedom of the individual to express without external hindrances to personality"-Professor G.D.H. Cole.
- " Liberty does not means the absence of restraint but it lies in development of liberty"- Mahatma Gandhi
- "Without right then cannot be liberty, because without rights, men are the subjects of law unrelated to the needs of personality".-Harold. J. Laski



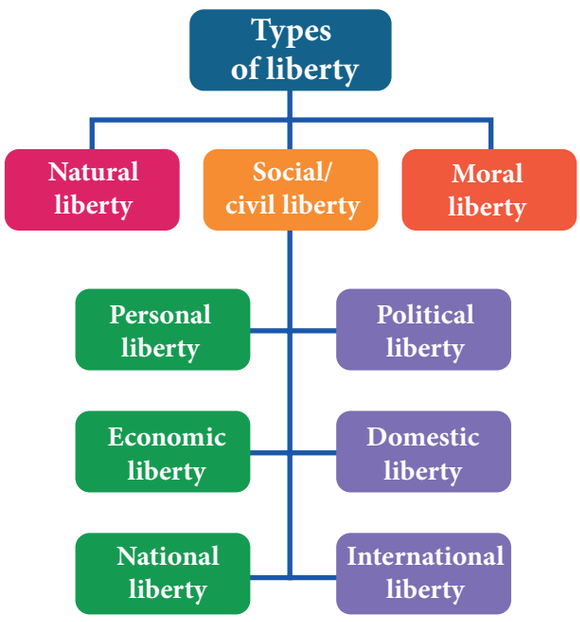
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- Liberty is usually defined as the Freedom from arbitrary or undue external restraint.
- By applying the legal maxim, **Ejusdem Generis**, the general word **'freedom'** under article 19 derives its color and texture from the paricular words used with it whereas under article 21, there are no such particular words used.

## Two Phases Of Liberty

**Positive liberty:** Positive liberty mean freedom to do something that the individual should have rights and opportunities to develop his personality.

**Negative Liberty:** For ***J.S. Mill*** liberty means Negative liberty He submitted that there should not be any restraint imposed upon man and his actions. He also asserted that there should not be any hindrance in the path of man.




### i.Natural Liberty

Natural liberty means absence of all restraint –an unrestrained freedom to do whatever one likes.




### ii. Civil Liberty

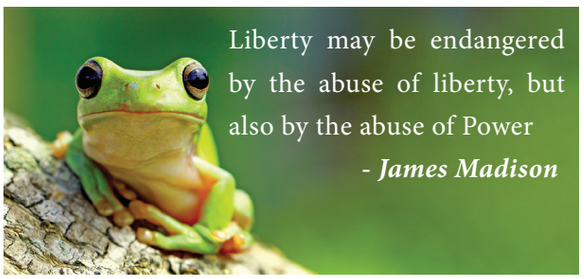
The concept of civil liberty reflects "Rule of law". It denotes the enjoyment of our rights within the limits of law. The protection of civil liberty is guaranteed by the laws of the state.

### iii. Political Liberty

The concept of political liberty means liberty of citizen to participate in the political life and the affairs of the state. These rights are the right to vote, the right to contest elections, the right to hold public views and criticize the government and right to petitions.

### iv. Personal Liberty

The individual can act as he pleases without being under any type of arbitrary and illegitimate restraint. It also means that every individual has the right not to permit any other individual to interfere in the affairs of his personal life . Every individual should have the the liberty to dress, food, standard of living, marriage and education of children etc. The state should not interfere in the personal matters.

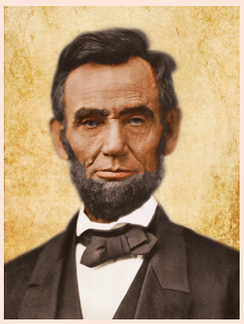





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### v. Economic Liberty

The concept of economic liberty means the liberty to earn one's daily bread. Beyond the distingtion of caste, colour, creed and gender every individual should have liberty to earn his daily bread by fair means.



The shepherd drives the wolf from the sheep's throat, for which the sheep thanks the shepherd as a liberator, while the wolf denounces him for the same act as the destroyer of liberty, especially as the sheep was a black one. Plainly the sheep and the wolf are not agreed upon a definition of the word liberty; and precisely the same difference prevails today among us human creatures.

***- Abraham Lincoln***

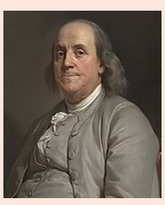
### vi. Fiscal Liberty

According to this principle; there should be no taxation without representation. It was the slogan given by middle classes who claimed that they should be allowed to decide as to how and on whom their money was to be spent.

### vii. Domestic Liberty

It covers equal right for women and children. They need to be protected against maltreatment, cruelty and exploitation. They were also have the right to education.

### viii. National Liberty:



"Those who would give up essential liberty to purchase a little temporary safety, deserve neither liberty nor safety."

***-Benjamin Franklin***

It means the liberty of the country. National liberties exist where the nation is independence and sovereign.

'Liberty does not descend upon a person. People must raise themselves to liberty. Liberty is a blessing that must be earned in order to be enjoyed' engraved on the building of central secretariat New Delhi .

### ix. International Liberty

This concept implies peace and international cooperation and the formation of world federation of states.

**Symbolic Meaning**

The statue of liberty has a universal reminder of freedom', it embodies 'hope' for American citizens.



## How are liberty, sovereignty and law are related to each other?

Liberty exist only in a state in order. The state makes law and the sovereign state operates through these laws. There exist a close relationship between liberty, sovereignty and law.

**Quotable Quote**

"Where there is no law there is no freedom" ***– John Locke***

## How does law protect liberty?

i. Law punish criminal and defends the rights of the individuals.

ii. Law guarantee the enjoyment of individual rights and duties and protect them. The state punishes the individual who causes harm to others and hinders path of others .



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iii. Constitution is custodian of liberty and it confines the authority of the state and protects the fundamental right of the people.

### How liberty is safeguarded?

### i. Democracy

Liberty is safer in democracy than in any other form of government. Democratic government is the government of the people. Opposite parties are given due respects in democracy.

### ii. Constitution

Authority of the state dwells in the constitution of the respective nation.

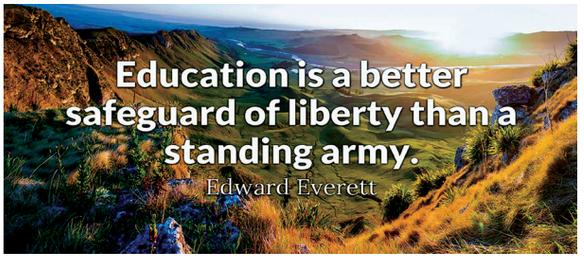
The Preamble of Constitution reads like a poem on democracy. It contains the philosophy on which the entire Constitution has been built. It provides a standard to examine and evaluate any law and action of government, to find out whether it is good or bad. It is the soul of the Indian Constitution.

### iii. Fundamental Rights

Fundamental rights confines the authority of the state. Fundamental rights assure us that the state cannot interfere in the matters of personal life .

**The Fundamental Rights**

- i) Right to Equality (Article 14-18)
- ii) Right to Freedom (Article 19-22)
- iii) Right against exploitation (Article 23-24)
- iv) Right to freedom of Religion (Article 25-28)
- v) Cultural and Educationl Rights (Article 29-30)
- vi) Rights to Constitutional Remedies (Article 32-35)




### iv. Decentralization of powers

Decentralization of power is required for the safeguard of liberty. Power should be divided into central, provincial and local government and such decentralization leads to efficient administration.

### v. Independent Judiciary

Safeguard of Liberty depends upon the independence of judiciary. It should be free from the control of the executive. In the communist countries or in the countries which have dictatorship, fundamental rights are given to the people but judiciary is not free from the influence of the executive. In such countries, the safeguard and security of fundamental rights, liberty and constitution is not possible.

**INDEPENDENT JUDICIARY**

The constitution of India makes provisions for the independence of judiciary because only independent judiciary can safeguard the rights and liberties of the people, can protect the supremacy of the constitution

i. An impartial method has been adopted for the appointment of the judges.

ii. High qualifications have been fixed for the judges.

iii. The judges of the Supreme Court stay in office till 65 years of age and of High courts till 62 years of age.



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### vi. Economic Security

Economic security is a condition to liberty. *"Where there are rich and poor, educated and uneducated, we always find a relation of master and servant". - **Laski***

### vii. Rule of Law

Rule of law is established in England, USA and India Rule of law mean that there should not be any distinction of caste and creed colour and race . In the eyes of law all are equal and all are liable to be punished if they commit crime.

### viii. Political education and eternal vigilance

Permanent safeguard of liberty is possible. Educated are acutely aware of their rights and duties. Eternal vigilance is the prices of liberty and in it absence one can act according to his will whenever the government crosses the barrier of its authority and interference in the personal life of the people, may rise in revolt against the government.

## Glossary

**Sovereignty:** The supreme power which cannot be distorted and divided.

**Universal Suffrage:** Voting rights to all the people invariable of gender, caste, color, religion, property and other divisive factors.

**Statutes:** A written law passed by the legislative body of a country. It is also added in the parliamentary laws after having had appropriate discussion.

**Justice:** Justice is the main phenomenon which has to be maintained regardless of all kinds of discriminations.

**State of Nature:** The stage of antiquity in which there was no organized form of government and society.

**De-jure:** On accordance with law.

**De-facto:** Factually,one who rules really and concretely.

## Evaluation

### I Choose the correct answer

**1. Who is known to be the father of sovereignty?**

a) Bodin b) Austin c) Plato d) Aristotle

**2. Monistic theory of sovereignty propounded by**

a) Austin b) Hegel c) Merriam d) Willoughby

**3. In democracy sovereignty resides with**

a) State b) Government c) People d) Media

**4. Double citizenship exists in**

a) USA b) China c) Japan d) Australia

**5. "Sovereignty resides with General Will" said by**

a) Rousseau b) T.H.Green c) Austin d) Bodin

**6. "On Liberty" book written by**

a) J.S.Mill b) Locke c) Rousseau d) Bodin



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**7. The main objective of rule of law is to ensure:**

a) Freedom of Press b) Liberty of citizens

c) Independence of Judiciary d) All the above

**8. Fundamental rights of India drawn from?**

a) USA b) France c) Britain d) Russia

**9. "Das Capital" book written by?**

a) Marx b) Kropotkin c) Owen d) Netaji

## II Answer the following questions very shortly

1. Define sovereignty.
2. What are the types of Sovereignty?
3. Write a note on discrimination.

## III Answer the following questions shortly

1. Write a note on Negative liberty.
2. What is anarchism?
3. Discuss about caste discrimination.
4. What are Human Rights?

## IV Answer the following questions in detail

1. Examine the features of the concept of sovereignty.
2. Explain the factors of violation of liberty.
3. Explain about equality in the Indian constitution.

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UNIT 4

# Basic Concepts of Political Science

Part II



E4L23

## 4.1 LAW

### 4.1.1 Introduction

Law is the prescription of rules and regulations sanctioned by the sovereignty for the state. Law as, Bodin said, is the command of the sovereign. Similarly Aristotle has rightly pointed out that if there is no law even man will behave like a beast. In order to preserve society and protect the progressive nation, law has become an integral part of the system world over. The enormous power of law could not be a complete solution to maintain an order in the society due to the limitations it is framed with. Law is a tyrant for criminal and a guardian for its citizen.

There is always an intense debate that happens on, why the law is lenient in some part of the world and so powerful in another part of the world. The question of leniency and powerful the law is, ascertained by its functions especially the punishment it involves. For example, law in a democratic country is much different and concerned than the law in a totalitarian state. And more, how the law unfurls freedom for its citizens matters a lot while executing and exercising it. Ignorance of law is not an excuse anywhere in the world. Hence it is pertinent to introduce the concept of law to the young minds to understand it as the basic rules and regulations as sanctioned by our constitution.

**Learning Objectives**

- Understanding the essence of law brings students closer to the thoughts of Justice.
- Classification of law helps students to know the different kinds of law and its application and its implication to our society
- Sources of law gives students a broad understanding on the origin of law
- The interconnection between State, Law and Morality are highlighted for enabling students to understand how well they are connected to society through the law of the State.

### 4.1.2 Meaning of Law

The term 'Law' was derived from an old Teutonic root 'lag' "which means something which lies fixed or evenly. Without law life may witness utter chaos and confusion and in fact it is law that regulates life. The word law is used to denote 'uniform'. There are two kinds of laws. They are: physical and human law. Physical law regulates nature where as human law regulates human life. The term law in political science is used to mean body of rules to guide human action. The function of state is done through



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government and the government in turn interprets the will of the state through law.

❖ **Law in relation to justice**

- the aim is to attain justice in society.
- Justice? It is an abstract idea of right and wrong, fairness and equality.
- therefore, the doing of what is right or just in a particular of circumstances.

### Views On Law

- ❖ "Law is the command of the sovereign" according to ***John Austin***
- ❖ "Law is the collection of rules which the state recognizes and applies in the administration of Justice" said ***Salmond***

### What are the purposes of Law?

- ❖ Protect basic human rights
- ❖ Promote fairness
- ❖ Help resolve conflicts
- ❖ Promote justice
- ❖ Promote order and stability
- ❖ Promote desirable social and economic behaviour
- ❖ Represent the will of the majority (on some issues)
- ❖ Protecting the rights of minorities

### 4.1.3 Classification of Laws.

### i. Private laws

The relationship of citizens and the regulation of relations among one another are determined by private laws.

Quotable Quote

In private laws the parties concerned are private individuals above and between whom stands the state as an impartial arbiter. ***- Holland***

### ii. Public laws

The laws that determine the relation of citizens to the state are public laws. Public law perceives state as an arbiter as well as one of the parties interested in it.

### iii. Constitutional laws

Constitutional laws are the basic laws according to which the government in a state conducts itself. The laws that define interpret and regulate the functions of the government are known as constitutional laws. For example, the election of President, the powers and functions of the Supreme court and method of the appointment of the governor are constitutional affairs.

### iv. Statute Laws

Statute laws are the laws which are framed by the Legislative Assembly or by the Parliament. Democratic Government being popular in most of the countries, the laws of those government are framed mostly by the Parliaments in those countries.

### v. Ordinances

Ordinances are generally issued by the executive branch of the government as per the law of the state. Ordinances are temporary by nature and are issued by the President in the absence of parliament, especially to face the emergency.

### vi. Common Laws

Common laws are those laws which rest on customs but are enforced by the courts like statute law. Common laws are popular in England.

### vii. Administrative Laws

The office and responsibilities of government servants are interpreted and governed by Administrative law. It is the



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Administrative law that enable the public officers to separate law and procedure from private individuals. These laws also make an attempt to interpret the privileges of government officials. When any dispute arises between a citizen and government servant the administrative court resolves the issue with administrative laws.



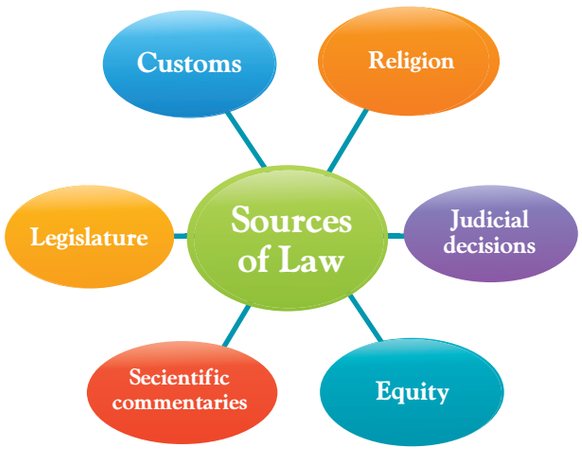

### viii. International Laws

The rule that determine the conduct of the civilized states in their relation with other states in international arena is otherwise called International law. There are no such framed laws that govern international relations but backed by public opinion and the rule of UNO as an international body matters for any nation to enjoy its sovereign status. There are also laws such as Sea law, where there are International borders and as well Air law that demands aircraft of other nation to fly with permission of respective nations.

## 4.1.4 The sources of Law

### i. Customs

Customs play an important role in the framing of the laws. Most of the laws that came from customs are recognized by state later. State cannot actually ignore the customs of the country. The common law of England for example sprang mainly from customs.




For example Bull-Taming sport culture of Tamils of India resulted into the creation of Jallikattu Law in 2017. (Read the box for more information about Jallikattu Law of 2017)

**ACTIVITY**

### ALANGANALLUR – THE BULL – TAMING SPORT



The picture is a bull taming sports of Tamil culture, popularly called as 'jallikattu' at Alangannallur in Madurai district. Alagannallur is synonymous with the bull- taming sport, usually conducted in the month of January, along with Pongal festival in Tamil Nadu. Every society in our country is having its own right to life, liberty and continuing their culture and



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tradition but in this case of jallikatu there is a tussle between cultural rights and animal rights.

As per the constitution of India Article 29(1) is a fundamental right guaranteed under part III which protects the educational and cultural rights.

The 2014 judgement of the supreme court asserts that animals as sentient beings have the fundamental right to life under Article 21 of the constitution.

These contradictions have made several interpretations in formalizing this sport.

### ii. Religion

The religion practiced by Primitive communities played a decisive role in evolving the laws of the state later. Religion was a basis of law for most of the nation. The origin of Hindu law can be traced in the code of Manu. The origin of Mohammedian law can be traced in Shariat law. Divine law is a law revealed through man from God. God is the ultimate source of divine law. For Christians Ten Commandments were the first law given by the Lord Almighty to his people and was considered as the basis of law.

### iii. Judicial decisions

The function of the Judiciary is to interpret and declare the law. The main function of the judiciary creates new laws. The laws later gets recognized by the state. Judicial decisions thus became an another source of law. Some time the verdict of High Court and Supreme Court are treated as laws.

### iv. Equity

When laws are ambiguous and do not fit in, the principles of equity are applied and cases are decided according to commonsense and fairness. In English Law, equity means that body of rules originally enforced only by the court of chancery.

### v. Scientific commentaries

Another source of law are scientific commentaries. when the commentary appears it is understood only as an argument, later on its authority is recognized as more authoritative than the Judicial decision.

"The opinion of learned writers on law have often been accepted as correct law: in England , for instance the opinions of Coke and Blackstone in America of story and kent , in India of Vijnaneswara and Apararka" ***- A. Appadurai***

### vi. Legislature

Most of the laws in the modern times are framed by legislature and it is one of the most important source of law. Indian constitution is a classical example where the best provisions of other constitutions are borrowed and made it available for the best of our nation

### Sources Of The Indian Constitution

i) **Government of India Act 1935**
ii) **UK Constitution**
iii) **US Constitution**

## 4.1.5 How law is related to state and morality?

Law and morality are complimentary to each other. Ethics reveals its citizens the



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code of conduct. Similarly the laws framed by state also aim to achieve the same goal.

"The best state is that which is nearest in virtue to the individual. If any part of the body politic -suffers, the whole body suffers". ***-Plato***

A bad state will have bad citizens and a good state will have good citizens. So it is the sole function of the state to keep a good standard of morality.

**Quotable Quote**

Morality is concerned with the moral duties whereas the laws of the state are concerned with the legal duties.

**Distinction between Law and Morality:**

- Laws are enforced by the state, if not obeyed to the commands of law, he is likely to be punished by the state.
- The severe punishment one can be awarded to a person for not observing the scruples of morality is the social boycott.
- Morality is concerned with both internal and external affairs of man whereas law is concerned only with the external affairs of man. Hence, law punishes only those persons who violate laws by their external actions.

**Public Opinion:** Opinion held by people for the common welfare

**What is Moral law?**

A law framed with a purpose of eliminating evils such as drinking of wine, gambling, theft, dacoity and murder are moral laws. The laws which are based on morality remain permanent

### 4.1.6 How Law and Public opinion are related to each other?

The power of democracy lies in the participation of people in the democratic exercise of electing their representatives. People are not directly involved in the framing of laws, yet they could elect their representatives to legislature. The elected body are just expected to represent the will of the public.

The Modern state appeals to morality, to religion, and to natural law as the ideological foundation of its existence. At the same time it is prepared to infringe any or all of these in the interest of self-preservation.



***J.M. Coetzee***

In democracy laws are framed only based on the support of public opinion. People carry out peaceful demonstrations to express their opinion or resentment. Common welfare of the people and social progress are the primary considerations of public opinion.

**Quotable Quote**

Law and order exist for the purpose of establishing justice and when they fail in this purpose they become the dangerously structured dams that block the flow of social progress.



***Martin Luther King, Jr***



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## 4.2 CITIZENSHIP

### 4.2.1 Introduction

In political theory, citizenship refers not only to a legal status which means the ruled are full and equal participants in the political process. Democracy and citizenship go hand in hand. Citizenship focuses on the attributes of individual citizens. Citizens have certain rights that differ from one country to another.

Natural citizens are the citizens by virtue of their birth but naturalised citizens are the ones who acquire citizenship.

Aristotle defined citizenship with reference to the birth place, family lineage and culture.

### 4.2.2 Citizenship and the City-state:

Citizenship was an important theme in the ancient Greek and Roman Republics but they disappeared from the feudal systems. This was later revived as a desirable aspect of civic humanism during the Renaissance. Citizenship was considered only as participation of duties during the ancient Athens.

### 4.2.3 *Marshall's* Analysis

***According to Marshall***, a liberal-social democrat links citizenship to social class in the context of capitalism. citizenship has three essential divisions: civil, political and social. Every individual requires a right for freedom and that is what is in as civil component. As a citizen we have the right to participate in political decision-making process.

#### *Aristotle*

Defines citizenship as "he who has the power to take part in the deliberative or judicial administration of any state."

DO YOU KNOW?

The Maintenance and welfare of Parents and Senior Citizens Act was passed in 2007 by to provide maintenance and support to elderly parents and senior citizens.

**What the Act states …**

- The Act established the Maintenance Tribunal to provide speedy and effective relief to elderly person.
- Maintenance, according to the Act, pertains to "provision for food, clothing, residence and medical attendance and treatment".
- The only condition for claiming maintenance under this Act is that the persons must be unable to maintain themselves from their own earnings and property.
- The Act mandates that the maximum maintenance paid will be ₹ 10,000/- per month. The maintenance amount is determined by the needs of the claimant and the aim is provide maintenance for the person to lead a normal life.
- Parents or senior citizens can avail the services of the State government appointed maintenance officer to represent their interests during proceedings before the Maintenance Tribunal. Lawyers are not allowed to present cases before the Tribunal according to the Act.
- Any person who is responsible for the protection and care of a senior citizen and intentionally abandons the senior citizen completely is liable to pay a fine of ₹ 5000/- or be imprisoned for three months or both.



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Greeks enjoyed the privilege of being governed by democracy; their government was made up of commoners, and they were allowed freedom of speech to a large extent through public speaking rights.

Standard of living and they have all the rights to enjoy the fruits of this. Hence, ***Marshall*** stresses upon the social services.

### 4.2.4 Citizenship in India

The Indian Constitution attempted to provide full citizenship to all irrespective of whichever groups they belonged to.

Prepare a chart on your idea on the qualities of a good citizen and share it with your teacher and friends.

The provisions about citizenship are found in Part II and in the subsequent laws passed by the Parliament Citizenship can be acquired by birth, descent, registration, naturalisation or inclusion of territory. There is also a provision in the Constitution that the state should not discriminate against citizens on the grounds of race, caste, sex, place of birth, etc. The rights of religious and linguistic minorities are also protected.

### 4.2.5 Global citizenship and National citizenship

National citizenship assumes that our state can provide us with protection and rights we need to live. However, states today are to tackle a lot of problems and hence individual rights are guaranteed to protect the safety of the people. Global citizenship on the other hand, deals with the importance of citizenship across the national boundaries. Here, one may need the cooperative action by the people and the governments of many states.

Therefore, citizenship for all can resolve many socio- economic inequalities. Moreover, global citizenship reminds us that we live in a world where the states are interconnected with each other and strengthening the links is most important.

## 4.3 RIGHTS AND DUTIES

### 4.3.1 Introduction

Rights are so common in our world that we might suppose that they are woven into a fabric of human rights. The significance of rights in the modern era is not limited to their entrenchment in the constitutions and their announcement in international declarations. If all human beings possess rights merely in virtue of being human, then all humans possess rights merely in virtue of being human, then all humans possess a certain equality of moral standing which cuts across differences of class, caste or race or religion.

**Learning Objectives**

- The meaning of rights and its features.
- Differences between rights and responsibilities.
- Different types of rights.
- Directive Principles of State Policy.
- Political Obligations of the citizens.
- Citizenship
- Theoretical aspects of Property.



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*"Rights are powers necessary for the fulfilment of man's vocation as a moral being..."* **T.H. Green**

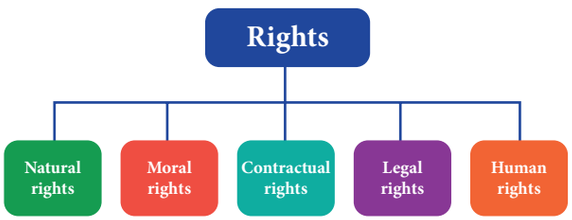
## Do you know about rights?

They are the common claims of the people which every cultures society recognizes as essential claims for their development and which are therefore enforced by the state.

## Features

- Rights are important for the societal development.
- They are available to all the people irrespective of caste, creed, race or gender bias.
- Rights are duties are interrelated to each other. "No duties, no rights."
- Rights are justiciable.
- It is the duty of the state to protect the rights of the people.

## Different types of Rights.




### i. Natural Rights

These rights are parts of human nature and reason. Political theory explains that an individual has certain basic rights and the government cannot deny these rights.

### ii. Moral Rights

Moral rights include rules of good conduct, courtesy and moral behaviour. Moral Rights include rules of good conduct, courtesy and of moral behaviour and stand for moral perfection of the people.

### iii. Legal Rights

Legal rights are equally available to all the citizens and they follow without any discrimination. Legal rights are those which are accepted and enforced by the state. Legal rights are of three types:

- **Civil Rights:** These are the rights which provide opportunity to each person to lead a civilized social life and that which are protected by the state. Right to life, liberty and equality are civil rights.
- **Political Rights:** These are the rights by virtue of which the people get a share in the political process. These rights include the right to vote, right to get elected, right to hold public office, etc.
- **Economic Rights:** These are the rights which provide the economic security to the people.

Legal rights are what the law says there are, insofar as the law is enforced. They gain importance through legislation or decree by a legally authorized authority.

### iv. Contractual Rights

These rights originate from the practice of promise – keeping. They apply to particular individuals to whom contractual promises have been made.

### v. Human Rights

Human Rights are the rights of highest order. They are protected and supported by international and national laws and treaties. International Human Rights day is celebrated on December 10 in every year.



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## Have you heard of Bill of Rights and Fundamental Rights?

The Bill of Rights, in the United States, was adopted as a single unit on December 15, 1791, and they constitute a collection of mutually reinforcing guarantees of individual rights and limitations on federal and state governments.



***James Madison*** proposed the Bill of Rights. Bill of Rights was influenced by George Mason's 1776 Virginia Declaration of Rights & 1689 English Bill of Rights. The Bill of Rights derives from the Magna Carta (1215), the English Bill of Rights (1689),- ***James Madison***

# FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS

## FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION AND CYBER CHALLENGE

**I. Mention the Fundamental Rights which is violated/supported in each of the following case:**

| No. | Cases | Support/Violation of Rights |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | A women is prohibited from a visiting art gallery on the ground of her sex. | |
| 2. | The Minorities can establish and administer educational institutions of their choice | |
| 3. | Shreya Singhal, a 21-year-old girl from Delhi, filed a public interest petition in the Supreme Court challenging the Section of 66A of the IT Act. | |
| 4. | Cartoonist Aseem Trivedi, who was charged with sedition by the Maharashtra government for his caricatures on the Internet. | |
| 5. | A girl from north-eastern India is not allowed to settle in Chennai. | |
| 6. | The increasing curbs on social media through controversial legal provisions pose a grave challenge to civil society. | |
| 7. | Pakistani activist Malala Yousafzai who was shot in the head by the Taliban last October 2012 for advocating girl's education. | |

### Fundamental Rights

Part-III of the Indian Constitution contains Fundamental Rights.

DO YOU KNOW?

*The Constituent Assembly took 2 years 11 months and 20 days to frame the Constitution.*



### Right to Equality

Right to Equality guarantees equality before law to all the people irrespective of their caste, creed, gender and race, etc.

### Right to Freedom

This article assures freedom of speech and expression, freedom to assemble peacefully and without arms,



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freedom to form associations and to move freely throughout India.

What do you infer from this given cartoon? (The Hindu/5.12.2012)




Section 66 A of the Information Technology Act deals with _____

_____

## Right to Life and Personal Liberty

No citizen can be denied of his personal liberty. This means no person can be detained without informing the grounds of his arrest. An arrested person has also the liberty to consult and be defended by a lawyer of his choice. Besides this, he is not to be kept under custody beyond 24 hours and must be produced before the Magistrate.

## Preventive Detention

Preventive Detention is considered as a check on the actions of the miscreants which is actually the dire need of the hour. If the State feels that a person can be a threat to law and order as well as to peace and security of the nation, it can arrest or detain that person.

## Right against Exploitation

The Constitution has provided with the Right against exploitation, wherein trafficking in human beings and beggary are forms of forced labour. It also prohibits the children below the age of 14 years from employment in any factory or mine or any kind of hazardous labour.

## Right to Freedom of Religion

In India, all the people have the right to choose their own religion and faith. Article 26 allows establishing

### Democracy and Women Empowerment

### Agree and Disagree

Arrange the statements given below in these two sections, according to what you think is appropriate for the section. (I Agree and I Disagree)

1. When women and girls are educated, they accelerate development in their families and communities.
2. Women always depend on male companies like father, husband, brother and son.
3. Providing education for women and girls our economies grow. Health improves. Nation rise.
4. Women are exclusively for managing the house and cooking purpose only.
5. Girls and women are good at dance, painting and cooking.
6. Education is the pathway to saving lives, building peace and empowering girls and women.
7. Malala Yousufzai, 17-year-old Pakistani muslim girl supports girls' education.

**I agree** _____

_____

**I disagree** _____

_____



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and maintaining institutions related to religious affairs and charitable purposes also. You can own a movable or an immovable property and administer the property in accordance with law.

### Cultural and Educational Rights

There are certain non-political rights of religious, cultural and linguistic minorities, groups or sections of people. Constitution guarantees these rights for them.

No citizen is denied the admission to the State or the State aided educational institutions owing to caste, creed, gender, etc. The citizens have their right to get educated in any schools or colleges of their choice. If in case the institutions are found to practise discrimination, the government will not extend aid to such institutions. Moreover, the State should not dictate the pattern of education to these institutions too and must allow them to decide in order to preserve our culture.

**ACTIVITY**

1. Find out how many languages, scripts and dialects are there in India?
2. What are the official languages of India?

### Right to Constitutional Remedies

Article 32 provides the remedies to the citizens at the Supreme Court while Article 226 by the High Court. The courts can issue writs or orders in the nature of Habeas Corpus, Mandamus, Certiorari, Quo Warranto and Prohibition or Injunction.

## New Rights

### Right to Information

Right to Information Act of 2005 as mandate of posing queries to the working of the Government. This is to empower the citizens and initiate transparency and accountability. An informed citizen is kept more vigil on the instruments governing the functions of the government thereby making them accountable.

### Right to Privacy

Right to privacy is moreover an integral part of human dignity. "The right to privacy is protected as an intrinsic part of the right to life and personal liberty under Article 21 and as a part of the freedoms guaranteed by Part III of the Constitution"

### Rights of Transgenders

Transgenders are different from how men and women are supposed to be. Today they are addressed as the third gender. The Supreme Court has infact directed the Union and the State Governments to grant legal recognition of their gender identity.

## 4.4 Political Obligation

Political obligation binds a person to the performance of duties as mentioned in the Constitution. An individual has to follow the rules and regulations in the society for his own welfare and the society's welfare. When the State is responsible towards the citizen, the citizen must also reciprocate to the Government.

### 4.4.1 Political Obligation and Political Authority

When the state has a political authority, it has the right to compel the non-compliers. For example if anything within the State's authority to levy the taxes, then the State has all the rights to compel the non-compliers to pay the taxes. However, even if the State does not enforce its authority, still it is the moral duty of the citizens to comply with the laws.



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Hence, every human being is subject to political obligation owing to the omnipresence of the modern nation state. Political obligation otherwise involves three major aspects:

**The identifiable authority to which political obligation is rendered**

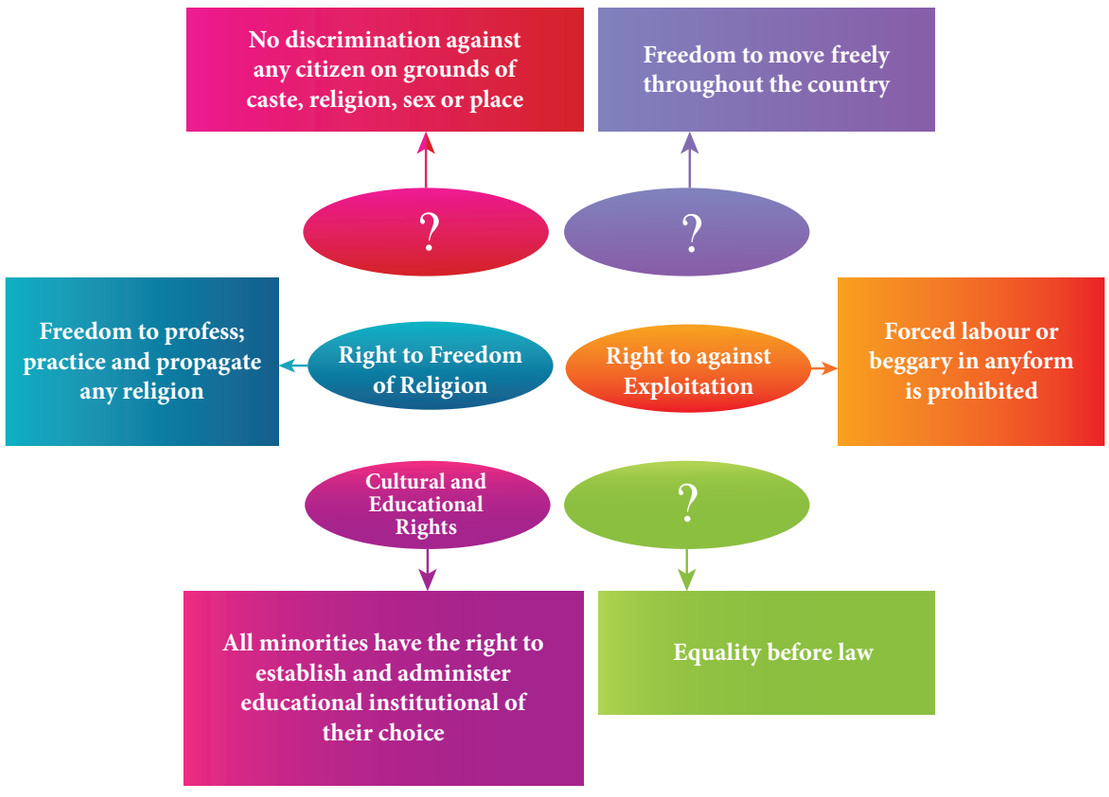
**To what extent political obligation can be rendered**

**The basis of Political Obligation**

## Features of Political Obligation

- There prevails a source of political spirit and social service
- Honesty and integrity are the essential aspects when it comes to the performance of public duty.
- There must prevail political legitimacy and effectiveness
- The citizens also have the responsibility of guarding their guardians

## Fundamental Rights




## Kinds of Political Obligations

Political Obligations are of four kinds.




**i) Moral Obligation:** Are you hospitable to the guests who come to your house? Do you help the poor? Will you not take care of your parents in their old age? These are your moral obligations. They do not legally bind the community and the individuals and if you do not behave within the moral obligations, you can also not be punished.



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**ii) Legal Obligation:** Our nation is a welfare state where the Government focuses on providing us with the infrastructural facilities. Roads, health centres, hospitals, education, etc are few of the examples of concern.

**iii) Positive Obligation:** There are certain rules made by the state which cannot be disobeyed and hence they are considered as the positive obligation. For examples, paying tax and serving the defence.

**iv) Negative Obligation:** This is the direct opposite of positive obligation. Here, an individual is not permissible to do what the government prevents him from doing so. Commission of crime is also a negative obligation.

***Which are your obligations to the state?***

- Playing with your friends.
- Cast votes during the election time.
- Teaching your sister.
- Payment of taxes to the state.
- To join the Public Service.
- To serve the army during emergency time.

## The Constitution and important obligations

There are situations where some laws are framed by the Government which are harmful and yet they get a support, which is called the Steam roller legislature. It is the duty of the citizen to resist such laws too. Hence, the concept of political obligation not only informs people to obey the rules and regulations of the authority of power but also informs to resist if the laws are found not to be good for the society.

## Theories of Political Obligation

All of us have some theories, values in life. In the same way, theories are applicable for political obligations too. There are different types of theories of political obligation.

### i. The Divine theory

In the olden days, people thought that the God created the state and the king was his representative. But this theory could be popular only during the ancient and middle ages but not during the modern era.

### ii. The Consent Theory

This theory proposes that the authority of the state is based on the people's consent. **Hobbes, Locke** and **Rousseau** justified this theory on the grounds that the authority of power was dependent on the people's consent. But, later it could not be accepted because it treated state as an artificial organisation.

### iii. The Prescriptive Theory

This theory states that political institutions are continuous from the past, this idea has been supported by **Edmund Burke.** But over a period of time, it lost its effect due to its overemphasis on the respect for the well-established practices.

### iv. The Idealistic Theory





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This theory regards man and the state as two entities. "Man" is regarded as a political and rational creature while "state" is considered as a self-sufficing community. This idealistic theory propounds that when the individual receives his rights from the state, he can have no rights that can conflict with the state. However, this theory proved to be quite abstract and which could not be understood by man.

### v. The Marxian Theory

The Marxian theory has been classified into three stages:

**Pre-Revolutionary Stage**- This stage explains political non-obligation

**Revolutionary Stage**- It is an eventual change from political non-obligation stage to a stage of total political obligation.

**Post-Revolutionary Stage**- This stage is a complete transition from total political obligation to social development.

The Marxian theory of politics explains the state as an instrument of power in the hands of the proletariat. Towards the success of the revolution to consolidate the socialist order, it may lead to what is called as 'withering away' of the state. However, this theory was also considered to be illogical since it made man subservient to the state.

### Why should we obey the state? Is it necessary?

Though the theories mention about the political obligation, yet some seem to be abstract while some are illogical too. what are the reasons that make an individual to obey the state?

i. **Fear of Punishment:** Do you fear being punished by your teacher with an imposition if you go to school with an incomplete homework? Does your father obey the traffic signals properly fearing being penalised? Yes, Fear is always there if we do not perform our tasks properly. In the same way, individuals perform their functions fearing punishments. In other ways, it is actually the coercive authority of the state that compels a man to conform to the system of regulations.

ii. **Patriotism:** Why do we stand up for our National Anthem? It is because of patriotism. We love our nation. So, the members of the state are conscious about the state they live as without that they cannot live as civilized human beings. The members develop a binding towards the state.

iii. **Fear of disorder and anarchy:** It is a general principle that human beings always wish for peace and order. They not only obey the laws but also look upon the ones who do not obey.

iv. **Habits and traditions:** We are all brought about to follow good habits like being courteous, honest, discipline and obedient. This is what our traditional values instilled. Hence, in a nation, even the citizens wish to establish good traditions, and obedience to the state, that which becomes a habit.

Therefore, let us understand that political obligations are necessary for the citizen to maintain a good system nationwide. Every individual hence has to abide by the laws for a good reciprocation from the state as well.



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## DEBATE



### Critical Debate on Property inequality

In most parts of our country, a son has a right by birth to a share in the undivided family property equal to the father's while a daughter can claim no such right. The Hindu Succession Act of 1956 granted daughters equal inheritance rights with sons in their father's share of the undivided family property.

Critical Debate: Teacher can form two groups. Each group consists of threemembers and one moderator. Team A will support the Hindu Succession Act of 1956 and Team B will oppose the Act.

## 4.5 Property

Property is considered as a natural right which is necessary for human dignity, freedom and dignity of life. Property refers to the legal relations between the persons with respect to specific things which may be material or abstract.

### 4.5.1 *Locke* and the Utilitarian Justification

According to ***Locke***, the Government's main function is to guarantee every citizen the protection of their individual rights and secure conditions to enjoy their properties peacefully. Humans need property which is also the necessary means of life.

Hence, the utilitarian's state that the system of property rights is necessary if the individuals is to achieve a sense of happiness. If at all the governments want to promote the happiness of it people, productivity must be encouraged by protecting individual's property rights. No government should take away the property from the people who are expected to possess and enjoy.

### 4.5.2 Feminist Perspectives

With the advent of women empowerment in the 20th century, women too claim equal status. Feminist scholars state that an important condition for the subjugation of women has been owing to denial of access of women to resources to income, such as land. This is owing to the prevailing patterns of male ownership and control of such resources. Owing to this, status of women has been one of the dependence on men. This dependent status has actually led to their rights to own and claim property.

The Indian Constitution does not recognize property right as a fundamental right. In the year 1978, the 44th amendment eliminated the right to acquire, hold and dispose of property as a fundamental right. However, Article 300 (A) was inserted in another part of the Constitution. This was to affirm that no person shall be deprived of his property save by authority of law. Hence, this has become a statutory right now.

## Glossary



**Justiciable:** Subject to trial in a court of law.

**Liberty:** The state of being free within society from oppressive restrictions imposed by authority one's behaviour or political views.

**Democracy:** The practice or principles of social equality.

**Obligation:** Duty or commitment.

**Patriotism:** Vigorous support for one's country.

**Acquisition:** Buying or obtaining of assets



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## Evaluation

### I Choose the correct answer

DPMVI

1. Which right is the one that entitles an individual to voice their opinions publicly?
   a. Right to liberty
   b. Right to education
   c. Right to free expression
   d. Right to religion
2. The right to life, liberty and equality are called as
   a. Political Rights
   b. Civil Rights
   c. Legal Rights
   d. Natural Rights
3. The rights that are protected and supported by international and national laws and treaties are
   a. Fundamental Rights
   b. The Bill of Rights
   c Natural Rights
   d. Human Rights
4. The drafting committee of the Constituent Assembly was under the chairmanship of
   a. Dr. B.R. Ambedkar
   b. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
   c. Sardar Vallabhai Patel
   d. Rajendra Prasad
5. Equality and freedom of liberty are the two kinds of rights necessary for
   a. Communism
   b. Democracy
   c. Monarchy
   d Communalism
6. The detention of a person to protect the law and security of the nation is called as
   a. Habeas Corpus
   b. Mandamus
   c. Preventive Detention
   d. Prohibition
7. Which Article provides the Constitutional Remedies to the citizens at Supreme Court?
   a. Article 21
   b. Article 32
   c. Article 15
   d. Article 18
8. A uniform civil code can be obtained through
   a. Fundamental Duties
   b. Fundamental Rights
   c. Directive Principles
   d. Human Rights



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## II Answer the following questions very shortly

1. What is natural Law?
2. What is natural citizen ship?
3. What are the fundamental rights that are available to us?
4. What are the constitutional remedies available for the citizens of India?

## III Answer the following questions shortly

1. Explain the divine theory of political obligation.
2. What does citizenship mean in the political theory?
3. What are the different ways where citizenship can be acquired in India?
4. Explain Locke's definition on Utilitarian justification.

## IV Answer the following questions in detail

1. Explain the difference between the Bill of Rights and the Fundamental Rights.
2. What are the different kinds of laws? Explain.
3. What do you mean by political obligation and what are the features of political obligation?

### Reference books


1. Rajeev Bhargava, Ashok Acharya, "Political Theory- An Introduction", Pearson India Education Services Pvt.Ltd., Uttar Pradesh, 2017.
2. Biswaranjan Mohanty, "Dynamics of Political Theory- The Current Analysis" Atlantic Publishers and Distributors (P) Ltd., New Delhi, 2010.
3. Sushila Ramaswamy, " Political Theory – Ideas and Concepts", Macmillan India Ltd., Chennai, 2009.




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# ICT Corner

## BASIC CONCEPT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE PART-II

**Through this activity you will learn about citizenship.**




2GIZ0

**CITIZENSHIP - Procedure:**

**Step - 1** Use the URL or QR code to open the citizenship activity page.

**Step - 2** An activity window will open, click the 'Explore' button at the bottom right to start the activity.

**Step - 3** Use the navigation key to know the features of Citizenship.

**Step - 4** Explore back and forth by clicking the navigation key at the bottom.

**CITIZENSHIP URL:**

http://mocomi.com/what-is-citizenship/

# ICT Corner

## BASIC CONCEPT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE PART-II

**Through this activity you will learn about the Fundamental Duties**




V2PIN

**FUNDAMENTAL DUTIES OF INDIAN CITIZEN - Procedure:**

**Step - 1** Use the URL or QR code to open the Fundamental Duties activity page.

**Step - 2** An activity window will open, click the navigation key on the top right corner of the activity window.

**Step - 3** After a small introduction story, an explanation of fundamental duties will start.

**Step - 4** Explore the different aspects of the fundamental duties by clicking the forward navigation button.

**FUNDAMENTAL DUTIES URL:**

http://mocomi.com/indian-fundamental-duties/

*Pictures are indicative



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UNIT 5

# Democracy



## 5.1 Definition and types of Democracy

The term 'Democracy' is derived from the Greek word as 'demo' means people and 'cracy' is referred as rule. The concept of democracy in its Greek term comes from "demos and "kratos" meaning "people" and "rule". Thus the term democracy is Rule by People.




Democracy is one of the most important and well-debated topics in the world since the beginning of the Twentieth Century and it has increased importance in the Twenty-first century. The concept and practice of Democracy in the Modern period evolved in Britain, although it's ancient concept and practice was in Ancient Greece. The spread of Democracy in began in the world in different countries from the beginning of the Twentieth-century.

### Characteristics of Democracy

a) Democracy rests upon the principles of majority rule, along with individual and minority rights.

b) The right of the people to demand the Government they elected and the duty of the Government to be accessible and responsive to their needs and demands is the main function.

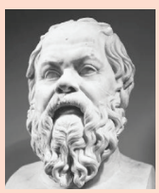
c) One of the primary functions of Democracies is to protect such basic Human Rights i) Equality before Law, ii) Equal Protection before Law iii) Freedom of Speech, iv) Freedom of Religion; v) Right to organize and participate fully in the political, economic, and cultural life of society.




d) Democracies conduct regular free and fair elections open to all citizens.

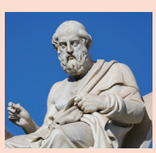
e) Democracy ensures that all citizens receive equal protection under the law and that their rights are protected by the Legal-constitutional system.

### Democracy defined by Philosophers:



"Democracy would, it seems, a delightful form of government, anarchic and mostly, assigning a kind of equality indiscriminately to equals and unequals alike." ***- Socrates***

"Freedom in a democracy is the glory of the state, and therefore,in a democracy only will the freedom of nature design to dwell."



***- Plato***

"The foundation of democratic constitution is liberty. People constantly make this statement implying that only in this constitution is there any share in liberty at all".



***- Aristotle***



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f) Democracies are diverse political systems, reflecting each nation's unique political, social, and cultural life.

g) Democracy ensures the citizens to participate in the political system.

h) Democracy is a system of government in which power and civic responsibility are exercised by all citizens, directly or through their freely elected representatives.

## Types of Democracy

Democracy by its function has different scope and importance.

i) Political Democracy
ii) Social Democracy
iii) Industrial Democracy
iv) Economic Democracy
v) Totalitarian Democracy
vi) Radical Democracy
vii) Plebiscitary Democracy

### i. Political Democracy

Political democracy feature's the popular participation of citizens in government by which citizens elect their representatives to the Legislature of the state. The elected representatives are accountable to the citizens who elected them. As a political system of government, Democracy works either as a function by the direct involvement of the citizens in making laws and the elected legislators would introduce it in the Legislature. This is known as the process of Popular Initiative. Similarly, when the legislators elected by the people frame legislation, it is approved by a popular vote that is based on popular acceptance of the laws. This is known as Popular Referendum.

The second type of Democracy is the Representative system of Democracy in which the elected representatives of the people (representative democracy)are elected for a term of office who determine public policy on behalf of the people. Political Democracy by Representative system of democracy is the dominant form of Democracy all over the world, whereas the Direct Democracy is practiced in the Federal Republic of Switzerland.

### ii. Social Democracy

Social Democracy is a combination of social, economic and political ideas that supports economic and social policies. It promotes social equality and social justice giving strength to economy and representative and participatory democracy. Social Democracy is based on the principle of Social equality in all aspects of gender, status, beliefs, values and customs. Social Democracy believes strongly in Equality of opportunity and equality in freedom as the basis of human rights and life in a Democracy.

### iii.Industrial Democracy

Industrial democracy is defined as the means to promote democratic principles in industry and labour by the provision and protection of Labour Rights and Responsibilities in the workplace.

Industrial democracy encourages the participation of labour in decision making along with the management. Industrial democracy enables the workers participate



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actively in the process of building both community and individual interests for the collective good of the society and state. Industrial democracy empowers workers as partners in the industry calling for their joint efforts to build community interests and welfare

### iv. Economic Democracy

Economic democracy is defined as the process of creating democratic conditions of economic productivity, minimising the rich-poor gap and socio-economic differences, promoting affordable economic development and the ideal of creating greater equality among various classes.

### v. Totalitarian Democracy

Totalitarian Democracy is known as populist democracy or mass democracy in which Citizens after electing the representatives have no voice in decision-making, but the elected representatives decide for the entire country. Totalitarian Democracy elevates the ruler, party and the elected legislators over the voting citizens and captures power through democratic means but runs as dictatorship. The political ideology of the ruler, party and the legislators becomes dominant over people interests. Totalitarian democracy in the name of people's rights would use internal terror against certain sections of people and also speech restrictions to keep the population under its complete control.

Totalitarian democracy would have complete control of the economy of the state and would use it to control the population.

### vi. Radical Democracy

Radical Democracy was proposed by M.N.Roy a leading Indian political thinker who believed in "real rule" of the people for the term of office to which the legislators are elected. Radical democracy supports the idea of direct accountability of the legislators and executive to the people during the term of office. Radical Democracy believed in the humanism of the people who are the real masters of political authority and power and not the elected legislators. Radical democracy brings into Democracy the real sense of people's participation, accountability of the elected and the power of the people to change the government.

### vii. Plebiscitary Democracy

Plebiscitary Democracy is defined as the process of a direct voting by the people of a candidate, or party or a public issue or the adoption of a new constitution of a state or to determine the association of the province with the state known as national self-determination. The voters have the choice to accept or reject the choice.

Plebiscitary democracy gives the citizens the right and power to collect a sizeable number of signatures on a petition to draft a law or a public policy programme and put the proposal or draft law to vote by the citizen population

Plebiscitary democracy can by a collection of signatures could result in the recall of the elected representative because of failure to represent the real interests of the people.



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## ACTIVITY – TRUE OR FALSE

Which of the following statements is true about today's world?

a) Monarchy as a form of government has vanished. **Ans :** _____

b) The relationship between different countries has become more democratic than ever before.
**Ans :** _____

c) In more and more countries, rulers are being elected by the people.
**Ans:** _____

d) There are no more military dictators in the world.
**Ans :** _____

e) Which is the good form of government Democracy or Polity?

f) Democracy is a failure in a country of people who are ignorant.

g) Democracy fails when the rights of the people are taken away

## Scholars view of Democracy



Democracy is a 'living reality' in every sphere of social, economic and political activity.

*- George Douglas Howard Cole*



**Democracy is defined as,**

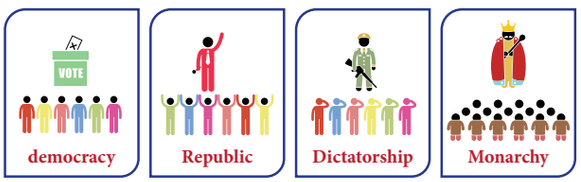
1. A government by the people; especially: rule of the majority:
2. A government in which the supreme power is vested in the people and exercised by them directly or indirectly through a system of representation usually involving periodically held free elections.

*- Thomas Jefferson*

## 5.2 Theories of Democracy

Democracy is a theory that has various applications in different historical periods, different civilizations and cultures. The Ancient theory of Democracy emerged in Ancient Greece that saw the rise of several city-states (polis) which believed and applied the procedure of Direct election, Debating of public policies and Decision by the people. Greek Civilization, Culture and Language spread widely throughout Europe in the ancient historical period. And it also saw the spread of democracy as a "form" and "system" of government initially in Europe and later into North and South America.

As the Greek polis increased in size the nation of democracy by elected representatives gained importance and relevance. Representative democracy later emerged as the dominant form and system of government in the European Middle Ages, the Age of Enlightenment. The mass popular demand for Democracy was made in the American (1775-1783) and French Revolutions (1789-1799). Democracy has now emerged as a "universal" form of government widely accepted by several countries with various people groups, cultures and languages.




**There are various Theories of Democracy defined in terms of scope and impact:**

**5.2.1 Classical Democracy:** Emerged as a direct form of democracy in Ancient Greece. Athens was the first city to



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introduce such a democracy. Direct democracy in Athens emerged in between 800-500 BCE (Before Common Era). In Athenian direct democracy, the citizens of the city-state are all as members of the assembly, who participated directly in the decision making and the process of legislation. Given the limited population they were able to gather in the city square and were able to deliberate. All citizens were free to express their different opinions, debate, and vote in a system directly and this was called as Classical Democracy. Classical democracy for its success should have two preconditions: a) The community must be small enough for citizens to be proficient in attending debates and voting on issues; b) the economy of the state should be sufficient for enabling the citizens to engage in politics.

**The principles of classical democracy are mentioned below:**

a) The chief political ideals were equality among all people, liberty and respect for law and justice.

b) Equality before law and equal treatment of law enabled justice to prevail in almost all the spheres of society. Political life was free a nd open.

The main subject of classical democracy was the participation of all peoples in the processes of state. Classical democracy was to bring equality among citizens in respect of rights and privileges.

## Protective Democracy:

Democracy has been regarded as a means at the disposal of individuals which they can use to safeguard their rights and liberties. Protective democracy as a Rights-based democracy emerged in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries placing it as an instrument of protecting human rights and liberties. The English thinker ***John Locke*** (1631-1704) was regarded as the great advocate of protective democracy. ***Locke*** argued that the citizen's freedom and right to vote was based on the existence of natural rights characterized by Life, Liberty and Property.

Protective Democracy was proposed by English thinkers ***Jeremy Bentham*** (1748-1832) ***James Mill*** 1773-1836) and ***John Stuart Mill***(1806-1873) of the Utilitarian School of Democracy and Rights. Utilitarianism was powerfully advocated in favour of protective democracy.

**The following are the basic features of protective democracy:**

- Protective democracy believes in popular sovereignty.
- Both the popular sovereignty and representative form of government are legitimate.
- It is the primary duty of the state to protect the rights and liberties of citizens.
- The authority is accountable to the People and in order to establish it elections are held on regular basis.
- Separation of the Legislature, Executive and Judiciary are the most important means of protecting the rights, liberties and the distribution of privileges.



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- The introduction of rights-based protective democracy brought in the idea of constitutionalism that governed the ruler and the ruled by the principles laid down in constitution. The Constitution is the sole source of power for all and is the guarantor of rights and liberties.

### 5.2.2 Marxist Theory of Democracy

The Marxist theory views the democracy in the social context of class analysis during the era of industrial revolution. Society was divided into two classes viz: capitalists or owners of the property are called as 'bourgeois' and the working class is called as 'proletariat'. The Marxist theory of Democracy held the political position to always challenge the dominance of capitalists and against the exploitations of working class. The Marxist theory of democracy did not support electoral rights, but strongly supported economic rights and the creation of 'socialist democracy'.

The Marxist theory of Democracy favoured the collapse of capitalism and calls for the revolutionary transformation of the society. It believes that political power is possible only through the ideals of 'socialism'; and is based on the equal distribution of economic power against the unequal wealth and ownership of production. The Marxists democrats and socialists believe in the removal of class differences and privileges are the necessary step to freedom, equal status and democracy.

The socialists believed that with universal education people can govern themselves. The Marxist theory criticises the falseness of the liberal democracies are thus seen as 'capitalist' or 'bourgeois' democracies which are manipulated and controlled by the entrenched power of ruling class. The Marxist theory emphasises the importance of economic factor as the key factor for the class divisions and ownership and the control of the means of production.

Democratic Marxists view (a) State as an agency of anti-people crimes and considered the abolition of standing army and instituting a citizen's militia, (b) Implement the election of all officials subjecting them to recall, (c) Totally remove the political attribute of police, (d) Eliminate the monarchy.

**Views of leaders on Democracy**



Democracy is the road to socialism. *-Karl Marx.*



Democracy is the form of the government for the people, of the people, by the people. *-Abraham Lincoln.*



My notion of democracy is that under it the weakest should have the same opportunity as the strongest. This can never happen except through non-violence. *- Mahatma Gandhi*

### 5.2.3 Elitist Theory of Democracy

The role of the elites in a democracy is an unavoidable force. Elites of Leaders rule, control key resources and enforce major decision for centuries. In an industrial, agrarian society the ownership of property and control over production were the



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important factors. Elites from the agrarian and industrial sectors emerge as feudal landlords and owners of industry. They later take a political role to govern the state. Three important theorists ***Vilfredo Pareto*** (1848-1923), ***Gaetano Mosca*** (1857-1941) and ***Robert Michels*** (1876-1936) are the leading thinkers of elitist democracy. Pareto classified the elites into governing and non-governing elite from the masses. The governing elite are the power elites who are the ruling classes. They derive power from the variety of sources such as education, social status, bureaucratic position, political connections, and wealth. Pareto described the Elite qualities in two psychological types (a) Foxes – who rule the masses by cunningness and manipulate their consent, (b) Lions – who achieve power through domination, coercion and violence. Elitism developed as a critique of egalitarian idea such as democracy and socialism.

***Robert Michels*** had an alternative view about the democracy that even though the organization tend to be democratic but the small group of dominant figures who can organize and make decision rather than having deliberation with rank and file of the organization an d called it as 'iron law of oligarchy'.

### 5.2.4 Pluralist Theory of Democracy

Pluralist addresses the interests and rights and the representation of the minorities thus forming the core content of liberal democracy. It offers the scope of institutions for the democratic process in the case of Legislature known as Bicameralism and a form of governance namely Federalism to govern the state through various set of representation. Pluralism paves way for participatory democracy that enables diverse group participation, to protect their rights. In this scheme, political power is distributed and shared to many groups in the society representing diverse interests. Pluralism leads to defend their particular interests through government by creating 'competitive equilibrium' that intends to benefit large sections of the society for the long run.

Pluralism suggests that democracy in the system necessitates the conduct of regular elections that encourages political competition among parties, groups and individuals. The thinkers of Utilitarian school were the great advocates of pluralist democracy ***James Madison***, ***John Stuart Mill*** and T***ocqueville*** predicted that elections expresses the preferences of divergent competitive groups rather than the wishes of many in the majority group. ***Robert Dahl*** pointed out that the very essence of democracy is realized by Polyarchy that accommodates the presence of divergent groups, association, organizations in large number to enjoy relative autonomy in governmental power and jurisdiction.

**DO YOU KNOW?**

- Later there was a revision in ***Robert Dahl's*** Theory, he forwarded the theory of "Deformed Polyarchy" to better describe the working of American democracy.

### 5.2.5 Deliberative Theory of Democracy

Democracy is Deliberative in its scope. It emphasizes on the form of democracy that emphasizes the need for



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deliberation, discourse and debate that defines the public interest. Deliberation and participation are two critical aspects of democracy. Deliberative democracy and participation are usually strong in the grassroots level. India's Panchayati Raj institutions are usually strong in this process. Grass roots democracy features Panchayati Raj Institutions and civil societies that strengthen the functioning of the government. James Miller defines that deliberative democracy is built on the system of deliberation that features that decisions are reflective of the discussion among the participants. It features the willingness of the people to listen to the views and consider the interests of the others modifying their own opinions accordingly. Public interest and public opinion are the key components of the deliberative democracy.



Deliberative democracy is harmonious with both representative democracy and direct democracy. Rawls and Habermas famous theorists of justice and public opinion have observed that political choice, to be legitimate, must be the outcome of deliberation about ends among free, equal, and rational agents. Deliberative democracy recognises "the full and equal membership of all in the sovereign body responsible for authorizing the exercise of that power, and establishes the common reason and will of that body".

## ACTIVITY

a) Why it is important to separate the religion from the State in democratic societies?

b) Why it is important that government schools do not promote any one religion?

c) Give two evidences which suggest that India is a secular state.

d) Discuss any three key factors that threatens the growth of secular state in India.

e) You have read that most elected members whether in the Panchayat or Corporation, State Assembly or the Parliament are elected for a period of 5 years. Why do we have a system where the representatives are elected for a period of 5 years?

f) List the three forms of protest that you see in newspaper and paste it in the Chart. Display in your classroom.

g) **ROUND ROBIN** – Generate ideas on short comings of democracy and speak in order moving from one student to the next.

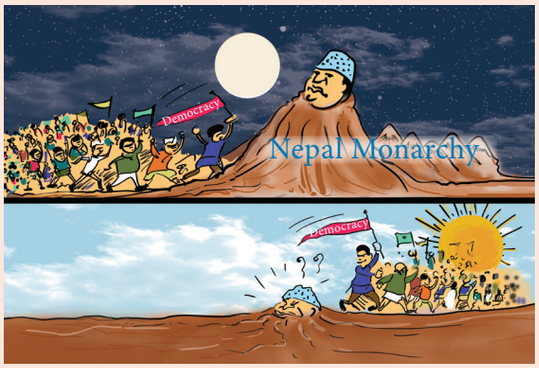
Democracy is the most popular form of government emerging the modern times. Still the shortcomings cannot be ruled out. Justify the statement by assessing any five short comings of democracy.



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## Case Study

### TALE OF TWO CARTOONS




Courtesy : The Hindu- 31.12.2007
Cartoon by Surendra

### APRIL REVOLUTION AND DEMOCRACY IN NEPAL

On April, 2006 the leaders of Nepal's vibrant pro-democracy civil society movement "Seven Party Alliance" (SPA) called for a million-strong demonstration to be staged at seven different points along the ring road encircling the capital Kathmandu. The millions of citizens who made up the people's movement demanded a end to autocratic rule of monarchy and restoration of total democracy in the Himalayan Kingdom. An unprecedented development forced the King Gyanendra to step down and paved the way for democracy.

### Modern and Contemporary Democracy:

Modern and contemporary democracies emerged in the late eighteen centuries in Western Europe as a result of industrial revolution, rise of labour and the social changes that emerged. Modern and contemporary democracies feature:

## Case Study

### HISTORIC TRANSITION IN BHUTAN




Courtesy : The Hindu - 3.11.2008
Cartoon by Keshav

The fourth King of Bhutan, Jigme Singye Wangchuck travelled to all the 20 districts of the tiny Kingdom. The purpose of the travel is to explain the importance of historic transition to the people of Bhutan. Transition from the hereditary monarchy to the Parliamentary Democracy. In 2006, the King has abdicated the throne, 34 years after ascending it. His son Crown Prince Jigme Khesar Namgyel Wangchuck becomes the fifth monarch and head of State of the Himalayan Kingdom. Now Bhutan is a parliamentary democracy and King Jigeme a constitutional monarch

Discuss the salient features of April Revolution of Nepal and Voluntary transition of power in Bhutan. Discuss the key terms such as Hereditary Monarchy, Parliamentary Democracy, Monarchy, Autocracy and Democracy.

- Written constitution the basic requirements and it must be kept up in everyday life by politicians and authorities:
- Importance of Constitutionally guaranteed basic Human Rights and fundamental rights to every individual



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of all the social groups' especially religious minorities and other underprivileged.

- The Separation of Powers between the institutions of the state:
- Government (Executive Power), Parliament (Legislative Power) and Courts of Law (Judicative Power)
- Freedom of opinion, speech, press and mass media
- Religious liberty
- General and equal right to vote (one person, one vote) – *Universal Adult Suffrage*

The "majority rule" is characterized as only important features of democracy, however the process should have free and fair competitive elections. Additionally, the importance of Rights is very important viz: freedom of political expression, freedom of speech, and freedom of the press are indispensable in the representative democracy and the masses are informed through political campaign and the manifestoes of the political parties enable to vote in their personal interests.

Democracies have been practiced by different models of political system ranging from one party rule to multi-party system. In several countries, democracy is based on the legal principle of equal rights to vote. People in Asian and European countries use the term "democracy" as the basic expression meaning for liberal democracy, which has the salient features of political pluralism; equality before the law; civil liberties; human rights; and elements of civil society outside the government. Freedom of speech is the fundamental requirement of modern democracy.

All democratically elected Governments are held responsible by free speech, every decision must have a reason, accountable. The free flow of information allows both people and governments to make the best informed decisions. Democracy has been described or defined broadly as

a) Political System of Competition for Power

b) Right to participation in public life

c) The Rule of Law

## TYPES OF MODERN DEMOCRACY:

### Representative Democracy:




A representative democracy is the system of government in which all qualified citizens vote to elect their representatives based on the constituencies divided by the population or eligible voters.



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People elect their representatives to power to run the government through political parties according to their views on ideology, principle, policies and programme for their socio-political and economic development. The parties are allowed to have choose the candidates on their own to attract the masses and winning chances.

During the election they announce to the people about their programmes and policies are known as the 'party manifesto'. A transforming country like India, every national and regional party used to release their election manifesto to have a direction and trajectory of their future plan of action so as to win the confidence of the masses.

The individuals are allowed to contest elections as independent candidates too, if they do not wish to belong any political party. The role of political parties is vital in a representative democratic system. The members of political parties keep the people informed about important issues by holding public meetings, for either supporting or opposing the policies of the government. Thus, the political parties mobilize the people in knowing their needs and in turn mould the public opinion. The representatives are constitutionally recognized and entitled to execute their duties and responsibilities in the people's interest, with authority.

Representative Democracy is closely associated with Liberal Democracy which describes the political system which originated in the USA and Western Europe and has subsequently been adopted in numerous Third World countries and may gradually be well established in the former USSR and its former states in Eastern Europe. Liberal Democratic regimes may be classified as either Presidential or Parliamentary systems and there are also important variations within these broad categories. Representative democracies are based upon numerous interconnected principles:

- The existence of regular, free, fair elections based upon universal suffrage and secret ballots under the supervision of Election Commission as an independent body.
- The existence of competing political parties offering electoral choice.
- The existence of electoral laws supervised by an independent judiciary.
- Freedom of speech and association.
- Freedom to stand as an election candidate.

**ACTIVITY**

a) The sessions could be watched in the television where the MLAs and MPs of our constituencies raising issues related to their particular constituencies.

b) This can be practiced for electing the Leader of the Class through a secret ballot system according to the wish of students.

c) Student parliament can be organized to take part in discussion with parliamentary procedures.



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## Participatory Democracy:

Participatory democracy is been promoted to achieve equity reversing the concept of equality. In the recent days participatory democracy is a process that enables and ensures the wider participation of constituents in the direction and operation of political systems. Democracy tends to support more involved forms of citizen participation than traditional representative democracy. A civil society based concept, participatory democracy attempts to create opportunities for all members of a group to make expressive contributions to decision-making, and to increase the range of access to such opportunities. Social relations is base for its "political" operation in that it revolves around a structure of authority increasing and extending the scope of participation and political equality involves democratizing society.

The aim of participatory democracy is to make people interested to take part in the political, legal and economic processes of the state and also to make people more responsible for the decisions made. The important feature of a participatory democracy is that people will have the opportunity to directly participate in the functions and access to the decision-making institutions of state and there shall be no provision for delegating power to another body or organ. It is designed to

### ACTIVITY




Try to take part in the meetings of Grama Sabha held on Independence Day and Republic day of India where the people of the particular village come together to discuss about their demands and getting involved in the decision making process.



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revitalize the democratic participation in the era of economic growth, to redress the inequality among the people. The most important characteristic is the importance of political equality in democratic system a long side basic or fundamental rights, liberties that needs emphasis and to be highlighted.

## 5.3 Measuring and evaluating democracy

Democracy has found to be a right, system, approach, mechanism and the profound channel of expression of consent and dissent. Measuring and evaluating democracy complement each other. As it was strongly expressed by Dr.B.R.Ambedkar, the Drafting Committee Chairman of the Constitution of India, 'In politics we will have equality and in social and economic life we will have inequality. In politics we will be recognizing the principle of one man one vote and one vote one value. In our social and economic life, we shall, by reason of our social and economic structure, continue to deny the principle of one man one value.' Democracy can be measured and evaluated in terms of qualitative and quantitative methods. The qualitative analysis will help to understand the dynamics of social change and the quantitative analysis will help to prove the net result of the change to accentuate the democratic process.



The qualitative analysis of democracy can be measured through the political participation in terms of protest, demonstration, campaign, opinion making, freedom of expression and other constitutionally guaranteed rights. The social reflections are adding values to the social changes in terms of social upward mobility occurring within the caste system, religious, gender and cultural perspectives. Democracy has direct relationship with changing economic pattern of development through policies to minimize the inequality. The quantitative part of the democracy is to evaluate through human development index, per capita income and so on. The democracy can be measured and evaluated by the following criteria.

a) **Sovereignty:** The degree to which a polity is able to govern itself in its domestic affairs and foreign policies and free from interference of other nations.

b) **Authority:** The degree to which central governmental authority is pre-eminent throughout the territory claimed as part of the polity.

c) **Elected government:** The extent to which executive functions are carried forward by officials elected through election through secret ballot.

d) **Universal Adult suffrage:** The extent to which all the adults have been given the right to exercise vote in elections.

e) **Turnout:** The percentage of people's participation in voting during elections.

f) **Regular elections:** The extent to which elections are held in regular interval



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(every 5 years) and on schedule, according to the constitution of India.

**g) Free and Fair elections:** The extent to which parties and candidates can gain access to the ballot, and have their votes counted and allocated fairly. Also, the extent to which citizens are able to register to vote without fear and favour.

**h) Access to media and campaign:** The extent to which all parties/candidates are granted equal access to the media and to campaign, proportional to their support in the electorate.

**i) Ensuring rule of law:** The extent to which the executive follows the law, as defined by the constitution and as interpreted by the judiciary.

**j) Legislative power:** The extent to which the legislature controls the executive with parliamentary systems

**k) Role of Opposition parties:** The extent to which the opposition parties function in a parliamentary democracy to control the excess of ruling party when it moves out of the constitutional framework.

**l) Independent Judiciary:** The extent to which the highest judicial bodies are independent of the executive and other outside influences.

**m) Judicial review:** The extent to which the highest judicial bodies are able to review acts of legislation and other governmental actions in the light of constitutional provisions, and the extent to which such decisions are respected by other bodies.

**n) Party strength:** The extent to which parties are institutionalized and decentralized its power, functions and inclusiveness.

**o) Party ideology:** The extent to which parties have well-defined, consistent, and coherent ideologies.

**p) Party system:** The number of parties gaining seats in the legislature.

**q) Freedom of Press:** The extent to which major media outlets are independent, free to air their diverse political expert views, and able to reach the citizen.

**r) Civil society independence:** The extent to which civil society is independent of the state and able to voice opinions critical of political leaders.

**s) Civil liberty:** The extent to which citizens enjoy all the fundamental and human rights enshrined in the constitution.

**t) Property rights:** The extent to which property rights are protected.

**u) Religious freedom:** The extent to which freedom of religion is guaranteed to maintain religious harmony and secular content of government policies and programs.

**v) Equal access to resources:** The extent to which resources are redistributed to achieve economic equilibrium through income, education, and health which would make greater impact of participating in politics.

**w) Equal access to natural and common property:** The extent to natural and common resources to ensure their livelihood, environment and social emancipation.



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x) **Gender equality:** The extent to which women achieve equal representation with indiscriminate dignity in the legislature, social institutions and other high positions within government.

y) **Political equality to achieve socio-economic status for underprivileged:** The extent to which underprivileged ethnic groups defined as caste, tribe, race, religious minority, or other ascriptive characteristics are granted constitutional rights and remedies to come up to positions of power within the government, as well as the extent to which such groups actually gain representation in the legislature and other high positions within government according to their political participation and social position.

## 5.4 Achievements of Indian Democracy

The founding fathers of India and its Constitution had built strong democratic foundations in the Indian State and the Constitution thus making India a great country. The democratic constitutional foundations have strengthened the Constitution in every aspect of socio-political and economic changes. The Preamble of the Constitution laid down clear road map with Fundamental Rights and Duties, Directive Principles; Parliamentary System and Amendment Procedures; Judicial Review and Basic Structure doctrine.

### Political front

- During the first general election in the 1951-52 India had 53 political parties and now it has grown up to 263 in the 2014 general election as an evident of deepening of the democratic process.
- In the first General election 1951, 17.3 Crore citizens were given right to vote; of these, 44.87 percent exercised their franchise. In the 16thgeneral election in 2014, the size of the electorate had increased to 814 million the voting percentage had gone up to 66.4 and of these, 67.9 percent were men and 65.6 percent women. The number of contestants was increased to 8,251.
- Since 2004, votes are recorded through (EVMs) electronic voting machines. These are manufactured in India and their accuracy is ensured and secrecy has been fully tested.
- Our electoral system known as FPTP or First-Past-The-Post system, is a single-member district, simple-plurality system in which voters cast a single ballot to choose a single representative to the lower house of parliament or the State legislative assembly, the candidate with largest number of votes, even if only a plurality, getting elected to represent the constituency.
- Since 1989, the citizens were given a chance to elect their representatives at the age of 18, this is another feather in the crown of democracy.
- India is the world's the largest democracy proved success in accommodation of group and regional demands in a complex, quasi-federal, polity.
- The 73$^{rd}$ and 74$^{th}$ amendment of the constitution has given the reservation for SC/STs, women in the Local self-governing bodies like panchayats, municipalities and corporations as members, councillors and mayors.



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- India's democratic set up has been vibrant and able to keep the military out of political power. It also shows prudence on the part of military generals and defence personnel earning respect from the executive.

**Social Front:** The democratic process has brought about a shift of political power from the middle and higher castes and classes of urban society to backward classes who are now the politically most influential ones in the country. They have won reservations for themselves in legislatures and government services as were accorded to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes after independence through Constitutional provisions.

India's institutions like the free press and an independent judiciary have ensured that India remains a society based on rule of law.

The life expectancy at birth has almost doubled from 36 years in 1951 to 66 years in 2011 due to the availability of better health facilities and the health programmes consistently implemented for the well-being of the people to get away from the epidemics, endemics, communicable and non-communicable diseases.

Similarly, diseases like smallpox and polio have been eradicated. In education, the number of universities and colleges has gone up from a minuscule 27 universities and 578 colleges in 1950-51 to an estimated 712 universities and 36,671 colleges in 2014. Similarly, literacy rates have almost quadrupled from 18.3 percent of the population in 1951 to 73 percent in 2011.

**Economic Front:**

These include strategic affairs and security, politico-legal democratic governance as well as society and economy.

- India has been able to emerge as a regional power in Asia and super power in south Asia backed by its economic, military and nuclear capabilities.

- It meant centralized planning till 1991 and a very big public sector for industries catering employment and science and technology education for the youth in the country, but soon there were inefficiencies and labour issues it resulted in a move towards a more open liberalized and market driven model of the economy starting in the 1991 reforms called as Structural Adjustment Programme. Post this, the economy has seen greater private and foreign participation found the base for the emergence of professional new middle class. The technological innovations applied in transforming the service sector particularly Education, Health and transportation along with rural and urban infrastructure lead to digital India and reforms in banking sectors has brought a great social transformation in reality.

- India's Gross National Income (GNI) at constant prices has increased more than 35 times from ₹ 2.92 lakh crore in 1950-51 to ₹ 105.28 lakh crore 2014-15. Similarly, the per capital income at current prices has risen from a poultry ₹ 274 In 1950-51 to a decent ₹ 88,533 in 2014-15.



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- Food grain production grew from 50.8 million tonnes in 1950-51 to an estimated 264.77 million tonnes in 2014-15 that indicates more than a five-fold increase and the fact that India is food secure for the time being. It was made possible with rapid advances in agricultural technology.

## 5.5 Challenges to Indian Democracy

The challenges that are faced by Indian democracy ranges from individual to society as a whole the problems of Illiteracy which resulted in poor implementation of universalization of education, Poverty, corruption, Casteism, Communalism, religious fundamentalism, Sustainable development, gender discrimination, violence against women, political violence, regional disparity in development, inadequate Judicial and administrative reforms, civil society participation, civil-military relationship, criminalization of politics and growing economic offences. The challenges now and for the future include ensuring greater transparency, accountability and independence in the broad framework of checks and balances on which India's democratic framework rests.




Even after 73rd and 74th constitutional amendments, there were villages in which panchayat elections were not conducted for many years.

### Glossary:



Authority is the right to exercise the power and influence of a particular position that comes from having been placed in that position according to regular, known and widely accepted procedure.

Civil society is the realm of autonomous groups and associations; a private sphere independent from public authority

Civil-Military relationship: It is the discipline that has emerged to study and understand the relationship between the civil society as a whole and the military and its organizations to protect it.

Communalism as a political ideology that has come to be associated with conflicts, tensions and resulting it in violence between different religious, ethnic and caste groups.

Corruption is generally known as favouring one through illegal means. But on the other hand it is a failure to carry out 'proper' responsibilities as a result of the pursuit of private gain.

Deliberative democracy: A form of democracy that emphasises the need for discourse and debate to help define the public interest.

Elite means that a minority in whose hands power, wealth or prestige is concentrated.

Gender discrimination: A practice of discrimination between females and males based on their different social roles and positions.

Grass-root democracy is participating in the process and practice of local self-



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governance to design their political process and decision-making for fulfilling the needs of the people from lower strata of the socio-economic category.

Polyarchy means the rule by the many. A series of minorities, some self-interested and other disinterested within the boundaries stipulated by consensus with not being able to dominate but all having space for the manoeuvre and bargaining.

Republic: The principle that political authority stems ultimately from the consent of the people; the rejection of monarchical and dynastic principles.

Right: The concept of right is the acceptance of ideas of personal autonomy, individuality, liberty and human equality and any denial and discrimination has to have sufficient reasons.

Freedom is 1) The ability to think or act as one wishes; freedom implies either non-interference or personal self-development. 2) Liberty from the arbitrary power of the tyrants along with the right of citizens to manage their common affairs by participating in government.

Liberty refers to authoritative permission to act in some particular way.

Equality: The principle of uniform apportionment, rather than 'sameness'; equality may be applied to rights, opportunities or outcomes.

Fraternity means as brotherhood, bonds of sympathy and comradeship between and amongst human beings

Sovereignty: Absolute and ultimate power; sovereignty can imply either supreme legal authority or unchallengeable political power.

Socialism: The concept of Socialism is an ideology and it is applied in terms of achieving equality in the economic system in which property is held in common and not individually, and relationships between the state and society are governed by a political hierarchy.

Secularism: The concept of secularism is that the state should not patronize any religion and also treat all the equally.

The state is defined as a political entity that possesses people, territory, a government and sovereignty.

## Evaluation

### I Choose and write the correct Answer

**1. The term democracy means**

a) Rule by People
b) Power of People
c) Revolution
d) Polyarchy

**2. Democracy is a _____**

a) Form of Government
b) Rule by Law
c) Political System
d) Power of People



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**3. Democracy underlines the Principle of**

a) Rule by the people
b) Rule of Constitution
c) Election
d) Governing principle

**4. Social Democracy believes strongly in**

a) Equality of opportunity and freedom
b) Human rights
c) Socialism
d) Liberty

**5. Direct Democracy is practiced in the**

a) Federal Republic of Switzerland
b) Russia
c) United States of America
d) China

**6. Economic democracy is based on the importance of**

a) economic rights and social equality
b) Labour Rights
c) Workplace democracy
d) Employment Guarantee

**7. The leading Indian political thinker who Proposed Radical Democracy was**

a) M.N.Roy
b) Nehru
c) Gandhi
d) Ambedkar

**8. Radical Democracy is believed to be the**

a) Power of the people
b) Local Community Rule
c) Rule of Law
d) Participatory Democracy

**9. Protective democracy is based on**

a) Equality
b) Liberty
c) Rights
d) Social security

**10. The Marxist theory views the democracy in the social context of**

a) Community
b) Social Group
c) Class analysis
d) Capitalist Class

**11. Which was the theory of Democracy favoured the collapse of capitalism and calls for the revolutionary transformation of the society?**

a) Classical Theory
b) Egalitarian Theory
c) The Marxist theory
d) The Elitist Theory



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**12. Pluralism leads to defend their particular interests through government by creating**

a) Social Equilibrium
b) competitive equilibrium
c) Economic Equilibrium
d) Political Equality

**13. One of the salient features of Indian Democracy is**

a) Citizen's Participation
b) Parliamentary Democracy
c) Secret Ballot
d) Universal Adult suffrage

## II Answer the following questions very shortly

1. Define: Any one of the popular definitions of Democracy.
2. Explain: Pareto's classification of the elites.
3. What are the essentials of radical democracy?
4. How do you explain the class analysis of Marx.
5. What does the term 'polyarchy' mean?
6. Mention few principles of Representative democracy.
7. What are the factors to have qualitative democracy?

## III Answer the following questions shortly

1. Write a short note on M.N.Roy's local republics in Radical democracy.
2. Describe the qualities of Elites in Pareto's theory of elites.
3. Define: Robert Dahl's view on Polyarchy.
4. What are the merits of participatory democracy?
5. Write about the view of B.R.Ambedkar on democracy.

## IV Answer the following questions in detail

1. Explain the elitist theory of democracy.
2. Write an essay on achievements of Indian democracy in the political front.
3. Write an essay on achievements of Indian democracy in the economic front.



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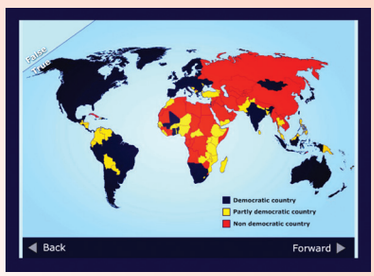
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## ICT Corner

### DEMOCRACY

**Through this activity you will know which countries have democratic Government.**




**DEMOCRACY MAP**

**Procedure:**

**Step - 1** Use the URL or QR code to open the DEMOCRACY MAP page.

**Step - 2** Click on the Forward button placed on the bottom of the activity window to initiate the activity.

**Step - 3** A legend with colour codes are given at the bottom. With this legend, the countries which have the democratic form of Government will be identified.

**CITIZENSHIP URL:**

https://www.nobelprize.org/educational/peace/democracy_map/production/index.html

*Pictures are indicative

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UNIT 6

# Forms of Government



## 6.1 Introduction

The Government is the main agency of the state. It comprises several members belonging to political and administrative wings. It serves as the instrument for delegation and execution of the state policies for the welfare of the people. It formulates expresses and realises the will of the state. It exercises certain legislative, executive and judicial powers based on the constitution and the laws. There are three organs in government, namely – Legislature, Executive and Judiciary. These organs carry out the activities of the state. Governments are classified under Unitary, Federal, Parliamentary and Presidential forms.

**ORGANS OF GOVERNMENT**

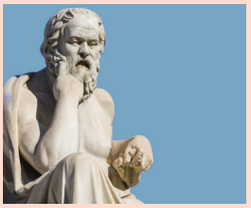
- Legislature
- Executive
- Judiciary

### Learning Objectives

**Students will be able to**

- define Government
- understand the purpose of Government
- describe different types of Government
- understand the relationship between individual and Government critical analyze the performance of the Government

### Think about the following statements



a. What comes to your mind when you hear the term Government?

b. In what way you, your family or the citizen are connected with government?

c. Can you identify the role of government in your day to day life?

d. Do you think the government is inevitable or citizen can survive without the government?

e. Can you differentiate the role of elected representatives and appointed Bureaucrats role in the functioning of government?

f. Identify some government departments and segregate into central government, state government and local government.

g. Try to describe your own definition of Government .....

**Quotable quote**

No man under takes a trade he has not learned, even the meanest: At everyone thinks himself sufficiently qualified for the hardest of all trades, that of government.

*-Socrates*



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## CHECKS AND BALANCES (PRESIDENTIAL FORM)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **Executive Branch**<br>**(President carries out laws)**<br> | **Checks on the Legislative Branch**<br>Can propose laws<br>Can veto laws<br>Can call special sessions of Congress<br>Makes appointments<br>Negotiates foreign treaties | **Checks on the Judicial Branch**<br>Appoints federal judges<br>Can grant pardons to federal offenders |
| **Legislative Branch**<br>**(Congress makes laws)**<br> | **Checks on the Executive Branch**<br>Can override President's veto<br>Confirms executive appointments<br>Ratifies treaties<br>Can deciare war<br>Appropriate money<br>Can impeach and remove President | **Checks on the Judicial Branch**<br>Creates lower federal courts<br>Can impeach and remove judges<br>Can propose amendments to overrule judicial decisions<br>Approves appointments of federal judges |
| **Judicial Branch**<br>**(Supreme Court interprets laws)**<br> | **Checks on the Executive Branch**<br>Can declare executive actions unconstitutional | **Checks on the Legislative Branch**<br>Can declare acts of unconstitutional |

## Approaches to the study of Government

Studying governments from different approaches help us to understand government from its evolution to its performance in the contemporary times. The approaches to study the Government are...

### 1. Comparative-Historical Approach

This approach studied the western political institutions from ancient to modern times, this approach is descriptive in nature, Aristotle, Montesque and Locke adopted this approach to study and analyse governments in those days. For instance before writing his monumental work politics Aristotle studied 158 constitutions. Montesque studied the working of the British constitution and came to the conclusion that the stability of British constitution was due to the adherence to the principle of separation of powers.

### 2. Legal-Institutional Approach

Scholars like ***Bentham, Austin*** and ***Dicey*** adopted this approach, This approach focuses on formal legal structure of political institutions. They helped to develop certain theories which explain the relationship and interconnection between government and Law. ***Bentham*** is the distinguished legal reformer in England Likewise ***Austin*** provided a legal base to sovereignty which is indivisible, inalienable and absolute. ***A.V.Dicey*** judged the government on the basis of law and its applicability to different branches of government.

### 3. Political Economy Approach

This approach deals with economic aspects of the government which gives economic interpretation of politics also deals with role of market, mode of production and delivering goods to the society. This approach is classified into liberal political economy and the Marxist political economy approach.

### 4. Political Sociology Approach

This approach derived its ideas from sociology and anthropology also known as systems approach. Political sociology



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asserts that government or political system is a sub system of a larger social system. This approach examines the interaction between the larger and the sub systems.

Early ***Montesque*** proposed a three-fold division of Government namely Republican, Monarchical and Despotic government

**Republican Government:** "People possess the sovereign Power".

**Monarchical Government:** "Rule by one single person and governed by fixed and established laws".

**Despotic government:** "Rule by one single person but there is no fixed rule for governance, everything conducted by his will. According to ***Montesque*** the survival of the government depends on "persistence in given society of that particular spirit which is characteristic of the form".

## 6.2 Meaning, Definition and Nature of Government

Government refers to the executive functions of the state. It denotes a body having authority to make and enforce laws applicable to the civil, corporate, religious, academic or other groups. The term Government is derived from an old French word "governor", derived from Latin word "gubernare" which means to direct, rule, guide, govern.

### Which is the oldest form of government?

***Aristotle's*** **Classification of Governments**

***Aristotle*** identified a combination of two criteria to classify the constitution that he analysed.






Monarchy is the oldest form of government in the United Kingdom. In a monarchy, a king or queen is the Head of State. The British monarchy is known as a constitutional monarchy. This means that, while The Sovereign is Head of State, the ability to make and pass legislation resides with an elected Parliament.

**Criteria One:**

Number of People having Power – One, Few, Many; Thus he distinguished between Monarchy, Aristocracy and Polity

**Criteria Two:**

To whose interest the Government works for – Working in General Interest, Working in Personal Interest. The respective perverted forms of the three types are Tyranny, Oligarchy and Democracy

| No of People having Power | Working in General Interest | Working in Personal Interest |
|---|---|---|
| One | Monarchy | Tyranny |
| Few | Aristocracy | Oligarchy |
| Many | Polity | Democracy or Mobocracy |

**ACTIVITY**

"Every activity of individuals from 'Womb to tomb' is regulated and controlled by the State agencies."



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## DEBATE



Organise a debate on - Compare Aristotle's Classification of Government with contemporary Indian system of Government by discussing the following points namely

1. Whether our government is working on general interest or Personal interest
2. Do our Indian Democracy really represent General will or Personal will of a Few?

### 6.3 Unitary Form of Government

A unitary system of government, is a sovereign state governed as a single entity. The central government is supreme, and the administrative divisions exercise only powers that the central government has delegated to them. In a Unitary form of government all authority and power vested in a single centre **examples of Unitary Form of governments are England, France, Japan, Sri Lanka.**

### Definition:

A.V.DICEY: "Habitual exercise of supreme legislative authority is by one central power"

GARNER: "Where the whole power of government is conferred by the constitution upon a single central organ"

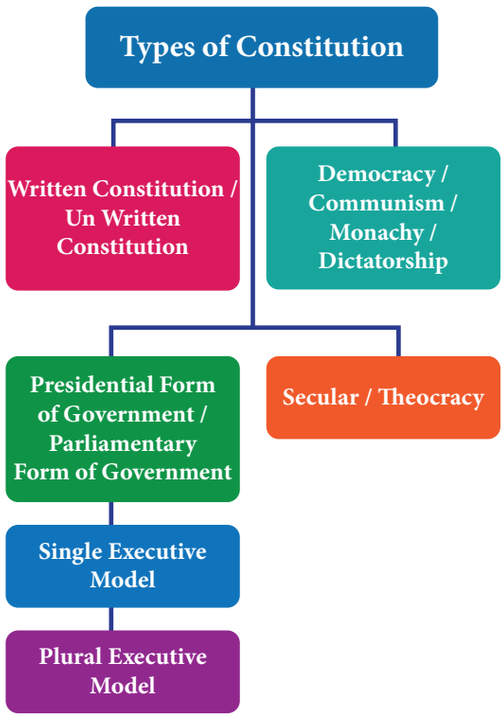
C.F.STRONG: "Two important qualities of the Unitary Government".

They are:-

1. The supremacy of the central government;
2. The absence of the subsidiary sovereign bodies.

Can you list out some activities which are rendered by the government… womb to tomb

1.
2.
3.
4.




### Merits Of Unitary Form Of Government

a. Suitable for small countries.
b. There is no conflict of authority and responsibility.
c. A unitary government will make prompt decisions and take speedy action.
d. A unitary government is less expensive.
e. Amendments to the constitution are easy.
f. There is unity, uniformity of law, policy and administration.

### De-Merits of Unitary Form Government

a. It is not suitable for big countries.
b. The central government will have to tackle so many complex problems that lead to administrative delay.



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c. The central government will not concentrate on local problems, local interest and initiative.

d. The concentration of powers may pave way for the despotism of the central government.

## Unitary Features Of Indian Constitution

### i. Strong Centre

The division of powers is in favour of the Centre and highly inequitable from the federal angle. Firstly, the Union List contains more subjects than the State List. Secondly, the more important subjects have been included in the Union List. Thirdly, the Centre has overriding authority over the Concurrent List.

### ii. Central Government's control over state territory

The Parliament of India can by unilateral action change the area, boundaries or name of any state.

### iii. Single Constitution

The Constitution of India embodies not only the Constitution of the Centre but also those of the states. Both the Centre and the states must operate within this single-frame.

### iv. Flexibility of the Constitution

The bulk of the Constitution can be amended by the unilateral action of the Parliament, either by simple majority or by special majority.

### v. Unequal representation of states

In a federation states are given with equal representation with regard to upper house, but in India states are not given with equal representation with regard to Rajya Sabha.

### vi.Emergency Provisions

During an emergency, the Central government becomes all powerful and the states go into the total control of the Centre. It converts the federal structure into a unitary one without a formal amendment of the Constitution. This kind of transformation is not found in any other federation.

### vii. Single Citizenship

India adopted the system of single citizenship. There is only Indian Citizenship and no separate state citizenship. All citizens irrespective of the state in which they are born or reside enjoy the same rights all over the country. The other federal states like US, Switzerland and Australia have dual citizenship, that is, national citizenship as well as state citizenship.

### viii. Single Integrated Judiciary

It means that all the courts of India are in a hierarchical order from the lower courts to the Supreme Court of India. Courts in India have Original and Appellate Jurisdiction.

### ix. All India Services

It has the features of All India Services or Central Services, and the State Civil Services. The Central and All India services promotes uniform administrative system and process throughout India.

### x. Appointment of Governor

The governor of a state is not elected but appointed by the president and holds office at the pleasure of the president. He is the head of the executive in the state. He has powers like Legislature, Executive Judicial and emergency powers.



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## 6.4 Federal Form of Government

The classification of governments into unitary and federal is based on the nature of relations between the national government and the regional governments A federal government is one in which powers are divided between the national government and the regional governments by the Constitution itself and both operate in their respective jurisdictions independently. US, Switzerland, Australia, Canada, Russia, Brazil, Argentina have the federal form of government. In a federal model, the national government is known as the Federal government or the Central government or the Union government and the regional government is known as the state government or the provincial government.

### Federal Features Of Indian Constitution

#### a. Dual Government

The Indian Constitution establishes a dual polity consisting the Union at the Centre and the states at the periphery. Each is endowed with sovereign powers to be exercised in the field assigned to them respectively by the Constitution.

#### a. Written Constitution

The articles of the Constitution are written and cannot be easily changed without due parliamentary approval.

#### a. Division of Powers

The Constitution divided the powers between the Centre and the states in terms of the Union List, State List and Concurrent List in the Seventh Schedule.

#### a. Supremacy of the Constitution

The Constitution is the supreme law of the land. The laws are enacted by the Centre and the states must confirm to its provisions.

#### b. Rigid Constitution

Amendment of the Constitution is by a procedure of 2/3rd majority in each of the house and laws cannot be easily changed by any ruling party.

#### c. Independent Judiciary

The Judiciary is separated from the Executive and Legislature. The Judiciary given its national and state level jurisdictions, exercises Original, Appellate and Judicial Review functions. It functions independently of the Executive and Legislature.

#### d. Bicameralism

It provides for a two-house legislature that has an Upper chamber and Lower chamber. With the Lower house having powers of enacting financial legislation.

### Merits Of Federal Form Government

a. Reconciliation of local autonomy with national unity.

b. Division power between centre and states leads to administrative efficiency.

c. It gives rise to big states.

d. Distribution powers checks the despotism of central government.

e. More suitable for bigger countries.

f. It is good for economic and cultural progress.

g. De-Merits Of Federal Form Government.

h. Federal government is weaker when compared to the unitary government.

i. Federal government is more expensive.



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j. Provincial tendencies are very common.

k. lack of uniformity in Administration.

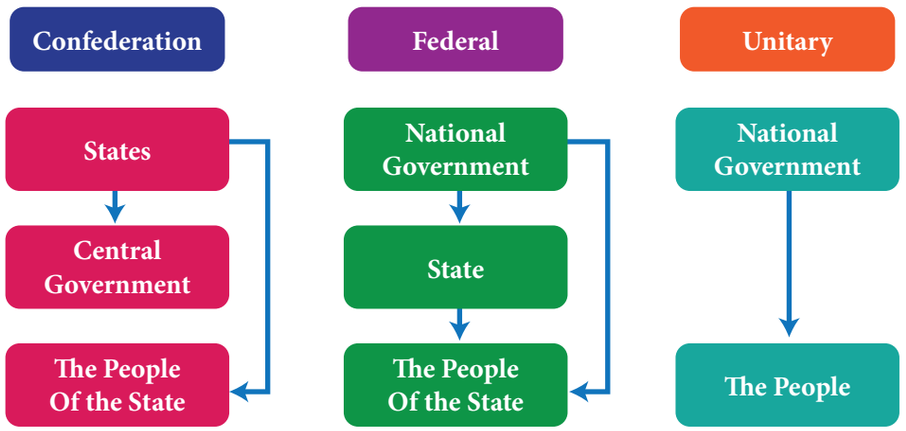
l. Threat to national unity.

m. Distribution powers between centre and states lead to conflict.

n. Double Citizenship.

o. Rigid constitution cannot be amended easily for the changing needs.

p. The state governments sometimes place hindrances in the foreign policy.




## Difference between Unitary form and Federal form of Government

| S. No | Unitary Form of Government | Federal Form of Government |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | Only one Level of Government or Subunits | Two Levels of Government |
| 2. | Mostly Single Citizenship | Dual Citizenship |
| 3. | Sub Units cannot operate Independently | Federal Units are answerable to Central Government |
| 4. | No Division of Power | Division of Power |
| 5. | Centralisation of Power | Decentralisation of Power |

| S.No | Country | Name of Parliament |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | Israel | Knesset |
| 2. | Germany | Bundestag |
| 3. | Japan | Diet |
| 4. | Norway | Stortinget |
| 5. | Nepal | Rashtriya Panchayat |
| 6. | Pakistan | National Assembly |
| 7. | Russia | Duma |
| 8. | U.S.A | Congress |
| 9. | South Africa | Parliament |
| 10. | Switzerland | Federal Assembly |



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## Summary

| S.No | Category | Types | Countries |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Forms of government | Presidential form of government | U.S.A |
| | | Parliamentary form of government | U.K,India |
| | | Direct democracy | Switzerland |
| | | Indirect democracy | India |
| | | Monarchy | Absolute Monarchy - Bahrain |
| | | | Constitutional Monarchy -Japan |
| | | | Commonwealth Realms - Australia |
| | | Authoritarian | Hitler's Germany and Mussolini's Italy |
| 2. | Role of religion | Secularism | India |
| | | Theocracy | Pakistan, Iran, Vatican City, Nepal |
| 3. | Distribution of power:territorial | Unicameral | China |
| | | Bi-cameral | U.K, U.S.A, India |
| 4. | Types of executive | Single Executive Model | U.S.A |
| | | Plural Executive Model | France |
| 5. | Types of judiciary | Independent | All Democratic Countries |
| | | Committed | Erstwhile U.S.S.R |
| 6. | Nature of Constitution | Rigid &Written | U.S.A |
| | | Flexible &Un-Written | U.K |
| | | Partly Flexible Partly Rigid | India |
| 7. | Nature of state (In terms of Objectives, Ideology, Policies) | Capitalism | America |
| | | Communism | Cuba, China, North Korea |
| | | Socialism | Russia |



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## 6.5 Parliamentary form of government

Modern democratic governments are classified into parliamentary and presidential on the basis of nature of relations between the executive and the legislative organs of the government.



The parliamentary system of government is the one in which the executive is responsible to the legislature for its policies and acts. The presidential system of government, on the other hand, is one in which the executive is not responsible to the legislature for its policies and acts, and is constitutionally independent of the legislature in respect of its term of office.

The parliamentary government is also known as cabinet government irresponsible government or Westminster model of government and is prevalent in Britain, Japan, Canada, India among others.

***Ivor Jennings*** called the parliamentary system as 'cabinet system' because the cabinet is the nucleus of power in a parliamentary system. The parliamentary government is also known as 'responsible government' as the cabinet (the real executive) is accountable to the Parliament and stays in office so long as it enjoys the latter's confidence.

It is described as 'Westminster model of government' after the location of the British Parliament, where the parliamentary system originated. In the past, the British constitutional and political experts described the Prime Minister as 'primus inter pares' (first among equals) in relation to the cabinet. In the recent period, the Prime Minister's power, influence and position have increased significantly vis-a-vis the cabinet. He has come to play a 'dominant' role in the British politico-administrative system.

### Features of parliamentary form of government

**Nominal and Real Executives:** The President is the nominal executive (de jure executive or titular executive) while the Prime Minister is the real executive (de facto executive). Thus, the President is head of the State, while the Prime Minister is head of the government.

**Majority Party Rule:** The political party which secures majority seats in the LokSabha forms the government. The leader of that party is appointed as the Prime Minister by the President; other ministers are appointed by the President on the advice of the prime minister. However, when no single party gets the majority, a coalition of parties may be invited by the President to form the government.

**Collective Responsibility:** This is the bedrock principle of parliamentary government. The ministers are collectively responsible to the Parliament.

**Double Membership:** The ministers are members of both the legislature and the executive.

**Leadership of the Prime Minister:** The Prime Minister plays the leadership role



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in this system of government. He is the leader of council of ministers, leader of the Parliament and leader of the party in power. In these capacities, he plays a significant and highly crucial role in the functioning of the government.

## Merits of the parliamentary form of government

**Harmony between Legislature and Executive:** The greatest advantage of the parliamentary system is that it ensures harmonious relationship and cooperation between the legislative and executive organs of the government. The executive is a part of the legislature and both are inter dependent at work. As a result, there is less scope for disputes and conflicts between the two organs.

**Responsible Government:** In the parliamentary system establishes a responsible government. The ministers are responsible to the Parliament for all their acts of omission and commission. The Parliament exercises control over the ministers through various devices like question hour, discussions, adjournment motion, no confidence motion, etc.

**Prevents Despotism:** under this system, the executive authority is vested in a group of individuals (council of ministers) and not in a single person. This dispersal of authority checks the dictatorial tendencies of the executive. Moreover, the executive is responsible to the Parliament and can be removed by a no-confidence motion.

**Wide Representation:** In a parliamentary system, it is possible to provide representation to all sections and regions in the government. The prime minister while selecting his minister scan take this factor into consideration.

## Demerits of the parliamentary form of government

**Unstable Government:** The parliamentary system does not provide a stable government. There is no guarantee that a government can survive its tenure. The ministers depend on the majority legislators for their continuity and survival in office. A no-confidence motion or political defection or evils of multiparty coalition can make the government unstable.

**No Continuity of Policies:** The parliamentary system is not conductive for the formulation and implementation of long-term policies. This is due to the uncertainty of the tenure of the government. A change in the ruling party is usually followed by changes in the policies of the government.

**Dictatorship of the Cabinet:** When the ruling party enjoys absolute majority in the Parliament, the cabinet becomes autocratic and exercises nearly unlimited powers.

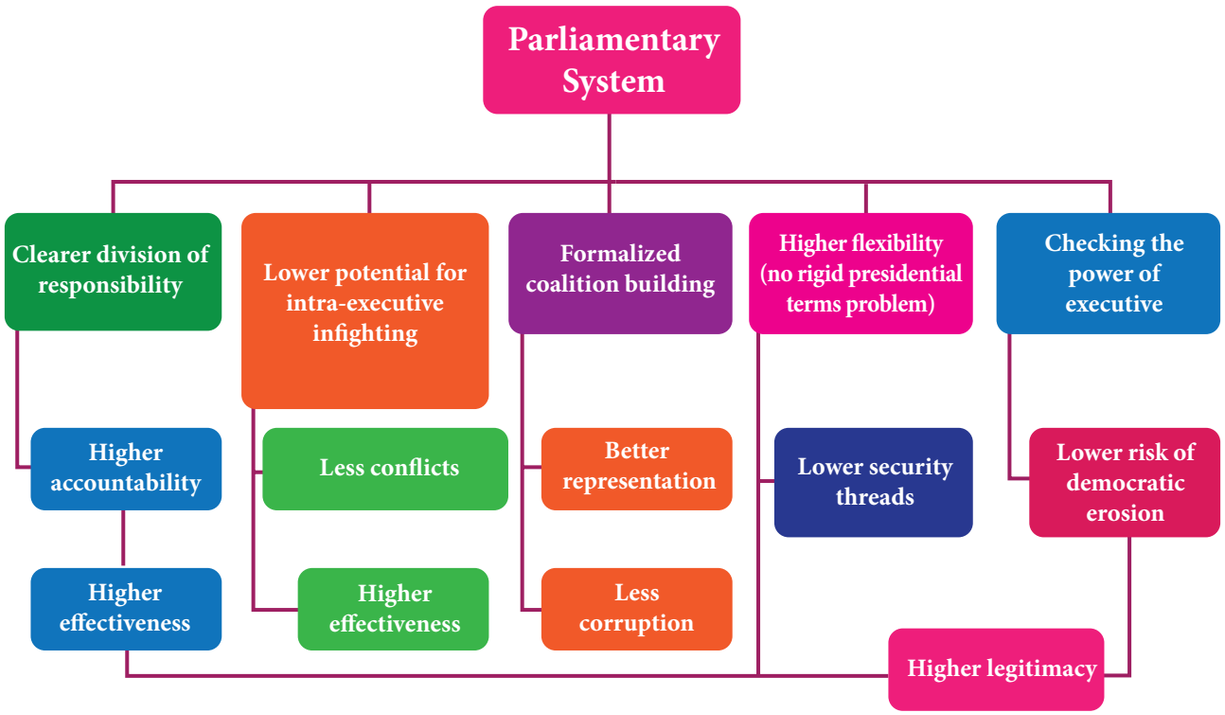
***Harold J Laski*** says that the parliamentary system gives the executive an opportunity for tyranny.

***Ramsay Muir,*** the former British Prime Minister, also complained of the 'dictatorship of the cabinet'.

**Against Separation of Powers:** In the parliamentary system, the legislature and the executive are together and inseparable. The cabinet acts as the leader of legislature as well as the executive. Hence, the whole system of government goes against the letter and spirit of the theory of separation of powers.



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### Why the framers of the Indian Constitution adopted for the Parliamentary Form of Government?

1. Familiarity with the System
2. Preference to More Responsibility
3. Need to Avoid Legislative—Executive Conflicts
4. Nature of Indian Society, India is one of the most heterogeneous States and most complex plural societies in the world. Hence, the Constitution-makers adopted the parliamentary system as it offers greater scope for giving representation to various section, interests and regions in the government. This promotes a national spirit among the people and builds audited India.

## 6.6 Presidential Form of Government

The Presidential Form Of Government is also known as non-responsible or non-parliamentary or fixed executive system of government basically built on the principle of separation of power, and is prevalent in USA, Brazil, Russia, Sri Lanka among others.

### Features of Presidential Form of Government

The American President is both the head of the State and the head of government. As the head of State, he occupies a ceremonial position. As the head of government, he leads the executive organ of government. The President is elected by an electoral college for a fixed tenure of four years. He cannot be removed by the Congress except by impeachment for a grave unconstitutional act. The President governs with the help of a cabinet or a smaller body called 'Kitchen Cabinet'. It is only an advisory body and consists of non-elected departmental secretaries. They are selected and appointed by him, are responsible only to him, and can be removed by him any time.



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The President and his secretaries are not responsible to the Congress for their acts. They neither possess membership in the Congress nor attend its sessions. The President cannot dissolve the House of Representatives—the lower house of the Congress. The doctrine of separation of powers is the basis of the American presidential system. The legislative, executive and judicial powers of the government are separated and vested in the three independent organs of the government.




### Difference between Parliamentary Form of Government and Presidential Form of Government

| S. No | Presidential Form of Government | Parliamentary Form of Government |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | President is directly elected by the People | Prime Minister is the leader of majority Party |
| 2. | President is Supreme | Central Legislature is supreme |
| 3. | Separation of Powers | Absence of Separation Powers Centralization |
| 4. | Independent branches | Independent branches with Overlapping functions |
| 5. | President - head of the State | President - head of the State |
| 6. | President - head of the Government | Prime Minister - head of the Government |
| 7. | Individual Leadership | Collective leadership |
| 8. | President is not accountable to Congress | Collective and Individual Responsibility |

### "World Bank - World Development Report 1997 : The State In A Changing World".

The report is devoted to the role and effectiveness of the state: what it should do, how it should do it, and how it can improve in a rapidly changing world. Governments with both centrally-planned and mixed economies are shrinking their market role because of failed state interventions.

This report takes an opposite stance: that state's role in the institutional environment underlying the economy, that is, its ability to enforce a rule of law to underpin transactions, is vital to making government contribute more effectively to development. It argues against reducing government to a minimalist state, explaining that development requires an effective state that plays a facilitator role in encouraging and complementing the activities of private businesses and individuals.

The report presents a state reform framework strategy: First, focus the state's activities to match its capabilities; and second, look for ways to improve the state's capability by re-invigorating public institutions.

According to this report, five fundamental tasks are core of every government's mission, without which sustainable, shared and poverty reducing development is impossible.



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**They are…**

1. Establishing a foundation of law
2. Maintaining macroeconomic stability
3. Investing in basic social services and infrastructure
4. Protecting the vulnerable
5. Protecting the environment

## 6.7 The Concept of Governance from Government to Governance

Good governance is an indeterminate term used in the international development literature to describe how public institutions conduct public affairs and manage public resources. Governance is "the process of decision-making and the process by which decisions are implemented". "Government" and "governance" are synonyms, both denoting the exercise of authority in an organization, institution or state. Government and governance became distinguished along the following dimensions:

a. What activities are encompassed in the act of governing?
b. What actors are involved in governance?
c. What processes have made this redefinition necessary?
d. What criteria are used to evaluate good governance?
e. What capacities should be developed to achieve it?

Governance is the exercise of political, economic and administrative authority to manage a nation's affairs…Governance embraces all of the methods – good and bad– that societies use to distribute power and manage public sources and problems (UNDP, 1997):

Governance is the manner in which power is exercised in the management of a country's social and economic resources for development (ADB, 2000) The movement from government to governance is not merely a task of creating new institutions but also that of refurbishing old ones. The state has to be strengthened to play a new role. It is also for the civil society to accept that democracy is not going to polls every five years but being vigilant and monitoring institutional performance and holding them accountable throughout these years.

**Partnership with civil society**

In the shift of government to governance the role of civil society has been very significant. There have been two kinds of strands in this role,

a. Social Movements
b. Non-Governmental Organizations

Social Movements which works for the cause of poor and marginalized do influence the governments to be responsive to their needs through changes in institutions, laws and procedures. NGO's have taken up diverse roles that also involve implementation of government programmes. Social movements and NGO's occupied new spaces in the political process and delivering public services.

**From Government to Governance**



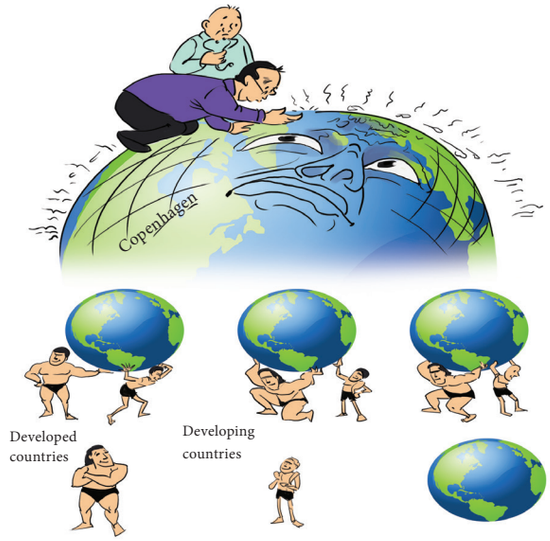
**Governance**
- Collaborative
- Flexible
- Open
- Innovative
- Risk-taking
- Of the People
- Intentional

**ACTIVITY**

**Cartoons cape Thinking about a global perspective**



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Copenhagen and Climate summit / 09.12.2009 / P.8 and 18.12.2009/ P.10

**197 Nations agree to phase out AC greenhouse gases.**

Legally – binding deal to tackle global warming, reduce use of gas 1,000 times worse than $CO_2$

## 3 GROUPS OF NATIONS

**Developed countries including the US must slash their use of HFCs' by 10 percent by 2019 from 2011-2013 levels, and then by 85 percent by 2036.**

A second group of developing countries, including China and Africa nations, are committed to launching the transition in 2024. A reduction of 10 percent compared with 2020-2022 levels should achieved by 2029, to be extended to 80 percent by 2045.

**A third group of developing countries, which include India, Pakistan, Iran, Iraq and Gulf nations, must begin the process in 2028 and reduce emissions by 10 percent by 2032 from 2024-2026 levels, and them by 85 percent by 2047**

## KIGALI (RWANDA)

In a major step toward curbing global warming, envoys from nearly 200 nations reached and agreement on Saturday to phase out potent greenhouse gases used in refrigerators and air conditioners. Under the amendment to the 1987 Montreal Protocol on protecting the ozone layer, rich countries are to take action sooner than developing nations.

The agreement was greeted by applause from exhausted envoys who had worked through the night in the Rwandan capital Kigali to put the final touches on the deal to phase our production and consumption of hydroflurocarons (HFCs)

But some representatives voiced regret that countries such as India, Pakistan, and Gulf nations would begin the transition later than others. "It may not be entirely what the islands wanted, but it is a good agreement," said a representative of the tiny pacific nation of the Marshall Islands. The elimination of HFCs could reduce global warming by 0.5 degrees by 2100, according to a 2015 study.

However, swapping HFCs for alternatives such as ammonia, water or gases called hydroflurolefins could prove costly for develop countries with sweltering summer temperatures, such as India. "There are issues of cost, there are issues of technology, there are issues of finances," said Ajay Narayan Jha of India's environment and climate change ministry before deal was announced. "We would like to emphasize that any agreement will have to be flexible from one side and not from the other," he had said.



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HFCs' predecessors, chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs), were discontinued under the Montreal Protocol when scientists realized they were destroying the ozone layer. But it emerged that HFCs, while safe for the now healing ozone, are thousands of times worse for trapping heat than carbon dioxide, the main greenhouse gas.

The new Indian express: 16.10.2016

**Thinking about a global perspective**

A global perspective asks you to think beyond yourself, your family, your school, your community, your village, your district, your state or country where you are living. Issues that are in the news are after global in nature for ex., environmental issue.

Often, a global issue or problem demands a global solution. It would not be possible to solve the global problem of climate change with a local solution, even though local courses of action might be taken to help towards a global solution. For the problem of climate change, for ex., a local course of action might be creating awareness through street play or exhibition or human chain or a poster campaign aimed at encouraging people think globally and act locally.

## Characteristics of good governance

### i. Participation

All men and women should have a voice in decision-making, either directly or through legitimate intermediate institutions that represent their interests. Such broad participation is built on freedom of association and speech, as well as capacities to participate constructively.

### ii. Rule of Law

Legal frameworks should be fair and enforced impartially, particularly the laws on human rights.

### iii. Transparency

Transparency is built on the free flow of information. Processes, institutions and information are directly accessible to those concerned with them, and enough information is provided to understand and monitor them.

### iv. Responsiveness

Institutions and processes try to serve all stakeholders.

### v. Consensus orientation

Good governance mediates differing interests to reach a broad consensus on what is in the best interests of the group and, where possible, on policies and procedures.

### vi. Equity

All men and women have opportunities to improve or maintain their well-being.

### vii. Effectiveness and efficiency

Processes and institutions produce results that meet needs while making the best use of resources.

### viii. Accountability

Decision-makers in government, the private sector and civil society organizations are accountable to the public,



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as well as to institutional stakeholders. This accountability differs depending on the organizations and whether the decision is internal or external to an organization.

### ix. Strategic Vision

Leaders and the public have a broad and long-term perspective on good governance and human development, along with a sense of what is needed for such development. There is also an understanding of the historical, cultural and social complexities in which that perspective is grounded.

**Source: UNDP (1997) Governance for Sustainable Human Development. United Nations Development Programme.**

## 6.8 How to evaluate the performance of a government?

It is difficult to evaluate the performance of a government with uni-factor analysis; the actual assessment can be done only after considering various aspects of governance, namely Socio, Cultural, Political, Economic, and Environmental factors. To evaluate the performance of a government the following factors can be considered.

### Socio Cultural factors

- Gender Parity Index
- Religious Freedom
- Equality Based on caste
- Protection of religious and Linguistic Minority Rights
- Gender Budgeting

### Political factors

- Effective functioning of Democracy
- Free and fair elections
- Corruption free Politics and Administration
- Transparency in Administration
- Independent Press
- Independent Judiciary
- Human Rights

### Economic factors

- Human Development Index (HDI)
- Gross Domestic Product (GDP)
- Purchasing Power Parity (PPP)
- Growth Vs Development
- Equal Distribution of Wealth

### Environmental factors

- Sustainable Development Goals
- National Action Plan for Climate change(NAPC)
- Green Budget
- Disaster management

### Gross National Happiness (GNH):

Gross National Happiness is a developing philosophy as well as an "index" which is used to measure the collective happiness in any specific nation. The Concept was first mentioned in the constitution of Bhutan, which was enacted on 18 July 2008.

The term "gross national happiness" was coined by the fourth king of Bhutan, Jigme Singye Wangchuck, in the 1970sThe GNH's central tenants are: "Sustainable and equitable socio-economic development; environmental conservation; preservation and promotion of culture; and good governance".

GNH is distinguishable by for example valuing collective happiness as the goal of governance, and by emphasizing harmony with nature and traditional values.



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## Activity

### Discuss the Recently Published Reports of the Following

- HUMAN DEVELOPMENT INDEX,
- TRANSPARENCY INTERNATIONAL,
- ECONOMIC SURVEY OF INDIA,
- Budget - Green Budget, Gender Budgeting,
- GENDER PARITY INDEX
- Annual Reports of following institutions
  - NHRC – National Commission for Human Rights
  - NCSC - National Commission for Schedule Castes
  - NCST - National Commission for Schedule Tribes
  - NCW – National Commission for Woman
  - NCPCR - National Commission for Protection of Child Rights

**GOOD GOVERNMENT**

CONSENSUS ORIENTED
EFFECTIVE AND EFFICIENT
FOLLOWS THE RULE OF LAW
EQUITABLE AND INCLUSIVE
ACCOUNTABLE PARTICIPATORY
RESPONSIVE TRANSPARENT

## Glossary

**Aristocracy**

Rule by an upper class.

**Checks and Balances**

A principle of a system of government whereby each branch of the government can check the actions of the others. As originally conceived, this was true of the government of the USA.

**Concurrent Powers**

Powers held jointly by the national and state governments.

**Confederal System**

A league of independent states, each having essentially sovereign powers. The central government created by such a league has only limited powers over the states.

**Democratic Republic**

A republic in which the representatives elected by the people make and enforce laws and policies.

**Devolution.**

Transfer of powers from the national or central government to state or local government. This happened in the United Kingdom in the late twentieth century.

**Direct Democracy**

A system of government where political decisions are made by the people directly, rather than by their elected representatives.

**Federalism**

A political system in which authority is shared between a central government and a state or regional government.



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## Liberal Democracy

Democratic government that provides for the protection of individual human rights, in order to prevent a majority from oppressing a minority.

## Liberalism

Advocacy of positive government action to improve the welfare of individuals, support for civil rights, and tolerance for political and social change.

## Limited Government

A government whose powers are limited, particularly by institutional checks.

## Presidential System

Representative democracy where political power is vested in separately elected and appointed branches of national government. This system is used in the USA.

## Representative Democracy

A form of government in which representatives are elected by the people to make and enforce laws and policies. Political decisions are made by the officials elected by the people. [Some such democracies retain a monarchy in a ceremonial role.]

## Republic

A form of government in which sovereignty rests with the people (or a portion of the people), as opposed to a king or monarch or dictator. This form of Representative Democracy was created by the framers of the US constituion.

## Separation of Powers

The division of governmental functions and powers among different branches of government, so that the various self-interests of each group would moderate those of the others.

## Theocracy. [From Greek theos = god and krateein = to rule.]

Rule by a god, which in practice means rule by a priesthood. No separation of church and state. Compare with aristocracy.

## Totalitarian

A regime of command by the government and obedience by the citizens. The regime controls all aspects of political and social life (as in George Orwell's 1984). In contrast with an authoritarian state, all social and economic institutions are under government control.

## Unicameral Legislature

A legislature that comprises a single part or chamber. In the USA (early 21st century) only the state of Nebraska has a unicameral legislature. Compare with bicameral legislature.

**Universal Suffrage.** [From Latin suffragium = voting tablet, vote.] The right and privilege of all adults to vote for their representatives.



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## Evaluation

KT2BC

### I Choose the correct answer

**1. "Parliamentary form of Government" is also known as**

(a) Cabinet Government (b) Responsible Government
(c) Westminster forms of government (d) All of the above

**2. Which of the following characteristics is not related to the federal government?**

(a) Written Constitution (b) Flexible Constitution
(c) Supremacy of the Constitution (d) Independent Judiciary

**3. The Federal System in India is based on the model of which country?**

(a) Canada (b) UK (c) America (d) Japan

**4. Which three indicators are used in the Human Development Index (HDI)?**

**I. Standard of living II. Education**
**III. Life expectancy IV. Condition of environment**

(a) Only I,II & IV (b) Only I, II, & III (c) Only I & II (d) All of the above

**5. Which of the following are the features on the basis of which the parliamentary system of government in India operates?**

a. Nominal and real executives b. Executive responsible to lower house
c. Prime Minister is the real executive d. All of the above

**6. Due to which of following reasons the founding fathers preferred the British parliamentary system?**

**1) Familiarity with system. 2) More responsibility.**
**3) Separation of power. 4) Heterogeneous Indian Society.**

a. Only 1, 2, 4 b. Only 1, 2, 3 c. Only 2, 3, 4 d. All of the above

**7. Which federal institution oversees the implementation of Constitutional provisions and procedures?**

A) Legislature B) Executive C) Judiciary D) Cabinet

**8. In U.S.A. The form of government is:**

A) Parliamentary B) Presidential
C) Absolute monarchy D)Limited monarchy

**9. Which major country does not have a single, written constitution?**

A. Russia B. Iran C. Germany D. United Kingdom



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## II Answer the following questions very shortly

1. Define Government.
2. Write about the merits of Unitary form of government.

## III Answer the following questions shortly

1. List out the Unitary features of Indian constitution.
2. List out the Merits and demerits of Federal form of government
3. Why the framers of the Indian constitution adopted for Parliamentary form of government?

## IV Answer the following questions in detail

1. Differenciate between Parliamentary form of Government and Presidential form of Government.

### Reference books

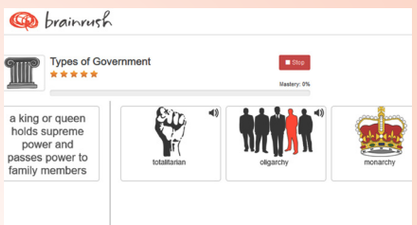

1. Vijayaragavan, Political Thought, New Delhi, Sterling Publications
2. D.D.Basu, Introduction to the Constitution of Indian, New Delhi, Lexisnexis
3. R.C.Agarwal, Political Theory, New Delhi, S.Chand




## ICT Corner

### FORMS OF GOVERNMENT

**Through this activity you will learn about the different forms of Government.**




**TYPES OF GOVERNMENT**

**Procedure:**

**Step - 1** Use the URL or QR code to open the Types of Government page.

**Step - 2** A grid of slides explaining different forms of government are placed.

**Step - 3** Click on the explanation slide to know the form of Government.

**Step - 4** Click the play button on the top of the activity window to run a quiz and recall.

**Types of Government URL:**

http://www.brainrush.com/lesson/play/types-of-government

*Pictures are indicative



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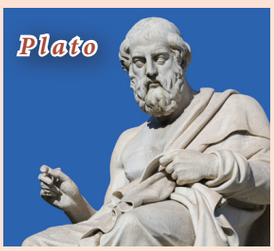
UNIT 7

# Political Thought

## 7.1 Plato

### (428/427 – 348/347 BCE)

- ***Socrates's* Student**
- **Founded the Academy-** First institution for higher education.
- **First Western philosopher** whole writings have survived
- **Most of what we know about** Socrates comes from ***Plato***'s writings
- **Agreed with Pythagoras that Mathematics were essential in understanding the world.**




**Learning Objectives**

- To understand the Political thought of ***Plato***.
- To apply in the present context.
- To gain knowledge about ***Plato***'s ideas on state, government, Justice, Education, Communism.

***Plato*** was born in 427/428 BCE. He belonged to an aristocratic family in Athens a Greek City State. ***Plato's*** real name was ***'Aristocles'***. Some historical sources say his wrestling coach Ariston of Argos dubbed him 'Platon' meaning 'Broad' on account of his large build. He was a disciple of ***Socrates*** who was one of the foremost philosophers of Greece. During his time there was great chaos in the political life of Athens which was a Greek City State. This resulted in the Athenian government condemning ***Socrates*** to death because of his teachings. This greatly affected ***Plato's*** views on politics especially in Athens.

In about 387 BCE ***Plato*** founded his 'Academy'. The name 'Academy' comes from the name of a famous Athenian hero called 'Akademos'. Here ***Plato*** taught Political Philosophy which contained politics, ethics, mathematics and sociology.

### *Plato's* Works

The three most important works of ***Plato*** are 'The Republic' (386 BCE), 'The Statesman' (360 BCE) and 'The Laws' (347 BCE). Apart from these works, he has written a number of other smaller books.

### *Plato's* Thought

The important ideas of ***Plato*** are found in his three major works and can be summarised as follows:

### Ideal State

In Political Science, the most important concept around which the subject is built is 'The State'. According



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to him in an Ideal State (i.e., the most suitable State for a human being to live in according to ***Plato***) should be made up of three classes namely Ruling Class, Military Class and Economic Class. He gives details of how this is possible in his subsequent ideas of Justice and Education.

## Idea of Justice

He believed that justice resided both in one single human being as well as the State. He said every human being is endowed with three qualities though in different proportions. He said these qualities are Reason, which resides in a person's head, Spirit which resides in a person's heart and Appetite which resides in a person's stomach. He said these are the three parts of the human soul. Firstly, he said true justice is that, these three parts should do their rightful business in order to make a human being whole. Secondly, these three parts existing in every individual, should be faithfully reflected in the State which is a collective of human beings as a whole through the formation of the three classes namely, Ruling Class, Military Class and Economic Class by which his Ideal State is formed.

| HUMAN BEING | | THE STATE |
|---|---|---|
| Reason | → | Ruling Class |
| Spirit | → | Military Class |
| Appetite | → | Auxillary Class |

## Concept of Education

***Plato*** designs an education system based on various stages suited to the age of the students from childhood to adulthood. He also devices methods of eliminations as higher stages of education is reached by human beings depending on the proportion of the three parts of their souls namely reason, spirit and appetite. Persons who are found suited to fulfil economic duties of the State are separated from the ones suited for Ruling and Military services. In the second process of elimination the persons suited for ruling are given special training to become what ***Plato*** calls 'Philosopher Kings' to rule his 'Ideal State'.



Every philosopher is the child of his/her own time. The execution of ***Socrates***, the wisest man in Greece, filled ***Plato*** with contempt for democracy and believed that it had to be replaced by the rule of the wisest.

## Views on Democracy

In his work 'The Republic' ***Plato*** had practically condemned Democracy. He had developed the idea that all were not fit to rule and that only the philosophers who had been specially trained for the purpose should rule. He said this because it was Athenian Democracy which condemned his teacher ***Socrates*** to death.

## Classification of Constitutions

***Plato***'s idea of a constitution is much different from the modern understanding of this term. By constitution he meant a particular way of life the people of a society have designed for their wellbeing. This included social customs, traditions, practices and also politics and government to oversee all these. ***Plato*** discussed about constitutions as they existed in many parts of the world during his time and as they



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ought to be. He classified constitutions as Aristocracy, Timocracy, Oligarchy, Democracy and Tyranny. He also said that there is a tendency of Aristocracy to degenerate into Timocracy, Timocracy into Oligarchy, Oligarchy into Democracy and Democracy into Tyranny.

### Bringing up of Children

According to ***Plato***, children were national possession and as such it was obligatory on the part of the State to bring them up according to their attitudes.

### *Plato*'s dialectical Method

***Plato*** used this method in his book 'The Republic'. He writes this book as if he is asking questions as a student and ***Socrates*** is answering as his teacher. Unlike 'Didactics' i.e. a teacher authoritatively teaches a subject because the teacher knows it and the students don't, 'Dialectics' is a question and answer type of method where the student has a vague idea about something and throws questions to the teacher about it and the teacher's answers are again questioned. By this the teacher facilitates the student to formulate and reformulate his idea in order to arrive at the best possible understanding of the idea.

### Assessment

***Plato***, though by no means the first philosopher, undoubtedly is one of the earliest to leave us a significant body of work. He spent most of his time asking and providing answers to questions that have always troubled people. Even centuries after his death, ***Plato*** is considered the most influential political philosopher of all times.

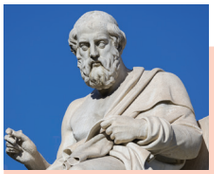
## 7.2 Aristotle

## (384 – 322 BCE)



**Learning Objectives**

- To understand the Political thought of ***Aristotle***.
- This will help to compare thinkers on similar concept
- To gain knowledge about ***Aristotle*** ideas on Ideal State, Citizenship, normal and perverted forms of constitution and Monarchy, forms of *government and democracy*



Man is by nature a political animal and he, who by nature and not by mere accident is without state is either above humanity or below it.

**-*Aristotle* in his book Politics**

### Life and Times

William Ebenstien says" In the history of political philosophy no one has surpassed ***Aristotle*** in encyclopaedic interest and accomplishment".

***Aristotle*** was ***Plato***'s student at his 'Academy'. After ***Plato***'s death, ***Aristotle*** found his own school called 'The Lyceum'



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in 335 BCE. It is here that Alexander studied under ***Aristotle***. The teaching and research program included every branch of knowledge. ***Aristotle*** was born in Stagira in 384 BCE. Unlike ***Plato***, ***Aristotle*** came from an upper middle class family. His father Nicomachus was the personal physician to king Amyntas of Macedon.

'***Aristotle***' whose name means 'the best purpose' stood true to his name when he proposed the 'Best Practicable State' as opposed to ***Plato***'s 'Ideal State'. According to ***Aristotle***, "the State exists for an end and this end is the supreme good of man in both moral and intellectual life".

## *Aristotle*'s Works

He wrote many books on subjects ranging from Greek literature to Zoology. But his most famous work is called 'Politics' from which modern Political Science has grown. Thus he is called as the 'father of Political Science'. Though the exact date of its publication is not known, it is a voluminous work consisting of 8 books and having more than 1000 pages. Unlike ***Plato***'s agreement with his teacher ***Socrates***, ***Aristotle*** did not agree on many things his teacher ***Plato*** had to say.

**Quotable Quote**

The whole is more than the Sum of its parts - ***Aristotle***

## *Aristotle*'s Thought

Almost all his political ideas are known through his book 'Politics'.

## State as a Natural Institution

According to him authority of the State is moral and the State is natural. Since the family could not satisfy the ever increasing needs of the people, they had to come out of their limited circle and thought of creating the State. The families combined together to make the State and made it a perfect association. ***Aristotle*** believes that the State is an individual writ large because the individual can think of perfection only in a State.

## Functions of the State

According to ***Aristotle*** the foremost function of the State is to promote good life and create essential conditions for mental, moral and physical development of the people. The State should also function in such a way that good habits of individuals are converted into good actions and promote good, happy and honourable life.

## Theory of Citizenship

***Aristotle*** did not believe that mere residence or enjoyment of legal rights or birth should confer the right of citizenship on a person. He said, "It is the function which entitles a person to become citizen". A person should participate in the popular assembly which was vested with the authority of exercising sovereign powers. A citizen should be able to partake in decision making process of the government.

## Classification of States

He classifies States on quantitative as well as qualitative basis:

| Quantity | Quality | |
|---|---|---|
| **Type** | **Good Form** | **Perverted Form** |
| One | Monarchy | Tyranny |
| A Few | Aristocracy | Oligarchy |
| Many | Polity | Democracy |



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According to ***Aristotle***, if sovereignty resides in one person it is Monarchy. It degenerates into Tyranny. Thus the people wrest the State from the tyrant and give it to a few rulers and thus Aristocracy comes into being. Then it perverts into Oligarchy, people again revolt and transfer power to many rulers by which the State becomes a Polity. When this degenerates, it becomes a Democracy because these rulers no longer have sight of the common good for which the State came into being. This again gives rise to Monarchy.

## Views on Slavery

According to ***Aristotle***, the slave is the first of the animate property of a Master, i.e., the slave is first among all living property of the household of which the master is the head. He says those who are not virtuous are slaves. The slave is an instrument of action and not that of production because as soon as he starts performing productive functions, he loses his character as a slave and becomes virtuous.

## Views on Family

***Aristotle*** believes that the family is a natural institution and in fact it existed prior to the State. It is natural as individuals become members from their very birth. It is the starting point of moral life and the nucleus of the State.

**ACTIVITY**



Is it true that ***Aristotle*** tutored Alexander the Great?

Yes, he did, at the request of Philp II of Macedon, the father of Alexander the Great.



## Views on Property

***Aristotle*** supported the possession of private property which is essential for good and normal life. However, he prescribed limits to private property. He also objected to the abolition of private property.

## *Aristotle* an Liesure

The reason ***Aristotle*** says the citizens of a State must have property as well as slaves is because the citizens must have leisure, so that the citizen may spend useful time in thinking and deliberating on furthering the good life of all though the State.

## Views on Revolution

***Aristotle*** is of the opinion that revolutions occur firstly due to constitutional changes. This change could be large or small. For **e.g.:** change from Monarchy to Tyranny could set off a revolution by the people. Secondly he says revolutions could occur due to loss of purpose of the State though there may not be any change in the State's constitution.

## *Aristotle*'s Six Forms of Government

Thus, ***Aristotle*** is still considered one of the greatest thinkers in politics, psychology and ethics. His intellectual range was vast covering most of the sciences and many of the arts. His works have laid the foundation of centuries of philosophy. Even after the intellectual revolution of the Renaissance, the Reformation and the Enlightenment, Aristotelian concepts remain embedded in world philosophy. Therefore, he is undoubtedly one of the most influential philosophers of all time.



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## 7.3 St. Thomas Aquinas (1224/1225-1274)



### Learning Objectives

1. To study about the Political thought of ***St. Thomas Aquinas***
2. This will help to understand ***Aquinas***'s concept of law
3. To gain knowledge about ***Acquinas***'s ideas on Origin of State, Functions of the State, Classification of Government, Classification of Laws, Relations between Church and the State.

### Life And Times

In Western Europe the thirteenth Century was regarded as the golden age of western philosophy. Catholicism emerged as the universal religion in Western Europe. Eventually ***Aristotle***'s Politics, re-emerged during the thirteenth century. Sharp differences arose between ***Aristotle***'s secular views and Augustine's religious ideas on sin, the Fall, and political society which were accepted by the church and as a binding doctrine. However, some philosophers faced the challenge of how to accommodate their theological views and a set of secular political assumptions, which finally resulted in the reconciliation of two different ways of understanding the world. They finally succeeded by terming politics and political theorizing as a trivial pursuit vis-à-vis people's higher calling of getting right with God. ***St. Thomas*** Aquinas was the greatest among these Christian theologians who architected this major philosophical triumph.

***St. Thomas*** Aquinas (1224 or 1225-1274) was born in the family castle of Roccasecca, north of Naples. His father was Landulf of Aquino, who headed a minor branch of an important land owning family and his mother was Theodora Rossi belonging to Neapolitan Carracciolo family.

### Aquinas' Works

In the nineteenth century, Pope Luis XIII declared that the philosophical system which Aquinas founded to be official Catholic theology, which made reading his works not only important for Catholics but also for those who sought a more than surface understanding of that branch of Christianity. Aquinas works included commentaries that stem from his theological design. Some of his important works include, (i) Summa Contra Gentiles (1264), (iii) Summa Theologica (1274) and (iv) On Kingship.

### Aquinas' Thought

#### Summa Contra Gentiles

It has often been said that Aquinas wrote the Summa Contra Gentiles (SCG) as a manual or text book designed to be used by the Dominican missionaries working in Spain where Islam was then a force to be reckoned with by Christians. The SCG is evidently an apologetic work, since it defends a series of Christian beliefs that were under criticisms or that could come under potential criticisms.



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## Summa Theologica

In his Summa Theologica, Aquinas establishes the existence of four levels of law which had an underlying unity which is reason. What differentiates one form of law from the other is the level of reason involved. The highest and most comprehensive among them is eternal law which is reason that is operative in the universe as a whole. It is the natural and the ethical order which God had established. The next is divine law which is a special category of eternal law which is the revealed word of God in the Scripture.

The next level of law, Aquinas identifies as the natural law. The idea of natural law goes back to the stoics and refers to moral law that is discovered by reason alone. It assumes that man has the capacity to reason and arrive at certain ethical conclusion that would be binding on them whether it is specified in the law or not. For example, we do not need to have a criminal code to understand that murder is wrong and behave accordingly. The uniqueness of Aquinas' theory of natural law is that it establishes a link between the natural and the supernatural – between nature and spirit. This is so because, says Aquinas, that right and wrong are determined by God's eternal law and hence natural law is nothing else that the rational creature's participation in the eternal law. Human's moral reasoning is in short the extension of the spiritual principle that transcends nature. Finally, human law is the application of human reason to the precepts of natural law in specific earthly conditions.

## On Kingship

The political theory of Aquinas closely parallels ***Aristotle***'s. His writings 'On Kingship' can be considered as the most methodical political work. Aquinas largely follows the pattern of arguments that were adopted by ***Aristotle*** in his 'Politics'. He argues that the State is natural because it is natural for man… to be a social and political animal, and to live in a group. Consequently he emphasizes that political activity in necessary and good. Aquinas further like ***Aristotle***, roots people's political nature in their capacity to reason and to speak. Subsequently he emphasizes that it is through reasoned action in the political sphere that humans achieve virtue and there for happiness and fulfilment. Like ***Aristotle***, he believes that the state is a moral community where the moral good of its members are considered as its objective. Thus, he argues that the state should be based on justice and the best should rule for the good of the public which should be under the constraints of law. Such an argument leads us directly to the problem of classifying constitutions and yet again Aquinas follows the principles of ***Aristotle*** by using both qualitative and quantitative methods. He classifies constitution by the number of those who rule and the quality of their rule.

**Quotable Quote**

Law is nothing other than a certain ordinance of reason for the common good, promulgated by the person who has the care of the community.

***- Thomas Aquinas***

## Assessment

***St. Thomas*** Aquinas who is regarded as one of the great figures of medieval thought founded a tradition which came to be known as Thomism. The basis of his political theory can be found in his commentary on ***Aristotle***'s Politics in



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de regimineprincipum (on the Rule of Sovereigns) while he was at the papal court in Italy (1259-68). Following ***Aristotle*** he held that the state is a natural and not a conventional institution and it is a perfect society (communities perfecta). He argued that it is n atural and not conventional because human beings were social animals. They needed to form a society to survive, prosper and for their cultural development. Gregarious animals do this by instinct but humans on the other hand do it by reason.

All power according to Aquinas comes from God since it involves the power of life and death which in the Church's doctrine is a prerogative of God. It is at this juncture that Aquinas deviates from ***Aristotle*** but returns when he turns to the question of the sovereign which is natural. It is natural in that without a governing body capable of making decisions that would be binding, it would result in anarchy and people would destroy each other. The sovereign or government in the view of Aquinas is the representative of those governed.

The state therefore, is not in any way dependent on the church. Aquinas argued that each had a separate role and an end. However, in Aquinas' view the Church is not subordinate to the state, whereas the state on the other hand must take into consideration of the Church since its end is higher than that of the state and is the ultimate end of the citizen. Aquinas likens the relationship of the church to the state to that of the soul and the body. Each has a separate role to play but ultimately the soul's purpose is loftier.

## 7.4 Niccolo Machiavelli (1469-1527)



### Learning Objectives

1. To understand the Political thought of ***Niccolo Machiavelli***
2. This will help to compare thinkers on similar concept.
3. To know about ***Niccolo Machiavelli*** Politics and Religion, State, Advice to the Prince.

### Life and Times

***Machiavelli*** was born in Florence, the centre of Italian culture where influence of Italian culture where influence of the European Renaissance was the strongest among all areas as the third child of attorney Bernardo di ***Niccolo Machiavelli*** and his wife Bartolomea di Stefano Nelli. His writings reveal that he received an excellent humanist education that was informed by the Renaissance values. He entered the service of the Republican Government in 1494, the tear of expulsion of the Medici. From 1498 to 1512 he was Secretary to the Chancellery an important post which was concerned with diplomatic, military and administrative affairs. In 1512, consequent upon the restoration of the Medici, ***Machiavelli*** lost his office



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and underwent a brief imprisonment after which he embarked on a literary career. ***Machiavelli*** wrote his famous monograph The Prince in 1513 which is addressed to Lorenzo de'Medici. Simultaneously he started writing another important work- the Discourses on the First Ten Books of Titus Livius (in short, the Discourses on Livy) which was completed in 1517. However, both of these works were published posthumously in 1531. ***Machiavelli*** also produced some minor literary works but his reputation as a political thinker rests on these two books.

## *Machiavelli* on Human Nature

***Machiavelli's*** theory of Government is determined by his conception of the study of human nature. Like ***Hobbes***, he is very pessimistic about human nature and believes that men by nature are purely selfish and they, in their lives, are always motivated by selfish desires. At one place in 'The Prince' he says," Men are ungrateful, fickle, deceitful, cowardly and avaricious." He suggests that a monarch should aim to be feared by the people than be loved. For ***Machiavelli***, love implies a bond of obligation which men, being essentially selfish, break on every occasion where their own interest demands it, while fear, for the same reason, holds them indefinitely. He feels that men judge things by appearances and so the ruler should take advantage of this fact and act. For him men are weak and ignorant and are essentially vicious and become good only by necessity. He cautions the ruler never to trust his councillors but to use his own judgement.

***Machiavelli*** holds the view that men have endless desires and one of the most important desire is the love for private property. He makes materialistic individualism as the explanation of love of independence and self-government. In the Discourses also he gives a pessimistic view of human nature. He maintains materialistic gain as the fundamental consideration of humans. He says that this motive of the people make them desire for republic and dislike monarchy. Under Republican government there are more chances for people to get material gain. This is not possible in a monarchy because the Prince takes all the gains and profits himself. An independent nation is preferred because a free nation enables the multiplication of wealth for the masses.

## Separation between Politics and Morality

In Greek political thought, ethics was viewed as the foundation of politics. But ***Machiavelli*** made a striking departure from this classical ideal. He believed that politics is governed by its own independent standards; hence it cannot be bound by the conventional ethical standards. He insisted on separation between politics and ethics. According to him the ruler should be honest, righteous and true to his word, but in reality nobody can have all these qualities and these qualities will not enable a ruler to rule over vicious people. So the Prince should focus on the preservation of the State without being bound by moral obligations. ***Machiavelli*** does not contend that 'ends justify the means' but he claims that a ruler's success will be judged by popular verdict, and that he will be excused for using dubious



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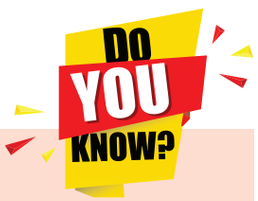
means if he is successful in the end. If political expediency requires the Prince to set aside traditional morality, he should go ahead in the interest of successful politics.

**Quotable Quote**

"Let a Prince set about the task of conquering and maintaining his State: his methods will always be judged honourable and he will be universally praised."

## *Niccolo Machiavelli* on separation of politics from religion

***Machiavelli*** breaks away from the tradition maintained by ***Plato***, ***Aristotle***, St.Thomas Aquinas and others who believed in the ethical purpose of the State. He separates politics from both religion and morality and gives an autonomous status to politics. According to Mahiavelli, it is not a practical policy for the prince to follow the principles of religion and ethics in his statecraft.




### *Machiavelli* (The Prince)

### *Machiavelli's* Method

According to ***Machiavelli***, the right method to study political Science was historical. He says that human desires and passions remain the same always and when

the incidents of life are comparable, humanity will tend to find the same remedies and repeat the same conduct. He therefore regarded that the study of the past was very useful to understand the present and would also make it easy to make predictions for the future. He placed the study of politics on historical and realistic foundation and relied on empirical method particularly in the study of political behaviour. He has been described as a pioneer of behaviouralism. He followed this method almost in all contexts both in the Prince and Discourses. He conceived of politics as an instrument of acquisition, preservation and expansion of power which could be accomplished by harnessing the faculties of the people as they exist in the real world.

***Machiavelli's*** method has been called inductive or scientific on the ground that he drew conclusions from practical or historical experiences of human nature that does not change under different political regimes. His originality lies in focussing on man's behavioural patterns instead of certain morals for the analysis of politics. However critics have pointed out that ***Machiavelli's*** method was only superficially scientific and historical. He did not follow inductive method of proceeding from the 'particular to general'. Nor is his method deductive, which is the method of proceeding from the 'general to the particular'. According to them ***Machiavelli*** never touches upon the central problems of political philosophy, such as the justificationof the existence of the State, grounds and limits of political obligation etc., He never looks beyond the necessities of practical politics although his vision was broad.

"Single ruler is necessary to found and reform states; republican governments are better at sustaining them once established".



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## *Machiavelli* (Discourses on Livy)

George H. Sabine has rightly observed that there is no inconsistency between ***Machiavelli's*** two leading books The Prince and The Discourses on Livy. Both deal with the same subject-The causes of the rise and decline of States and the means of making them permanent. The Prince deals with monarchies or absolute governments and the Discourses mainly with the expansion of the Roman republic.

## *Machiavelli's* Statecraft

***Machiavelli's*** enunciation of statecraft is his most notable as well as controversial contribution. It is notable because it provides unique guidelines, it is controversial because it allows the ruler to use certain immoral practices for successful governance. While ***Machiavelli*** advised the ruler to set aside moral bindings in order to achieve his end, he did not think that conventional morality was totally irrelevant to politics. He enunciates a double standard of morals, one for the ruler and another for his servants and citizens. The ruler's moral implies his undivided commitment to strengthen the state and enhancing his power in order to maintain law and order within the state and to ensure effective defence from foreign invaders. His performance will be judged by his success in fulfilling his responsibility. But his servants and citizens are not allowed to depart from the conventional morality, otherwise the purpose of the state itself will be defeated.

***Machiavelli*** \wants the Prince to act so carefully that he is held in high esteem among the people. The Prince must be conscious of the prevalence of 'universal egoism'. Government is found to provide the people with security from internal offenders as well as external enemies. A wise ruler will frame his policy with a view to creating an atmosphere of security of life, property and honour of the people. He advises the Prince to provide for security of women in the state. People will be loyal to their ruler when they are sure that their life, property and women are safe in the state.

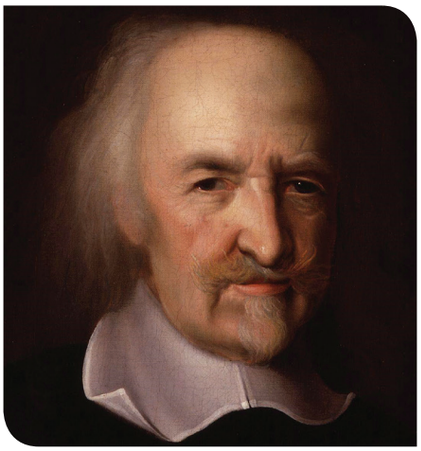
## Assessment

***Machiavelli*** did not intend to undermine the foundations of morality in society. As a sincere patriot, he was particularly anxious to build a strong nation-state in Italy which was then fragmented into five parts: Florence, Venice, Naples, Milan and the territory of the Roman Catholic Church. He wanted his country to win a respectable place among other nation-states of Europe. He was also worried about the then prevailing moral corruption among Italians. Though he preferred a republic, he advocated monarchy for the then existing condition of Italy.



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## 7.5 Thomas Hobbes
## (1588 - 1679 )



### Learning Objectives

1. To understand the Political thought of ***Thomas Hobbes***
2. To know about ***Thomas Hobbes*** views on state of Nature, The social Contract, Laws, Rights Liberty, Sovereignty and Social Contract Theory.

### Life and Times

***Thomas Hobbes*** the sixteenth century English Philosopher who lived during the scientific revolution was the first to attempt a modern theory of society. He based his views on moral relativism with a highly pessimistic view of the state of nature – a war of all against all. ***Thomas Hobbes*** was born prematurely in Malmesbury on 5 April 1588, when his mother was told that the Spanish Armada was spotted off the coast of England. ***Hobbes*** grew in the house of his well-to-do uncle after his father abandoned his family. ***Hobbes*** began his schooling early and entered the Magdalen college in Oxford. Upon his graduation at the age of nineteen he became connected with the Cavendish family where he served as a tutor to William Cavendish. Although ***Hobbes*** showed little interest on the elements of philosophy, he began to study the classics with earnest after he went on a tour with William Cavendish in the European continent. He developed an interest in the movement of history and on the fates of nations and empires. In the year 1629, he translated Thucydides' History of the Peloponnesian War and published it.

**Quotable Quote**

"Fear and I were born twins" - ***Hobbes***

Among ***Hobbes***' many works, De Cive and the Leviathan were the most important. ***Hobbes***' Leviathan which is his most mature and exciting work attempts to demonstrate that the Galilean physics provides a model of human psychology which on turn lays the foundation for modern politics. His conception of human nature, the state of nature, the social contract and his ideas on sovereignty have captured the interest of all who read his political philosophy. In the following sections an attempt to understand these import ant works of ***Hobbes*** will be examined.

### Human Nature

At most times, the Leviathan of ***Hobbes*** is taken as the starting point and begins with a coherent theory of 'Man', as a pre requisite to an understanding of politics. Very often political scientists use the term '***Hobbes***ian' which probably could denote a very pessimistic view of man as essentially, anti-social, selfish, brutish and power lusting. If we agree with ***Hobbes***' assumptions that man existed before there was any society or state, then, man would be concerned with doing only what will satisfy his need and wishes.



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**Quotable Quote**

I put for a general inclination of all mankind, a perpetual and restless desire of power after power that ceaseth only in death.- ***Hobbes***

In ***Hobbes***' words human beings are driven by their passions and use their intellectual capacity simply as a means to determine what will bring them the greatest pleasure or the least pain. ***Hobbes*** further adds that the object of man's desire is not to enjoy only once, and for one instant only, but to assure forever the way of his future desire. ***Hobbes*** is careful to also state that different people desire different forms of pleasure but there is one desire which is common in man – Power. Given that all are pleasure seekers, it must logically follow logically that all are power seekers. ***Hobbes*** thus regards human nature as utterly self-interested and self-regarding. Hence innately anti-social.

## State of Nature

***Hobbes*** in his theory of the state of nature provides a corollary method of understanding human behaviour..In the state of nature ***Hobbes*** argues, that it a condition of absolute liberty and equality. Absolute liberty since there would be no laws to constrain individuals and thus would have a right to everything; absolute equality because human beings have roughly equivalent physical and intellectual capabilities. ***Hobbes*** argues that in such a condition where everyone has a right to everything and all have equal capabilities in exercising their rights, all are subject to attacks from all. The state of nature is thus a state of war where survival remains the ultimate motive for human beings to acquire power. Thus in the state of nature everyone lives in constant fear of everyone else. It is thus by nature that human beings are by nature antisocial power seekers.

## Social Contract

***Hobbes***' view of human nature has a profound impact on his political theory. Knowing the true nature of human beings, ***Hobbes*** puts forward a scientific theory of politics – the 'Social Contract'. The fundamental idea of the social contract is quite simple: The state is the result of a contract between human beings in which the scope and extent of the powers of the government are to be determined by an analysis of the terms of the contract. The state is created by mutual agreement or the consent of its members. As a result government is legitimate if it corresponds to what people have consented to.

**Quotable Quote**

"To do unto others before they do unto you" - ***Hobbes***

This is a very modern notion of the modern secular state which is contrary to medieval thought where the secular government exists by divine sanction. Such an idea was still employed by the Royalists who argued that the monarch ruled by divine right. The consent-contract flatly rejected this idea and on the contrary claimed that the government is legitimate only to the extent that people have consented to. The importance of ***Hobbes*** theory of social contract is that he believes that it is strictly a logical and scientific analysis of the state. He argues that human beings would consent only to that which rationally accords to their needs and desires.



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## Sovereignty

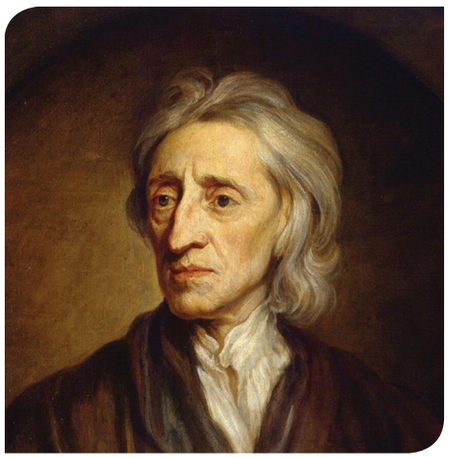
The relationship between the individual and the sovereign was one that was between the absolute absence of power and the absolute unity of power. ***Hobbes*** is consistent in his argument in the commonwealth the removal of all bases of power from the individual on the one hand and the concentration of it with the sovereign was essential. In other words, ***Hobbes*** supported the creation of an absolute sovereign which would lack no power to enforce law and order against any possibility of man's irrationality.. The key to his political thinking is found in the absolute necessity to create an absolute authority. The sovereign could be one man or an assembly of men, although he preferred the sovereignty of one man.

- Fear and liberty are consistent.
- Liberty and necessity are consistent.
- Submission consists of both our obligation and our liberty.
- Other liberties depend on the silence of the law

## Assessment

The importance of ***Hobbes*** lies not only on his political philosophy but also on his contributions towards the development of an anti-Aristotelian and thoroughly materialist conception of politics. It is in his work that the beginnings of understanding politics from a non-teleological point of view emerged. His political philosophy served as the basis for other political philosophers such as ***John Locke***, ***Jean-Jacques Rousseau***, Immanuel Kant, who followed the tradition of examining politics from a modern scientific approach.

## 7.6 John Locke (1632-1704)



### Learning Objectives

- To understand the Political thought of ***John Locke***
- To know about ***John Locke*** views on Political Theory, Human Nature, State of Nature, The social Contract.

## Life and Times

***John Locke***, the father of philosophical liberalism, was born on 29 August, 1632 at Wrington, Somersetshire, United Kingdom. He spent his childhood at Pensford, near BristolHis acquaintance with William, the Prince of Orange, and his ascendency to the English throne after the Glorious Revolution of 1688, brought ***Locke*** back to London. ***Locke*** was made the Commissioner for Appeals by William III in 1689. The unfavourable political climate induced him to resign again and led to his settlement at Essex. He ended his public life with his last assignment as the Commissioner on the Board of Tea.



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## Works of *Locke*

His important works are 'Letter Concerning Toleration' (1689), an 'Essay Concerning Human Understanding' (1690), 'Two Treatises on Civil Government' (1690), 'A Second Letter on Toleration' (1692) ), 'A Third Letter on Toleration' (1692), 'A Fourth on Toleration' (1693) and 'Some Thoughts Concerning Education' (1693).

## Central Ideas

***Locke***'s central ideas can be discussed as follows:

## Conception of Human Nature

Unlike ***Hobbes***, ***Locke*** does not subscribe to a pessimistic view of human nature. He identifies reason as the factor which shapes a rational human being. He also acknowledges reason as the foundation of individual and social life. Humans were social, rational, decent, mentally stable and capable of self-rule. ***Locke***an view also upholds the natural state of equality for individuals. To him, humans are entitled to natural liberty. It is qualified as an inherent privilege to be free from any superior element but to be subversive towards the "dictate of the nature". He also reaches a consensus on the fact that individuals are prone to some degrees of discrepancies in terms of intelligence, strength and their skills. Nevertheless, his reliance on similarities among individuals were outweighing the differences. ***Locke*** is also particular in reflecting the utilitarian trait of humans. Following the line of Bentham, ***Locke*** says, humans seek to strike a balance of pleasure over pain. It is this notion of pleasure or utility which forms the basis of his covenant.

## State of Nature

The ***Locke*** an contemplation on the state of nature can be found in his "Second Treatise". In contrast to the ***Hobbes***ian state of nature, ***Locke*** postulates a peaceful condition by virtue of the social instinct of humans. As dictated by the canons of natural law, his state of nature is based on perfect freedom. Moreover, the phase is also characterised by equality defined in terms of reciprocal power and jurisdiction. In his own words, "state of nature is a state of peace, goodwill, mutual assistance and preservation". In short, ***Locke*** underscores the optimistic nature of human beings.

Natural law is considered to be the source of both rights and duties. Humans derive their rights from the domain of natural law and it expects them to respect the ordained rights on a mutual basis for safeguarding the same. ***Locke*** goes to the extent of denoting natural law as the moral law enacted by God, which is sensible through reason. It would not be wrong to refer his state of nature as "an anarchist's paradise".

Finally, ***Locke*** identifies the three fundamental demerits which threatened the balance of state of nature. Firstly, the absence of a legal framework. Secondly, the lack of a "known and impartial judge". Thirdly, the requirement of an executive agency for the enforcement of decisions. Hence, the phenomenon of state was the means of liberation from this malady. Besides, it is worthwhile to keep in mind that the ***Locke*** an state of nature is inconsistent with facts. It rests on a fictional premise unsupported by any historical justification.



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## Social Contract

Social contract is configured as an instrument of admission to the civil society. The ***Locke***an view proposes two contracts. The first one establishes the civil society and the second one calls for the constitution of government. He also recognises consent as the bedrock of the contract. To him, no individual can be admitted into this commonwealth without his/her own consent. ***Locke*** speaks of two kinds of consent: 1) formal or active consent, which is irrevocable in nature and 2) implied or tacit consent, which sanctions the departure of the stakeholders from the 'trust' and initiate a new order. ***Locke*** prefers the former as far as his version of contract is concerned, making it clear that there is no return to the state of nature. Another striking attribute of the ***Locke***'s contract is that individuals do not surrender their rights which they enjoyed in the state of nature. Submission of the rights would defeat the purpose of the contract itself as the state is being raised as the guarantor and protector of rights. Therefore, the contract is synonymous to a "charter of liberty" than a license for subjugation. The ***Locke*** an vision on social pact also authorises the option for revolution against a tyrannous system of governance. This measure is included in order to reaffirm the role of the state as the guardian of the natural rights of individuals. Furthermore, ***Locke*** leaves the decision on revolution to the legislature with a focus on the principle of majoritarianism and consent.

On the question of the nature of authority, he outlines the notion of limited-sovereignty. Absolute sovereignty is against his construct of civil society. ***Locke*** was also not hesitant to offer an alternative blueprint on the separation of powers. According to him, the powers of the government were separated among three organs. Firstly, the legislature, which he refers as the "supreme power of the commonwealth". Secondly, the executive, which also includes the judicial powers. Thirdly, the federative, which implies the power of external relations of a state. ***Locke*** was also tolerant towards the idea of a single-ruler which sanctions the concentration of all powers in one hand, provided that it is an outcome of the consent of the majority.

**Quotable Quote**

"Government has no other end, but the preservation of property". -***John Locke***

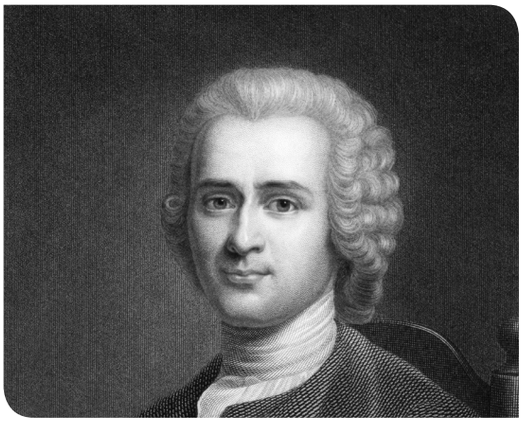
## Assessment

***John Locke***, by virtue of his scientific temper and rationality, finds a significant place in the Western Political Thought. Being an individualist by conviction, he believed that humans are the makers of their own destiny. His works were a great source of impetus and inspiration for thinkers like ***Voltaire, Diderot*** and ***Rousseau***, and even for the French Revolution. According to ***Parrington, Locke***'s Two Treatises on Government "became the textbook of American Revolution". In the words of ***Prof. Laski,*** "***Hobbes*** worked with an impossible psychology and sought no more than the prescription against disorder. Burke wrote rather a textbook for the cautious administrator than a guide for the liberal statesman. But ***Locke*** saw that the main problem of the state is the conquest of freedom and it was for its definition in terms of individual good that he above all strove".



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## 7.7 Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778)



### Learning Objectives

- To understand the Political thought of ***Jean-Jacques Rousseau***
- To know about ***Jean-Jacques Rousseau***'s views on Human Nature, Theory of General Will, Sovereignty and Social Contract Theory.

### Life and Times

***Jean-Jacques Rousseau***, one of the most prominent philosophers in the modern political discourse, was born on 28 July, 1712 in Geneva. Hailing from a broken family, ***Rousseau*** was devoid of the opportunity to enjoy the privilege of a nurtured childhood. After disengaging from a couple of apprenticeships, he fled from Geneva and found joy in wanderlust. With the help a young widow named ***Madame de Warens, Rousseau*** was introduced to formal education in a monastery based in Turin and a seminary in Annecy. The eventual aversion towards the style of pedagogy in those institutions, induced him to abandon the same. Out of the repeated failures, she was forced to send him to Lyons in 1730. After a year of wandering, he re-joined her in 1731 and lived under her bounty till 1740. Influenced by her intellectual halo and her invaluable assistance, he joined as a teacher in the family of Monsieur de Malby. Nonetheless, he left the assignment and resorted to his journey as an aimless soul.

His second trip to France in 1744 brought significant changes in his life. Despite his unsuccessful experiments in various fields like opera, theatre, poetry and so forth, ***Rousseau*** sustained his determination and positive spirit. The year 1749 was a turning point in his life. The Academy of Dijon announced the prize for the best essay on "Has the progress of sciences and arts contributed to corrupt or purify morals?" ***Rousseau*** writes in his Confessions, "Instantly I saw another universe, and I became another man". The work he submitted had received the first prize in 1750 and it was published under the title – "A Discourse on the Moral Effects of the Arts and Sciences".

On his return to Geneva in 1754, ***Rousseau***, a Catholic by himself, accepted Calvinistic denomination and reacquired the citizenship. After his travel to Paris, he spent 8 years of his life at Montmorency as a ward of Madame d'Epinay. ***Rousseau*** composed his most important works - The New Heloise (1761), Emile (1762) and the Social Contract (1762) – during this phase. Condemnation was the response received for his books which led to his further resettlements in various places. ***Rousseau***'s demise on 2 July, 1778, was received with a shock and was seen as a great loss to philosophy.



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## Central Ideas

***Rousseau*** occupies a critical position in the realm of political philosophy. He is predominantly known for his contribution towards the "theory of social contract". As a social contractualist by conviction, ***Rousseau*** sought to unearth the origin of state as an expression of the "general will". He attributed the origin of state as a consequence of two phases – "state of nature" and "social contract".

## State of Nature

Unlike ***Hobbes***, ***Rousseau***'s proposition of state of nature was an epitome of perfect liberty, perfect equality and perfect innocence. He also identifies it with a more peaceful, pleasant and idyllic environment. The man in his state of nature lived in solitude characterized by a care-free living with no desires. Despite the inconsistency in terms of a settled life, and inarticulate speech, the life was shaped by contentment, independence, self-sufficiency and prosperity. Absence of wickedness paved the way for idyllic happiness. As he says, "supreme bliss" was the norm of the time.

In due course, the status quo was threatened by changes in terms of sophistication of human life. He acknowledged a number of factors ranging from the divergences in climate, season and soil to organized profession and private property as responsible for challenging the sustenance of the state of nature. In the view of ***Rousseau***, human progress and rational advancement accompanied by the revolution in the conduct of life and human thought brought a new layer of evils in its wagon. He identifies the origin of inequality with this shower of changes that shook the fabric of the state of nature. The concept of private ownership created a new cleavage at the social sphere – rich and poor. In his words, "the first man who after enclosing a piece of land said to himself 'this is mine' and found people simply to believe him, was the real founder of civil society".

The period was made to witness a chain of wars, murders and rifts between the rich and poor. This new order sanctioned evils at a universal scale that were unfound in the savage state. An unavoidable culmination of these turn of events was the rise of inequality and a strata of masters and slaves. ***Rousseau*** opines that there are two premises on which a savage acts. Firstly, a human is driven by the need of self-preservation and out of the interest of his/her own welfare. Secondly, the fear of death. He finds the genesis of rationality and reason in this emotional consciousness. ***Rousseau*** is of the view of that the humans by nature are incapable of thinking. Civil society is viewed as antithetical to nature and it is apparently an outcome of the march of human reason. He insists on the slogan of "returning to nature". His demand for the retrospection to the nature does not tantamount to a prescription for the collapse of the newly woven social fabric, but the rule of nature. Such a call necessarily unveils ***Rousseau***'s revelation that it is the philosophy and reason that allured the human life to entropy.

## Social Contract

The idyllic character of the state of nature was short-lived. The emerging template of human complexities defined by economic advancement and social evolution facilitated only havoc. Humans were left with no alternative, but to constitute the civil state. It



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was materialized with the provision of social contract. In the sixth chapter of the 'Social Contract' ***Rousseau*** says, "I assume that men have reached at a point where primitive conditions can no longer subsist and the human race would perish unless it changed its mode of existence". The state of nature is thriving on an individual's pursuit of self-interest until a point wherein he/she realises that his/her self-preserving prowess against the insecurity posed by others is not strong enough. Hence, the utility of social contract is to encompass the prospects of security deriving from the collective association of individuals with the element of liberty which was possessed until their entry into the contract. The next dilemma that grappled the individuals was the question of force with respect to preservation. To him, men are incapable of creating any new forces but only redirect and guide that already exist. Therefore, a concerted approach is what recommended by him in this direction.

**Quotable Quote**

"Man is born free, and everywhere he is in chains. One man thinks himself the master of others, but remains more of a slave than they are"- ***Rousseau***

He also discards any form of authority bereft of consent as volatile. In his own words, "Authority of man over man can have no rational basis, save agreement and consent". ***Rousseau***'s equation for the civil state can be summed as follows: "Each of us puts his person and all his power under the supreme direction of the general will and in one corporate capacity, we receive each number as an indivisible part of the whole". Hence, the state thus formed is a moral body with a life and will of its own distinct from its members. The government is expected to be an agent of general will. ***Rousseau*** holds that state is not just an amalgamation of individuals, but a new body with an inherent identity, personality and life of its own. Above all, the state possesses a will of its own, what he terms as volente general or general will. Any separate or particular will shall be deemed to be subordinate to it.

The instinct-driven life of the state of nature is replaced by a life of justice and morality in the new civil state. Individuals lose their natural liberty and unlimited right to everything and in return they receive civil liberty and property rights. He condemns the liberty of the state of nature as a falsity as it is nothing but an enslavement of uncontrollable appetites. On the contrary, the moral liberty offered by the civil society make them the masters of themselves. In his own words, "obedience to a law which prescribe to our selves is liberty". Unlike ***Hobbes*** and ***Locke***, ***Rousseau*** professes a total surrender of the individual to the sovereign community in pursuit of attaining equality. His idea of individual delegation of all the rights to the body-politic fosters reconciliation between liberty and authority.

## Sovereignty

***Rousseau*** was particular about the inalienable, indivisible, absolute and perpetual nature of sovereignty. To him, general will was the sovereign. The assignment of administrative powers to certain people do not make them the sovereign, but merely subordinate agents. Any attempt on part of the community to transfer all or a segment of its sovereignty to one of the agents shall result in the descending of the body-politic. Sovereign was a party in ***Rousseau***'s contract. Furthermore, what he underscored was the notion of popular sovereignty.



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## General Will

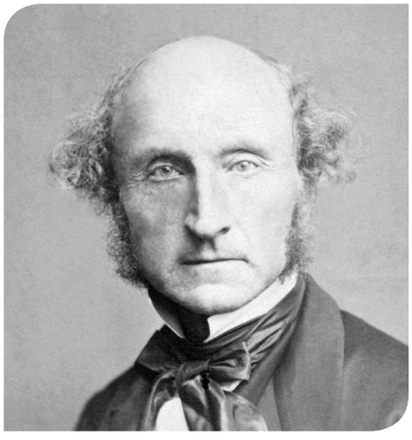
General will or the community is identical to the state. People submit their powers and personality under the command of the general will. The individuals wills are outweighed by the general will. Besides, sovereignty rests in the body-politic as a whole and it coincides with nothing, but the general will. Given the residence of general will in the community, it imposes the paramountcy and sovereignty of the people, i.e. popular sovereignty. He emphasises the transferability of power. The general will is not equivalent to the will of all since the former considers the common interest whereas the latter attaches private interest into its fold. There are two premises that determine the general will. First, it seeks general good, which refers to the objective of will. Secondly, it must come from all and apply to all, which proposes its origin. General will lacks representative character as the representative bodies have the tendency to develop particular interest of their own without paying heed to the concerns of the community. Ethical values and right consciousness do not coincide with the will of all. General will is invariably the manifestation of inner will and the product of conscience. Moreover, it is recognised as right, altruistic, universal and based on common good.

## Assessment

Opinions are manifold about ***Rousseau***'s personality and works. G. D. H Cole opined about his 'Social Contract' to be "still far by the best of all text-books of political philosophy". Lord Morley took up different turn in expressing the status of ***Rousseau*** in the philosophical discourse by saying, "Would it not have been better for the world if ***Rousseau*** had never been born?" He tries to say that the awful experiences of the French Revolution could be prevented if ***Rousseau*** had not lived as the latter's ideas were fundamental throughout the movement.

His philosophy also traces a socialistic background. Capitalism received an "ill-treatment" in the hands of ***Rousseau***. He also favoured the nationalization of education and opposed the notion of private property. Besides, his discourse accommodates absolutism and authoritarianism as well. Under the pretext of general will, he is virtually favouring the "tyranny of majority". Despite all these, ***Rousseau*** deserves an irreplaceable position among the modern political philosophers.

# 7.8 John Stuart Mill (1806 - 1873)



### Learning Objectives

- To understand the Political thought of ***J.S. Mill***
- To know about Critique of Utilitarianism, Liberty,



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## Life and Works

John Stuart ***Mill*** was born on 20 May 1806 in Bentonville, a northern suburb of London to Harriet Barrow and James ***Mill***, a Scotsman who was educated at Edinburgh University. The development of John Stuart ***Mill*** as a social and political thinker can be divided into three specific periods. The first period represents the training that he received from his childhood under both his father, James ***Mill*** and Jeremy Bentham. The second period marks his recovery from his mental crisis which started in his early twenties, with the termination and dissolution of the philosophic radicals as a distinct party towards the end of the 1830s. It was at this period that ***Mill*** refashioned his thinking under a variety of intellectual and emotional influences. The final period which extends to over thirty years of his career, marks the time in which he published his major works that included, A System of Logic, Principles of Political Economy, On Liberty and Considerations on Representative Government.

## On Liberty

On Liberty (1859) brought ***Mill*** enduring fame, and predicted that among all his works, this was destined to survive the longest. The transformation of society from aristocratic to democratic forms of organization brought with it both advantages and disadvantages. It meant rule by social masses that would be more powerful, uniform and omnipresent than the rulers of previous eras. ***Mill*** held that, the dominance of the majority carried with it more risks that from a monarch that had the capacity to place restrictions over the freedoms of individuals, which could be legislatively enacted. Informal mechanisms of social pressure and expectation could in democratic societies could be all-controlling. ***Mill*** expressed that such powers could have the capacity of stifling conformism in thought, character and action. In was in this context that On Liberty was written. The aims of this work is written in the first chapter which asserts one simple principle. This principle states that "the sole end for which mankind are warranted, individually or collectively, in interfering with the liberty of action of any of their number, is self-protection" (Liberty: XVIII 223). Thus, the practical philosophy of this argument by ***Mill*** is primarily utilitarian.

In his 'On Liberty' ***Mill*** puts forward different strategies to argue for freedom of thought and discussion, character, and action. Freedom of thought and discussion are discussed in chapter two of On Liberty, where arguments against the control of expression are explained. Chapter three of On Liberty, puts forward argument in favour of freedom of Character (individuality) where such arguments are two pronged. On the one hand ***Mill*** argues for freedom of space for individuals which individuals should have to develop their own character while on the other, he maintains that it is best for society too. "Human nature is not a machine to be built after a model, and set to do exactly the work prescribed for it, but a tree, which requires to grow and develop itself on all sides, according to the tendency of the inward forces which make it a living thing" (Liberty,



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XVIII: 263). ***Mill*** was of the opinion that mass society is self-repressive in nature which would lead to the sapping of human energy and potential. The Victorian society he claimed was governed by an ethos of propriety based on Christian self-denial while in contrast ***Mill*** encourages the Greek model of self-development. It is important for society to create conditions where individuals can develop their own ways of living. This will enable variety and diversity of character and culture which will become the engine of productive tension that will drive a nation forward. ***Mill***'s insistence throughout On Liberty, sought to preserve the individual's freedom against the possibility of legislative or state coercion and also from the deceptive forms of social coercion.

## Considerations on Representative Government

In 1861 ***Mill's*** Considerations on Representative Government was published which contains his views on politics. ***Mill*** was a convinced democrat, however, this work reveals his disappointment, doubts, and difficulties about self-government. His view is paradoxical in nature where he views that the majority ought to rule but minority rule was probably right. He argued that majority has power but the minority has wisdom. ***Mill*** in this work expresses the dangers posed by the tyranny of the majority undertook to provide the criterion for good government. He concluded that ideally the best form of government was one that was representative where the sovereignty is vested in the entire aggregate of the community, every citizen who not only have the right to at least occasionally be called on to take an actual part in the government by the personal discharge of certain public function, local or general.

## Assessment

John Stuart ***Mill*** occupies a very important place in the history of political thought which was widespread in the nineteenth century. His works emphasized the importance of human nature for the proper study and understanding of the state. He developed his own philosophy of franchise. ***Mill*** states that casting one's vote is as necessary for the political animal as is the air that he or she breathes. No other political thinker has been as emphatic as ***Mill*** in the conception of voting. The influences that utilitarianism had on ***Mill*** also were important in the formulation of his ideas on the principle of economy and that of representative government where the freedom of the individual to develop his capabilities should be never interfered with. On each of these subjects ***Mill*** was often provocative that no student of the discipline can afford to ignore.

DO YOU KNOW?

❖ Utilitarianism: Greatest happiness of the greatest numbers.

❖ Even though ***J.S. Mill*** has been brought under the guidance of utilitarian thinkers like ***James Mill*** and ***Jeremy Bentham,*** he gave a different notion of utilitarianism.



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## 7.9 Karl Marx (1818-1883)



### Learning Objectives

- To understand the Political thought of ***Karl Marx***
- To know about ***Karl Marx*** views on Dialectical Materialism – Theory of Surplus Value – Class Struggle And Revolution – Dictatorship of The Proletariat – Withering away of The State – Assessment

### Introduction

***Karl Marx*** is one of the few people who changed the way we see the world. For ***Marx***, any theory should not only support in understanding the world around, but be a step towards transforming the world. His works – Communist Manifesto, Materialistic Conception of History and Das Capital, are a culmination of various economic ideas, channelled towards the single goal of self- emancipation of working class. It is important to know that, Marxism draws many elements from earlier thinkers like Hegel, Comte de Saint-Simon, J. C. L. de Sismondi, David Ricardo, Charles Fourier, and Louis Blanc.

Second half of the 18th century and 19th century witnessed the growth of Socialism in Europe. This period was also known as dual revolution era, wherein politically France witnessed the Revolution of 1789, which overthrew absolute monarchy and republic was proclaimed with liberty, equality and fraternity declared the right of every Frenchman. Second important revolution during this period that had a long lasting impact on Europe was the Industrial Revolution. These two events had a major impact on ***Marx***'s work.

### Works of *Marx*

#### The Communist Manifesto

> The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggle

The Communist Manifesto (1848) is a collaborative work of ***Karl Marx*** and Friedrich Engels. It was a product of the social, economic and political turmoil that characterized Europe before 1850. This essay explains the social change through revolution. The Communist Manifesto goes on to argue that the nature of that class struggle varies according to the nature of production. Hence in feudal societies, where the main form of production was agriculture, the class struggle was between those who owned the land and those who worked on it. In a modern industry, the struggle is between the bourgeoisie (factory owners) and the proletariat (workers in the factory). In reality the society as a whole is more and more splitting up into two great hostile camps, into two great classes directly facing each other – bourgeoisie and



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proletariat. It is in this premise that ***Marx*** and Engels vouch that "the history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggle".

In conclusion the Communist Manifesto simply places two ideas side by side; "to raise the proletariat to the position of the ruling class" and "to win the battle of democracy". ***Marx*** in this work also emphases that the communist should aim to replace private property with public control of all properties. ***Marx*** and Engels may not have changed the world, but they certainly changed the way we interpret it. The historical significance of the Communist Manifesto is that virtually all socialist parties, from the Communist Party of China to the Trotskyite sect, owe a lesser or greater debt to the ideas expressed in its pages.

### Das Capital

***Marx***'s masterpiece, Das Capital, the "Bible of the working class," as it was officially described was published in 1867 in Berlin. Only the first volume was completed and published in ***Marx***'s lifetime. The second and third volumes, unfinished by ***Marx***, were edited by Engels and published in 1885 and 1894. The first volume deals with the process of production of capital; the second volume deals with the process of circulation of capital; the third volume deals with the totality of the process of capitalist production.

### Dialectical Materialism

Dialectical Materialism is a philosophical approach to reality derived from the teachings of ***Karl Marx*** and Friedrich Engels. In theory dialectical materialism provides both a general world view and a specific method for the investigation of scientific problems. ***Marx*** and Engels look at every basic sections of society as materials and change in society takes place only through "the struggle of opposites". Materialism principally dealt with social world. The material world has always been in constant motion, contradictions and change. ***Marx*** believes that friction caused by constant motion in the society leads to contradictions within the society, which eventually leads to change in the society. Dialectical Materialism relates to the process of change in the society.

**ACTIVITY**

***Marx*'s Work**

Critique of Hegel
Philosophy of Right
The Holy Family
Theses on Feuerbach
The German Ideology
The Communist Manifesto
Critique of the Gotha Program
Das Capital

### Theory of Surplus Value

Theory of Surplus Value, comes from the Das Capital. ***Karl Marx*** opines that human labour was the source of economic value, hence the term 'surplus value' denotes the difference between labour and labour power. The Capitalists gets surplus value for the extra labour that has been put in by the labourer. Surplus



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value is produced no matter how long the working day is: even if the factory only ran for an hour the capitalist would still extract his quota of surplus labour and therefore surplus value. The capitalist pays his workers less than the value their labour, and in most occasions usually only enough to maintain the worker at a subsistence level.

## Class Struggle and Revolution

Class consciousness and struggle are related to the social relations of production. ***Marx*** does not look at class as a factor of ideology, but as a person who holds particular social status. The term class relates to ownership based on property, for example bourgeoisie (person who owns means of production and also the landowners) and proletariat (one who sells labour for wages).

***Marx***'s work on the "Class Struggle of France", in the years 1848 – 1850 assesses the arguments on the class struggle and the need for revolution. ***Marx*** bases his idea of class conflict from the French Revolution of 1848. During this revolution both bourgeoisie and proletariat fought together against the aristocracy and succeeded in the proclamation of republic. Having come to power with the support of the proletariat during the February revolution, the bourgeoisie used the election process to claim legitimacy of their rule. The bourgeoisie class instead of emancipating the working class of all bondages increasingly alienated them.

The bourgeoisie on coming to power started controlling the state and the army, and crushed the proletariat showing that the former meant civil war in reality. ***Marx*** emphasises that the class struggle leads to revolution, dictatorship of the proletariat and the abolition of private production resulting in socialism.

## Dictatorship of the Proletariat

Dictatorship of the Proletariat is a phrase used by ***Karl Marx*** to refer to the assumption of state power by the working class. For ***Marx***, it is a transitional period of permanent revolution between the overthrow of bourgeois political rule and a classless society. Of all ***Marx***'s contribution to political thought, probably the "dictatorship of the proletariat" has had the most profound implication for actual governance.

When the first group of the workers class (proletariat) assert themselves over the traditional ruling class (bourgeoisie) capitalist forms of production is abolished and the socialist forms of production takes the lead. Establishment of socialist forms of production results in the disappearance of class groups within the society eventually bringing about Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

## Withering Away of the State

With the break-up of Society into classes, and consequently into oppressed and oppressing groups, state becomes an instrument of exploitation. The class conflict becomes even more intensive and leading to the dictatorship of proletariat. Signs of victory of the proletariat can be seen with the capture of the government. "The proletariat will take control of the State and converts the means of production



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into State production. Taking control of the state and production, the proletariats, destroy all class differences and class antagonisms, and finally resulting in the 'Withering Away of the State'.

## Assessment

In 1852, ***Marx*** summarized his contributions into three major sections:

a. Classes (proletariat and bourgeoisie) are not a permanent features of a society

b. Class struggle leads to 'dictatorship of the proletariat', resulting in workers taking control of production

c. 'Dictatorship of the proletariat' would lead to classless society and with the differences vanishing from the society, the state eventually withers away.

The impact that Marxism had on humanity can only be compared to the influence religion had on mankind. Nearly half of the world population was influenced by Marxist ideology. While, ***Marx*** himself would have not followed everything he wrote, his writings did influence leaders like Lenin, Stalin, Mao and others who used Marxist theories in order to bring about change in countries like Russia, China, Cuba, Vietnam, etc. In the present era most of the erstwhile communist countries have become democratic in nature. However, the society continues to witness class differences and it is increasing every year. Hence, so long there are capitalists and exploitation in the society, ***Marx***'s ideas can never be ignored or forgotten.




Contemporary debates on Marxism focus on relative importance of its basic tenets and identification of some new forms of dominations and conflicts emerging in the present day society. These debates led to the emergency of Neo-Marxism.

## Glossary



**Bourgeoisie:** The capitalist class who own most of society's wealth and means of production.

**Classless Society:** The ultimate condition of social organization, expected to occur when true communism.

**Dialectic:** An enquiry into metaphysical contradictions and their solutions.

**Dictatorship of the Proletariat:** In Marxism, rule by the proletariat—the economic and social class consisting of industrial workers who derive income solely from their labour—during the transitional phase between the abolition of capitalism and the establishment of communism.

**Enlightenment:** A European intellectual movement of the late 17th and 18th centuries emphasizing reason and individualism rather than tradition.

**General Will:** In political theory, a collectively held will that aims at the common good or common interest.

**Glorious Revolution:** The events of 1688–89 that resulted in the deposition of



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James II and the accession of his daughter Mary II and her husband, William III, prince of Orange and stadholder of the Netherlands.

**Individualism:** A social theory favouring freedom of action for individuals over collective or state control.

**Majoritarianism:** A form of democracy which upholds the rule of the majority.

**Political Economy:** It is a branch of social science that studies the relationships between individuals and society and between markets and the state.

**Proletariat:** The working-class people regarded collectively.

**Rationality:** The quality of being based on or in accordance with reason or logic.

**Reformation:** A 16th-century movement for the reform of abuses in the Roman Church ending in the establishment of the Reformed and Protestant Churches.

**Romanticism:** A movement in the arts and literature which originated in the late 18th century, emphasizing inspiration, subjectivity, and the primacy of the individual.

**State of Nature:** In political theory, the real or hypothetical condition of human beings before or without political association.

**Statecraft:** The skilful management of state affairs; statesmanship.

**Timocracy:** A form of government in which possession of property is required in order to hold office.

## Evaluation

### I. Choose the correct answer

**1. Name the philosopher who wrote "The Republic"**

a) Marx b) Aristotle

c) Plato d) St. Thomas Aquinas

**2. Whose real name was "Aristocles"?**

a) Socrates b) Plato c) Aristotle d) Xenophon

**3. Who is called the father or Political Science?**

a) Socrates b) Plato c) Aristotle d) Xenophon

**4. Who is famously known as the Doctor of the Church?**

a) St. Thomas Aquinas b) Plato c) Aristotle d) Xenophon

**5. Who is the author of "Discourses on Livy"?**

a) St. Thomas Aquinas b) Machiavelli c) Aristotle d) Xenophon

**6. Who is the father of philosophical liberalism?**

a) St. Thomas Aquinas b) Machiavelli c) Marx d) John Locke



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**7. Who is the author of the work "Principles of Political Economy"?**

a) St. Thomas Aquinas  b) Thomas Hobbes  c) John Stuart Mill  d) Plato

**8. Which work is called as the "Bible of the working class"?**

a) Principles of Political Economy
b) Das Kapital
c) Theory of Surplus Value
d) Class Struggle of France

**9. Who promulgated the idea of "Dictatorship of the Proletariat"?**

a) Marx
b) St. Thomas Aquinas
c) Thomas Hobbes
d) John Stuart Mill

## II Answer the following questions very shortly

1. Who wrote the book 'The Statesman' and when was it written?
2. Who according to Plato would rule the Ideal State?
3. Thomas Aquinas write about which characteristics of gregarious animals.

## III Answer the following questions shortly

1. Write a short note on Plato's Idea of Justice.
2. How does Aristotle classify the state?
3. Write a short note on life and works of St. Thomas Aquinas.
4. How does Machiavelli separate politics and Morality?
5. Write a short note on Machiavelli's statecraft?
6. Assess Hobbes State of Nature?

## IV Answer the following questions in detail

1. Analyse Plato's works on Education, Democracy and Constitution.
2. Assess Aristotle's engagement on function and classification of State.
3. Assess in detail Machiavelli approach to human nature.
4. Write a detailed note on John Locke's state of nature and Social Contract Theory.



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## Reference books

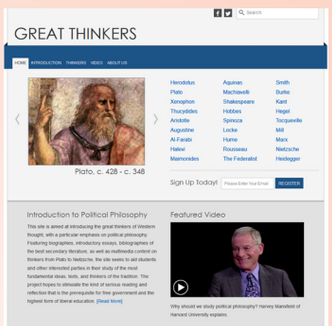

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# ICT Corner

## POLITICAL THOUGHT

**Through this activity you will learn about Political thinkers and their works.**




### GREAT THINKERS

**Procedure:**

**Step - 1** Use the URL or QR code to open the GREAT THINKERS page, in which a list of great political thinkers names are placed on the top right of the window.

**Step - 2** Click on any name, a page which contains the details about the thinker will open.

**Step - 3** Click on the Biography button next to he Home button to know the detailed biography of the thinker.

**Step - 4** Similarly click on the consecutive buttons to explore more about the thinker such as the works, commentaries on the works, explanatory videos etc.

**GREAT THINKERS URL:**

http://thegreatthinkers.org/plato/biography/

*Pictures are indicative

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# KEY TERMS

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **Absolute Monarchy** | – | முடியாட்சி |
| **Activist** | – | செயற்பாட்டாளர் |
| **Adherence** | – | சார்ந்திருத்தல் (அ) பின்பற்றுதல் |
| **Ad-Hoc** | – | ஒரு குறிப்பிட்ட காரணத்திற்காக மட்டும் |
| **Administrative Law** | – | நிருவாகச் சட்டம் |
| **Administrative Machinery** | – | நிர்வாக இயந்திரம் |
| **Administrative Policy** | – | நிர்வாகக் கொள்கை |
| **Administrative units** | – | நிர்வாக அலகுகள் |
| **Affirmative Action** | – | உடன்பாடான செயல்பாடு (நலிந்தோர் நலநோக்கு நடவடிக்கை) |
| **Age of Enlightenment** | – | அறிவு மறுமலர்ச்சிக்காலம் |
| **Alternative vote** | – | மாற்று வாக்கு |
| **Amendment** | – | அரசியலமைப்பு சட்டத் திருத்தம் |
| **Amendment** | – | சட்டத்திருத்தம் |
| **Amnesty International** | – | சர்வதேச பொது மன்னிப்பு கழகம் |
| **Anachronism** | – | காலத்திற்கு ஒவ்வாமை |
| **Anarchism** | – | அமைப்பெதிர்வாதம் / அரசின்மைவாதம் |
| **Anarchists** | – | அமைப்பெதிர்வாதிகள் / கலகக்காரர்கள் |
| **Antecedents** | – | முன்னுதாரணங்கள் |
| **Anthropology** | – | மானுடவியல் |
| **Anti-Defection Law** | – | கட்சித் தாவல் தடைச்சட்டம் |
| **Apartheid** | – | இன ஒதுக்கல் கொள்கை (நிறவெறி) |
| **Appeal** | – | முறையீடு |
| **Appetite** | – | உணவு நாட்டம் |
| **Aristocracy** | – | பிரபுக்கள் ஆட்சி |
| **Astronomy** | – | வானியல் |
| **Asylum** | – | புகலிடம் |
| **Authority** | – | அதிகாரம் |
| **Behavioral Approach** | – | நடக்கையியல் அணுகுமுறை |
| **Behaviouralism** | – | நடத்தையியல் |
| **Bill of Rights** | – | உரிமைகளின் சட்டம் |
| **Bourgeoise** | – | முதலாளித்துவவாதிகள் / பூர்ஷுவாக்கள் |
| **Bureaucracy** | – | அதிகாரவர்க்கம் |
| **Cabinet** | – | அமைச்சர் குழு (அமைச்சரவை) |
| **Capitalism** | – | முதலாளித்துவம் |
| **Centralisation** | – | அதிகாரக் குவிப்பு |
| **Charismatic Leadership** | – | வசீகரத் தலைமை |
| **Charter of Human Rights** | – | மனித உரிமைகள் சாசனம் / மனித உரிமைகள் பேரறிக்கை |
| **Checks and balances** | – | கட்டுப்பாடுகளும் சமநிலைகளும் |
| **Child Labour** | – | குழந்தைத் தொழிலாளர் |
| **Citizenship** | – | குடியுரிமை |
| **City-State** | – | நகர அரசு |
| **Civic Participation** | – | குடிமைப் பங்கேற்பு |



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| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **Civil Equality** | – | குடிமைச் சமத்துவம் |
| **Civil Rights** | – | குடிமை உரிமைகள் |
| **Civil Society** | – | குடிமைச் சமூகம் |
| **Civil War** | – | உள்நாட்டுப் போர் |
| **Class Antagonisms** | – | வர்க்க முரண்பாடுகள் / சாதிய முரண்பாடுகள் |
| **Class Struggle** | – | வர்க்கப்போராட்டம் |
| **Classless Society** | – | வர்க்கமற்ற சமூகம் |
| **Coalition Ministry** | – | கூட்டணி அமைச்சரவை |
| **Code of conduct** | – | நடத்தை விதிமுறைகள் |
| **Cold War** | – | பனிப்போர் |
| **Collective Responsibility** | – | கூட்டுப் பொறுப்புணர்வு |
| **Collegiability** | – | குழு செயல்பாட்டு தன்மை |
| **Colonialism** | – | குடியேற்றம் |
| **Committee System** | – | குழு முறை |
| **Commonwealth Nations** | – | பொது நலக் கூட்டு நாடுகள் |
| **Communal Harmony** | – | வகுப்பு நல்லிணக்கம் (மத நல்லிணக்கம்) |
| **Communist Manifesto** | – | பொதுவுடமை அறிக்கை |
| **Communitarianism** | – | சமுதாய வாதம் |
| **Comparative Analysis** | – | ஒப்பீட்டு பகுப்பாய்வு |
| **Comparative Approach** | – | ஒப்பீட்டு அணுகுமுறை |
| **Comparative Study** | – | ஒப்பீட்டு ஆய்வு |
| **Compartmentalism** | – | பகுதி பகுதியாக பிரித்தல் |
| **Confederation** | – | கூட்டிணைவு |
| **Consenses** | – | ஒருமித்த கருத்து |
| **Conservatives** | – | மரபு விரும்பிகள்/ பழமைவாதிகள் |
| **Constituent Assembly** | – | அரசமைப்பு நிர்ணய சபை |
| **Constitutional Amendment** | – | அரசமைப்புச் சட்டதிருத்தம் |
| **Constitutional Law** | – | அரசமைப்பு சட்டம் |
| **Constitutional Monarchy** | – | அரசமைப்பு மன்னராட்சி |
| **Constitutional remedies** | – | அரசமைப்பு தீர்வுகாண் உரிமைகள் |
| **Contest** | – | போட்டி |
| **Contractual Rights** | – | ஒப்பந்த உரிமைகள் |
| **Cultural and Educational Rights** | – | பண்பாட்டு மற்றும் கல்வி உரிமைகள் |
| **Cultural Revolution** | – | பண்பாட்டுப் புரட்சி |
| **Customs** | – | பழக்கவழக்கங்கள் |
| **Das Capital** | – | மூலதனம் |
| **Decentralization of Powers** | – | அதிகாரப் பரவலாக்கல் |
| **Decision Making Policy** | – | முடிவு எடுத்தல் கொள்கை |
| **Declaration of Rights of Man** | – | மனித உரிமைகள் பறைசாற்றம் |
| **Decolonization** | – | குடியேற்ற நீக்கம் |
| **Decree** | – | ஆணை |
| **Deductive Reasoning** | – | குறைப்பு முறை / பகுத்தறி முறைக் காரணவியல் |
| **Deep Ecology** | – | ஆழச்சூழலியல் |
| **De-facto sovereignty** | – | சட்டபூர்வமில்லாத பெயரளவு இறைமை |
| **De-jure sovereignty** | – | சட்டபூர்வமான இறைமை (சட்டநிலையிலான இறைமை) |



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|---|---|---|
| Deliberative Democracy | – | தன்விருப்ப மக்களாட்சி (அவதானமான மக்களாட்சி) |
| Deligation of Authority | – | அதிகார ஒப்படைப்பு |
| Delimitation Commission | – | வரையறை ஆணையம் |
| Democratic Elitism | – | மக்களாட்சியிலான மேட்டிமைவாதம் |
| Despotic Government | – | கொடுங்கோன்மை அரசாங்கம் |
| Despotism | – | கொடுங்கோலாட்சி |
| Developed Countries | – | வளர்ந்த நாடுகள் |
| Dialectical Materialism | – | இயக்கவியல் பொருள்முதல்வாதம் |
| Dialectical Method | – | இயங்கியல் முறை |
| Dictatorship | – | சர்வாதிகாரம் |
| Dictatorship Of The Proletariat | – | பாட்டாளிகளின் சர்வாதிகாரம் |
| Diplomacy | – | தூதாண்மை |
| Distributive Justice | – | பங்கீட்டு நீதி |
| Divine Origin Theory of State | – | தெய்வீக உரிமை அரசு தோற்றக் கோட்பாடு |
| Divine Rights Theory | – | தெய்வீக உரிமை கோட்பாடு |
| Domestic Liberty | – | உள்நாட்டு சுதந்திரம் |
| Early Vedic Period | – | முற்கால வேதகாலம் |
| Eco-Feminism | – | சூழலிய பெண்ணியம் |
| Ecologist | – | சூழலியல் வல்லுநர் |
| Economic Democracy | – | பொருளாதார மக்களாட்சி |
| Economic Security | – | பொருளாதாரப் பாதுகாப்பு |
| Enforciable | – | செயலாக்கத் தகுந்த |
| Environmental Sustainability | – | சுற்றுச்சூழல் நிலைத்தன்மை |
| Equality of Opportunity | – | வாய்ப்புகளில் சமத்துவம் (சம வாய்ப்புரிமை) |
| Equity | – | சமபங்கு/சமச்சீராக்கம் |
| Era | – | சகாப்தம் |
| Eradication | – | ஒழிப்பு |
| Eradication of Poverty | – | வறுமை ஒழிப்பு |
| Eternal Law | – | நித்திய சட்டம்/முடிவிலிச் சட்டம் |
| Evolutionary Theory | – | பரிணாம வளர்ச்சி கோட்பாடு |
| Evolutionary Theory of Origin of State | – | பரிணாம வளர்ச்சி அரசு தோற்றக் கோட்பாடு |
| Executive Authority | – | செயலாக்க அதிகாரம் |
| External Sovereignty | – | வெளிப்புற இறையாண்மை |
| Fabian Socialism | – | எச்சரிக்கை மிகு சமதர்மம் |
| Factionalism | – | பிரிவினைவாதம் |
| Feminism | – | பெண்ணியம் |
| Feminists | – | பெண்ணியவாதிகள் |
| Feudalism | – | நிலப்பிரபுத்துவம் |
| Flexible constitution | – | நெகிழும் அரசியலமைப்பு |
| Franchise | – | வாக்குரிமை |
| Fraternity | – | சகோதரத்துவம் |
| Fundamental Rights | – | அடிப்படை உரிமைகள் |
| Gender Equality | – | பாலினச் சமத்துவம் |
| General Will | – | பொது விருப்பம் |
| Global Warming | – | புவி வெப்பமயமாதல் |



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| **Globalization** | – | உலகமயமாக்கல் |
| **Glorious Revolution** | – | மகத்தான புரட்சி |
| **House of Representatives** | – | பிரதிநிதிகள் சபை |
| **Human Rights** | – | மனித உரிமைகள் |
| **Human Trafficking** | – | ஆட்கடத்தல் |
| **Ideal State** | – | இலட்சிய அரசு |
| **Idealistic Theory of Rights** | – | இலட்சியவாத உரிமைக் கோட்பாடு |
| **Identity Politics** | – | அடையாள அரசியல் |
| **Inductive Method** | – | தொகுத்தறிமுறைக் காரணவியல் |
| **Initiative** | – | மக்கள் கருத்து முன்வடிவு |
| **Institutional Approach** | – | நிறுவன ரீதியிலான அணுகுமுறை |
| **Instrumental Marxism** | – | கருவி மார்க்சிசம் |
| **Interest Groups** | – | தன்னலக்குழுக்கள் |
| **Internal Sovereignty** | – | உள் இறையாண்மை |
| **International Law** | – | பன்னாட்டுச் சட்டம் |
| **International Organizations** | – | பன்னாட்டு அமைப்புக்கள் |
| **International Peace** | – | பன்னாட்டு அமைதி |
| **International Relations** | – | பன்னாட்டு உறவுகள் |
| **League of Nations** | – | பன்னாட்டுச் சங்கம் |
| **Legal Approach** | – | சட்டபூர்வ அணுகுமுறை |
| **Legal Sovereignty** | – | சட்டபூர்வ இறையாண்மை |
| **Liberalism** | – | தாராளவாதம் |
| **Local-self Government** | – | உள்ளாட்சி சுய அரசாங்கம் |
| **Magna Carta** | – | மகா சாசனம் |
| **Materialistic Individualism** | – | பொருள்முதல்வாத தனிமனிதத்துவம் |
| **Minority Rule** | – | சிறுபான்மை ஆட்சி |
| **Mobocracy** | – | கும்பலாட்சி |
| **Moderates** | – | மிதவாதிகள் |
| **Monarchy** | – | முடியாட்சி |
| **Monistic Theory of Sovereignty** | – | ஒருமைவாத இறைமைக்கோட்பாடு |
| **Natural Rights** | – | இயற்கை உரிமைகள் |
| **Natural Rights** | – | இயற்கை உரிமைகள் |
| **Naturalised Citizen** | – | இயற்கையாதலான குடிமகன் |
| **Negative Liberalism** | – | எதிர்மறை தாராளவாதம் |
| **Negative Liberty** | – | எதிர்மறை சுதந்திரம் |
| **Nominal Sovereignty** | – | பெயரளவிலான இறையாண்மை |
| **Non-Alignment** | – | கூட்டு சேராமை |
| **Normative** | – | கருத்தறிவு |
| **Nutritious MealScheme** | – | சத்துணவுத் திட்டம் |
| **Observation** | – | கூர்நோக்குதல்/உற்று நோக்கல் |
| **Observation Method** | – | கூர்நோக்குதல் முறை |
| **Office of Profit** | – | ஆதாயம் தரும் பதவி |
| **Oligarchy** | – | சிறுகுழுஆட்சி |
| **Organisation** | – | அமைப்பு |
| **Over Developed State** | – | மிகு வளர்ச்சி அரசு |
| **Parliamentary Form of Government** | – | பாராளுமன்ற முறை அரசாங்கம் |
| **Paternalism** | – | தந்தை வழி மரபு |



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| Patriarchal Theory of State | – | தந்தை வழி அரசு தோற்றக் கோட்பாடு |
| Patriarchy | – | ஆணாதிக்கம் |
| Patricians | – | உயர்குலத்தோர் |
| Patriotism | – | நாட்டுப்பற்று/தேசப்பற்று |
| Per-Capita Income | – | தனிநபர் வருமானம் |
| Personal Liberty | – | தனி நபர் சுதந்திரம் |
| Personality | – | ஆளுமை |
| Personality Cult | – | தனிமனித வழிபாடு |
| Petitions | – | மனுக்கள் |
| Philosophical Anarchism | – | தத்துவ அரசின்மை வாதம் |
| Physical Law | – | இயற்பியல் சட்டம் |
| Planning | – | திட்டமிடல் |
| Plebeians | – | சாதாரண குடிமக்கள் |
| Plebians | – | சாதாரண குடிமக்கள் |
| Plebiscitary Democracy | – | பொது வாக்கெடுப்பிலான மக்களாட்சி |
| Plural Executive | – | பன்மைத் தலைமை |
| Pluralism | – | பன்மைவாதம் |
| Pluralistic Theory of Sovereignty | – | பன்முக இறைமைக் கோட்பாடு |
| Plurality | – | பன்மைத்துவம் |
| Policy | – | கொள்கை |
| Policy makers | – | கொள்கையை உருவாக்குபவர்கள் |
| Political Asylum | – | அரசியல் புகலிடம் |
| Political Authority | – | அரசியல் அதிகாரம் |
| Political Democracy | – | அரசியல் மக்களாட்சி |
| Political Economy | – | அரசியல் பொருளாதாரம் |
| Political Equality | – | அரசியல் சமத்துவம் |
| Political Ideology | – | அரசியல் இலட்சியம் |
| Political influence | – | அரசியல் செல்வாக்கு |
| Political Obligation | – | அரசியல் கடப்பாடு |
| Political Parties | – | அரசியல் கட்சிகள் |
| Political Polarization | – | அரசியல் துருவமடைதல் |
| Political Power | – | அரசியல் வலிமை |
| Political Rights | – | அரசியல் உரிமைகள் |
| Political Science | – | அரசியல் அறிவியல் |
| Political Self-Determination | – | அரசியல் சுய நிர்ணயம் |
| Political Sovereignty | – | அரசியல் இறையாண்மை |
| Political System | – | அரசியல் முறைமை |
| Political Theory | – | அரசியல் கோட்பாடு |
| Politician | – | அரசியல்வாதி |
| Politics | – | அரசியல் |
| Polling process | – | வாக்களிக்கும் நடைமுறை |
| Polyarchy | – | குழுவாட்சிமுறை |
| Popular Initiative | – | மக்களின் துவக்க முறை |
| Popular Referendum | – | மக்களின் கருத்துக்கணிப்பு |
| Popular Sovereignty | – | மக்கள் இறையாண்மை |
| Popular will | – | மக்கள் விருப்பம் |
| Popularity | – | பிரபலம் |
| Positive Liberalism | – | நேர்மறை தாராளவாதம் |
| Positive Liberty | – | நேர்மறைச் சுதந்திரம் |
| Positive Rights | – | நேர்மறை உரிமைகள் |
| Post- Revolutionary Stage | – | புரட்சிக்குப் பிந்தைய நிலை |



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| **Post-Behavioralism** | – | பிந்தைய நடத்தையியல் (பின் தோன்றிய நடத்தையியல்) |
| **Post-Colonial Feminism** | – | பின் காலனிய பெண்ணியம் |
| **Post-Colonial States** | – | குடியேற்றத்திற்குப் பிந்தைய அரசுகள் |
| **Post-Modern Feminism** | – | பின் நவீனத்துவ பெண்ணியம் |
| **Post-Modernism** | – | பின் நவீனத்துவம் |
| **Post-Revolutionary Stage** | – | புரட்சிக்குப் பிந்தைய நிலை |
| **Poverty** | – | வறுமை |
| **Pre- Revolutionary Stage** | – | புரட்சிக்கு முந்தைய நிலை |
| **Preamble** | – | முகப்புரை/முகவுரை |
| **Pre-Revolutionary Stage** | – | புரட்சிக்கு முந்தைய நிலை |
| **President of India** | – | இந்திய குடியரசுத் தலைவர் |
| **Presidential Form of Government** | – | குடியரசுத்தலைவர் முறை அரசாங்கம் |
| **Presidential Form of Government** | – | குடியரசுத்தலைவர் முறை அரசாங்கம் |
| **Presidential System** | – | குடியரசுத்தலைவர் முறை |
| **Pressure Groups** | – | அழுத்தக் குழுக்கள் |
| **Preventive Detention** | – | தடுப்புக் காவல் |
| **Primitive Communism** | – | ஆரம்பநிலை பொதுவுடைமை |
| **Primitive Communism** | – | ஆரம்பநிலை பொதுவுடைமை |
| **Primordial** | – | ஆதியிலிருந்து |
| **Privileges** | – | சலுகைகள் |
| **Progress** | – | முன்னேற்றம் |
| **Progressivism** | – | முன்னேற்றவாதம் |
| **Proletariat** | – | பாட்டாளி வர்க்கம் |
| **Prominent** | – | முதன்மையான |
| **Promulgation** | – | நடைமுறைப்படுத்துதல் |
| **Propaganda** | – | பரப்புரை |
| **Proportional** | – | விகிதாச்சார |
| **Protective Democracy** | – | பாதுகாப்பிலான மக்களாட்சி |
| **Proxy** | – | பதிலி/பிரதிநிதி |
| **Psephology** | – | வாக்களிப்பியல் |
| **Psephology** | – | தேர்தலியல் |
| **Psychology** | – | உளவியல் |
| **Public interest** | – | பொது நலம் |
| **Public office** | – | பொதுப்பதவி |
| **Public Opinion** | – | பொதுக் கருத்து |
| **Public Sector** | – | பொதுத்துறை |
| **Purchasing Power Parity** | – | வாங்குந்திறன் சமநிலை |
| **Qualitative Methods** | – | தரநிலை முறைகள் |
| **Quantitative Methods** | – | தகுதிநிலை முறைகள் |
| **Quasi-Federal State** | – | அரைகுறை கூட்டாட்சி அரசு |
| **Quasi-Judicial** | – | நீதிமுறை சார்புடைய |
| **Quota** | – | ஒதுக்கீடு |
| **Racial Discrimination** | – | இனப் பாகுபாடு |
| **Radical Democracy** | – | தீவிர மக்களாட்சி |
| **Radical Feminism** | – | தீவிர பெண்ணியம் |
| **Rajya Sabha** | – | மாநிலங்களவை |



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| **Real Sovereignty** | – | மெய்யான இறையாண்மை |
| **Real Will** | – | மெய்யான விருப்பம் |
| **Realism** | – | மெய்மைவாதம் |
| **Reason** | – | பகுத்தறிவு |
| **Recall System** | – | திரும்ப அழைத்தல் முறை |
| **Recognition** | – | ஏற்பு |
| **Referundum** | – | மக்கள் ஒப்பம் |
| **Reforms** | – | சீர்திருத்தங்கள் |
| **Regional** | – | வட்டார/பிராந்திய |
| **Regional Alliances** | – | வட்டாரக் கூட்டணிகள் |
| **Regional Alliances** | – | வட்டாரக் கூட்டணிகள் |
| **Regulate** | – | ஒழுங்குபடுத்துதல் |
| **Religion** | – | மதம் |
| **Religious Fundamentalist** | – | மத அடிப்படைவாதி |
| **Religious Minorities** | – | மதச் சிறுபான்மையினர் |
| **Renaissance** | – | மறுமலர்ச்சி |
| **Representation** | – | பிரதிநிதித்துவம் |
| **Representative** | – | பிரதிநிதி |
| **Representative Democracy** | – | பிரதிநிதித்துவ மக்களாட்சி |
| **Representative Government** | – | பிரதிநிதித்துவ அரசாங்கம் |
| **Republic** | – | குடியரசு |
| **Reservation** | – | இடஒதுக்கீடு |
| **Resignation** | – | பதவி விலகல் |
| **Resignation** | – | பதவி விலகுதல் |
| **Resources** | – | ஆதாரங்கள் |
| **Responsibility** | – | பொறுப்புடைமை |
| **Returning officer** | – | தேர்தல் நடத்தும் அதிகாரி |
| **Reverse discrimination** | – | தலைகீழ் பாகுபாடு |
| **Revolution** | – | புரட்சி |
| **Rhetoric** | – | சொல்லாட்சி |
| **Right** | – | உரிமை |
| **Right against Exploitation** | – | சுரண்டலுக்கு எதிரான உரிமை |
| **Right to Equality** | – | சமத்துவ உரிமை |
| **Right to Freedom** | – | சுதந்திர உரிமை |
| **Right to Freedom Of Religion** | – | மதச்சுதந்திரத்திற்கான உரிமை |
| **Right to Life** | – | உயிர்வாழும் உரிமை |
| **Right to Privacy** | – | தனியுரிமை |
| **Right to Privacy** | – | தனியுரிமை / அந்தரங்க உரிமை |
| **Rightist Ideology** | – | வலதுசாரி லட்சியவாதம் |
| **Rightist Ideology** | – | வலதுசாரி லட்சியவாதம் |
| **Rigid Constitution** | – | நெகிழா அரசமைப்பு/ இறுக்கமான அரசமைப்பு |
| **Rule of Law** | – | சட்டத்தின் ஆட்சி |
| **Ruling Class** | – | ஆளும் வர்க்கம் |
| **Satyagraha** | – | சத்தியாகிரகம் |
| **Schedule** | – | அட்டவணை |
| **Scheduled castes** | – | பட்டியல் இனத்தவர் |
| **Scheduled Castes And Scheduled Tribes** | – | பட்டியல் வகுப்பினர் மற்றும் பழங்குடியினர் |
| **Scheduled tribes** | – | பழங்குடியினர் |
| **Scope** | – | பரப்பெல்லை |
| **Seats** | – | இடங்கள் |
| **Secessionism** | – | பிரிவினைவாதம் |



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| **Secular State** | – | மதச்சார்பற்ற அரசு |
| **Secularism** | – | மதச்சார்பின்மை |
| **Security deposit** | – | பிணைத்தொகை |
| **Self-Rule** | – | சுயாட்சி |
| **Seminary** | – | இறையியல் கல்லூரி |
| **Senior Citizens** | – | மூத்த குடிமக்கள் |
| **Separation of Powers** | – | அதிகாரப் பிரிவினை |
| **Service Sector** | – | சேவைத் துறை |
| **Sessions** | – | கூட்டத் தொடர்கள் |
| **Shallow Ecology** | – | மேலோட்டமான சூழலியல் |
| **Simple Majority** | – | சாதாரண பெரும்பான்மை |
| **Single Citizenship** | – | ஒற்றைக் குடியுரிமை |
| **Sinification** | – | சீனமயமாக்கல் |
| **Slavery** | – | அடிமைமுறை |
| **Social Activism** | – | சமூக செயல்முனைவு |
| **Social activist** | – | சமூக செயற்பாட்டாளர் |
| **Social Autonomy** | – | சமூக தன்னாட்சி |
| **Social Coercion** | – | சமூகத்தின் வலிந்த மாற்றம் |
| **Social Coercion** | – | சமூகத்தின் வலிந்த மாற்றம் |
| **Social Contract Theory** | – | சமூக ஒப்பந்தக் கோட்பாடு |
| **Social Contractualists** | – | சமூக ஒப்பந்தவியலாளர்கள் |
| **Social Democracy** | – | சமூக மக்களாட்சி |
| **Social Democratic State** | – | சமூக நல அரசு |
| **Social Equality** | – | சமூக சமத்துவம் |
| **Social Justice** | – | சமூக நீதி |
| **Social Media** | – | சமூக ஊடகங்கள் |
| **Social Movements** | – | சமூக இயக்கங்கள் |
| **Social Status** | – | சமூக நிலை |
| **Social System** | – | சமூக அமைப்பு |
| **Social System** | – | சமூக முறைமை |
| **Socialism** | – | சமதர்மம் |
| **Socialistic Democracy** | – | சமதர்மத்திலான மக்களாட்சி |
| **Socialistic Democracy** | – | சமதர்மத்திலான மக்களாட்சி |
| **Society** | – | சமூகம் |
| **Society** | – | சமுதாயம் |
| **Soft State** | – | மென்மையான அரசு |
| **Soft State** | – | மென்மை அரசு |
| **Sovereignty** | – | இறையாண்மை |
| **Speaker** | – | சபாநாயகர் |
| **Spirit** | – | உத்வேகம் |
| **Spoils System** | – | அரசியல் சார்ந்த அரசுப் பதவி முறை |
| **Standing Committee** | – | நிலைக்குழு |
| **State** | – | அரசு |
| **State Legislative Assembly** | – | மாநில சட்டப்பேரவை |
| **State legislature** | – | மாநில சட்டமன்றம் |
| **State of Nature** | – | இயற்கை நிலை |
| **Statelessness** | – | அரசற்றநிலை |
| **Structural Functional Approach** | – | கட்டமைப்பு செயல்பாட்டு அணுகுமுறை |
| **Structural Marxism** | – | கட்டமைப்பிலான மார்க்சிசம் |



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| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **Structure** | – | கட்டமைப்பு |
| **Sub-continent** | – | துணைக்கண்டம் |
| **Suffrage** | – | வாக்குரிமை |
| **Summit** | – | நாடுகளுக்கிடையேயான மாநாடு |
| **Super Powers** | – | உயர் அதிகார நாடுகள் |
| **Superintendence** | – | கண்காணிப்பு |
| **Superiority** | – | உயர்வுத் தன்மை |
| **Supervision** | – | மேற்பார்வை |
| **Supervisor** | – | மேற்பார்வையாளர் |
| **Sustainable Development** | – | நிலையான முன்னேற்றம் |
| **Syllogisms** | – | முக்கூற்று ஏரணம் |
| **Syndicalists** | – | தொழிற்சங்கவாதிகள் |
| **System Approach** | – | முறைமை அணுகுமுறை |
| **System of Logic** | – | தர்க்க முறை |
| **Systems Approach** | – | முறைமை அணுகுமுறை |
| **Tenure** | – | பதவிக்காலம் |
| **Territory** | – | நிலப்பரப்பு |
| **The Reformation Movement** | – | சீர்திருத்த இயக்கம் |
| **Theocracy** | – | சமய ஆட்சி |
| **Theology** | – | சமயவியல் |
| **Theory of Surplus Value** | – | உபரி மதிப்புக் கோட்பாடு |
| **Three-Fold Citizenship** | – | மூன்றுஅடுக்கு குடியுரிமை |
| **Timocracy** | – | செல்வராட்சி |
| **Totalitarian Democracy** | – | முற்றதிகார மக்களாட்சி |
| **Traditional Morality** | – | மரபார்ந்த நீதிநெறிமுறை |
| **Traditionalism** | – | மரபுவாதம் |
| **Transform** | – | மாறுதல் |
| **Transgenders** | – | மூன்றாம் பாலினத்தவர் |
| **Transparency** | – | வெளிப்படைத்தன்மை |
| **Tribunals** | – | தீர்ப்பாயங்கள் |
| **Tri-Coloured Flag** | – | மூவர்ணக் கொடி |
| **Two Party System** | – | இரு கட்சி முறை |
| **Tyranny** | – | கொடுங்கோன்மை |
| **Under Developed Countries** | – | வளர்ச்சி குன்றிய நாடுகள் |
| **Unethical** | – | நன்னெறிக்குப் புறம்பான |
| **Unfair** | – | நியாயமற்ற |
| **Unitary State** | – | ஒற்றையாட்சி அரசு |
| **United Nations** | – | ஐக்கிய நாடுகள் சபை |
| **Universal Adult Franchise** | – | அனைவருக்கும் வாக்குரிமை |
| **Universalism** | – | பிரபஞ்சவாதம் |
| **Untouchability** | – | தீண்டாமை |
| **Unwritten Constitution** | – | எழுதப்படாத அரசியலமைப்பு |
| **Upper Chamber** | – | சட்டமன்றத்தின் மேலவை |
| **Urban local body** | – | நகர்ப்புற உள்ளாட்சி அமைப்பு |
| **Utilitarianism** | – | பயன்கருதுவாதம்/ பயன்பாட்டுவாதம் |
| **Utopian Socialism** | – | கற்பனையிலான சமதர்மம் |
| **Utopian Theory** | – | கற்பனைவாதக் கோட்பாடு |
| **Utopianism** | – | கற்பனைவாதம் |
| **Vice President of India** | – | இந்திய குடியரசு துணைத் தலைவர் |



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| **Vidhan Sabha** | – | விதான் சபை (சட்டமன்ற கீழவை) |
| **Vote** | – | வாக்கு |
| **Voters` list** | – | வாக்காளர் பட்டியல் |
| **Votes** | – | வாக்குகள் |
| **Voting Machine** | – | வாக்களிக்கும் இயந்திரம் |
| **Voting Right** | – | வாக்களிக்கும் உரிமை |
| **Ward** | – | நகரின் உட்பிரிவு (வார்டு) / குடும்பு |
| **Weaker sections** | – | நலிவுற்ற பிரிவினர் |
| **Welfare State** | – | நலநோக்கு அரசு |
| **White Man Burden** | – | வெள்ளை மனிதனின் சுமை-கடமை |
| **Withdrawal** | – | திரும்பப்பெறுதல் |
| **Withering away of the State** | – | அரசு உதிர்வடைதல் |
| **Women Empowerment** | – | பெண்களுக்கு அதிகாரமளித்தல் |
| **Working Class** | – | உழைக்கும் வர்க்கம் |
| **World Bank** | – | உலக வங்கி |
| **Writ of Certiorari** | – | சான்றாய்வு / நெறிப்படுத்தும் நீதிப்பேராணை |
| **Writ of Habeas Corpus** | – | ஆட்கொணர்வு நீதிப்பேராணை |
| **Writ of Mandamus** | – | கட்டளை / செயலுறுத்தும் நீதிப்பேராணை |
| **Writ of Quo-Warranto** | – | உரிமையேது வினா நீதிப்பேராணை |
| **Write of Prohibition** | – | தடை நீதிப்பேராணை |
| **Written Constitution** | – | எழுதப்பட்ட அரசமைப்பு |



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UNIT 8

# Political Ideologies – Part I



## Introduction

Ideology refers to a set of inter-related ideas dealing with politics, society and economy. Political ideologies are very important in Political Science and are considered as heart and soul of Political Science. They deal with the nature and origin of the state, relationship between state and society, forms of government, basis of state authority and sphere of state action. Numerous ideologies operate in our subject.



## Learning Objectives

- To understand the meaning and characteristics of Negative Liberalism, Positive Liberalism and Libertarianism.
- To identify the leaders and thinkers who are central to the ideology of Liberalism.
- To know the thinkers, concepts, and ideas of communist stream chronologically in the post Karl Marx period.
- To comprehend the essence of different kinds of Socialisms and to compare and contrast Socialism with Communism.
- To find out the meaning, emergence, theories, intra national and extra national challenges of Nationalism.
- To analyse the causative factors of Indian Nationalism.
- To grasp the etymological origin, core ideological features of Fascism.
- To have knowledge about the emergence, meaning and core characteristics of Nazism.

## 8.1 Liberalism

Liberalism is the most important ideology of modern political theory. It emerged in the 17th century and continues to be the most widely followed Idealogy in the contemporary world. The etymology of the word liberalism is from 'Liber' that means liberty. The supporters of the Spanish Constitution in the 19th century made the word popular by calling themselves as liberals. Now western countries like United States of America, the United Kingdom, Canada, and Germany adhere to the tenets of liberalism in politics and economy.

Liberalism chronologically had experienced three major phases. In the first phase till 1930 it was called as 'Negative Liberalism'. The second phase termed as 'Positive Liberalism' emerged after the Great Economic Depression and lasted up to the 1970s. The third phase,

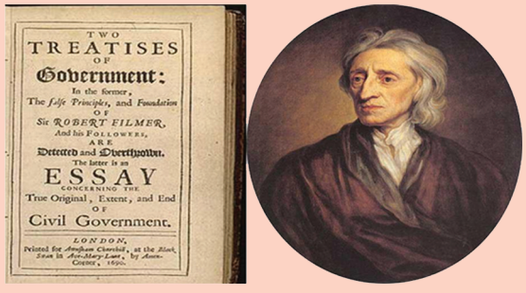


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known as 'Libertarianism' is followed by major countries of the world for the last four decades.

## A. Negative liberalism

Negative Liberalism is also known by many names like 'Laissez Faire' Liberalism and Classical Liberalism. John Locke in his book 'Two Treaties of Civil Government' propounded the basic political principles of Negative Liberalism that came to be implemented vigorously in the USA.




John Locke, Father of Classical liberalism. The Equal Right to Life, Liberty, and Property.

Thomas Paine, Montesquieu, Jeremy Bentham are the other important proponents of Negative Liberalism. Economically, Adam Smith advocated Negative Liberalism in his book 'An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of Wealth of Nations'

### Essence of Negative Liberalism

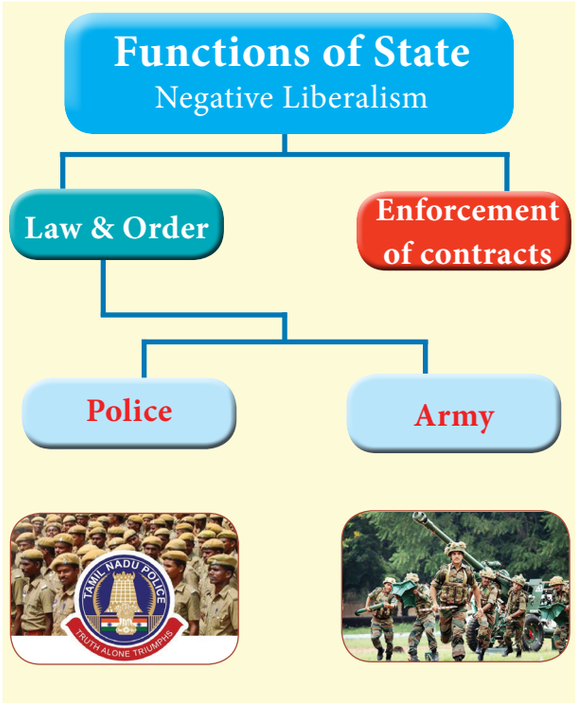
Negative Liberalism considers man as a rational, capable and masterless individual. All human beings are equal and free. Everyone knows their interests and is endowed with the capacity to satisfy their interests. Society is a mere aggregate of freely existing individuals. There is no necessity for State and society to interfere or regulate the life of individuals.

The State is a necessary evil. It is necessary for the protection of law and order without which individuals cannot realise their interests. Nevertheless, the State is an evil as even its mere existence itself endangers the rights and liberties of the individuals.

The State is a negative State as it is prohibited from carrying out developmental activities. The State is called as Laissez Faire State. Laissez Faire has its origin in the French language meaning 'Leave Alone'. The State must leave the individuals alone to pursue their activities. Maintenance of law and order and enforcement of legally made contracts are the only functions assigned to the State by Negative Liberalism.

**ACTIVITY**

Where does India stand in the concept of liberalism after 1991 economic reforms?






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Economically, Negative Liberalism supports free market economy based on demand and supply. It prohibits the State from interfering with the economic activities. The State is akin to a cricket umpire in its powers and functions. The umpire does not play the game but watches whether the players are playing the game in accordance with the laws of the game. Similarly the State should not interfere in the economy as market alone determines its activities.

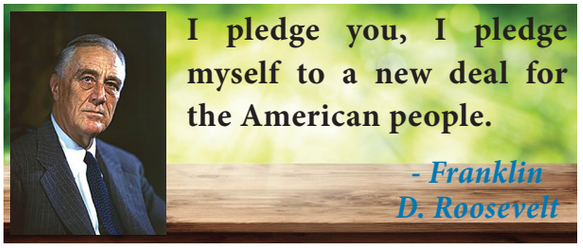
Negative Liberalism believes in the concept of natural rights. When Mother Nature created man, it endowed him with basic rights that are called Natural Rights. The State should not erode or undermine these natural rights. The Rights to Life, Liberty and Property are indispensable for human existence and development. Therefore, the State should never abolish or erode them. The Right to Property is special to the proponents of Negative Liberalism. It is an unlimited right as all individuals can acquire, enjoy and dispose of property without interference from the State.

## B. Positive Liberalism

Negative liberalism metamorphosed into Positive liberalism in the 20th century. Even though Negative Liberalism contributed to the generation of unprecedented wealth in the western countries it had also inflicted enormous pain on common people. Glaring inequalities among people, appearance of slums in the cities and exploitation of the workers exposed the deficiencies of Negative Liberalism. Humanist thinkers like Ruskin protested against the misery of the people.

In this backdrop, Negative Liberalism changed into Positive Liberalism because of two important factors i.e. Democracy and Marxism. Nineteenth century witnessed the gradual spread of democracy whereby the common people came to be provided with voting rights. They demanded fundamental changes in politics. The second factor is the advent and rise of Marxism that appealed to the workers to overthrow the exploitative inequality-laden Negative Liberalism. Subsequently, under pressure from democracy and Marxism, Negative Liberalism changed into Positive Liberalism.

The liberal world experienced a devastating Great Economic Depression from 1928 affecting economies of numerous countries including United States of America. The newly elected American President Franklin Roosevelt implemented the New Deal Programme for uplifting American economy from the quagmire of depression.




J.M.Keyns, economic advisor to the American President, played a crucial role in the formulation of the programme signifying the advent of Positive Liberalism. A number of thinkers enriched the content of Positive Liberalism of which T.H.Green, Harold Laski, L.T.Hobhouse are important.

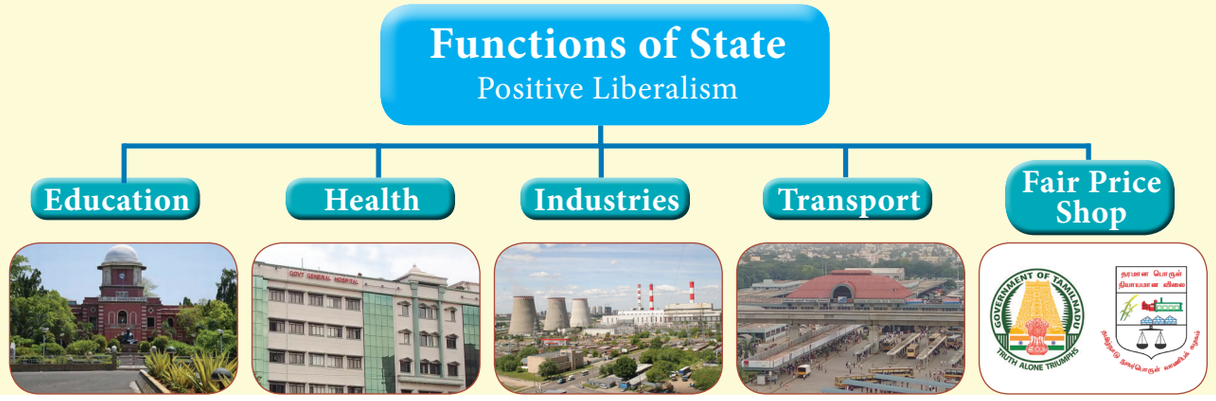


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DO YOU KNOW?

Franklin D. Roosevelt was the longest serving President of the United States. He played a splendid role in the development of the country by lifting it out of the Great Economic Depression through his New Deal Program. He inspires millions of people even now. He was a heavily paralyzed polio victim. The inspiring slogan in the 1932 elections was that here comes a man on wheels to set America again on the wheels of progress. He presents the winning spirit of positive personality in the ocean of adversities in life.

Positive Liberalism brought out the new concept of Social Welfare State. This concept projects the State as a positive instrument for the promotion of social welfare. The role of the State is to provide social service to the people. It should construct and maintain hospitals, educational institutions, factories and industries, infrastructural facilities like roads, railway tracks and ports. The State also came to be known as Social Democratic State, a nomenclature that explains the significance of democracy in the constitution of a positive State.




The rights of the people can be modified so that the welfare of society can be promoted. Positive liberalism supports a close relationship between rights and duties and argues for Social Welfare theory of Rights. Similarly, freedom is positive in content. While Negative Liberalism expounded freedom from the State, Positive Liberalism recommends freedom through the State. Freedom does not mean being free from the interference of the State but adhering to the social welfare activities of the State. Freedom through the State and not from the State is their theme.

The economy must be regulated by the State so that alternate, painful appearance of economic boom and depression can be averted. Progressive taxation can be adopted by the State to generate resources required for its social welfare activities. Similarly, the State has power and authority to adhere to economic strategies like bank nationalisation, minimum wages and reservation of industries as public sector to bring in the uplift of all sections of society.

Positive Liberalism was followed in the western democracies for many decades from 1930s. But gradually philosophers



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and political leaders began to question the utility of a Social Welfare State propagated by Positive Liberalism. They argued that State interference in society and economy had precipitated a plethora of problems like industrial sickness, economic inefficiency, lessened productivity, corruption, erosion of liberties of people and economic stagnation, therefore should be curtailed.

**ACTIVITY**

**Self-Introspection**

Identify the major functions of the state that contribute to your life directly. The government had provided you many services. From your own experience prepare a list of services of the Social Welfare State that you have benefited from.

## C. Libertarianism

The third phase in the history of liberalism is called as contemporary Liberalism or Libertarianism. It emerged in the western world after the end of positive liberalism and gradually spread to most parts of the political universe. The President of the United States Ronald Reagan implemented libertarian ideology in his country from 1981 to 1989.

The first woman Prime Minister of the United Kingdom Margaret Thatcher was the political architect of libertarianism. The last president of Soviet Union Michel Gorbachev introduced the two path-breaking reforms of Perestroika (Restructuring) and Glasnost (openness) that pushed the Soviet Union into the direction of libertarianism.

**There is no such thing as society: there are individual men and women, and there are families.**

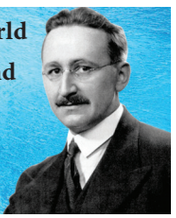
**- Margaret Thatcher**



A number of political scientists have advocated libertarianism. F.A.Hayek, M.Oakeshott, Karl Popper, Milton Friedman, Nozick and Nock are important among the supporters of libertarianism.

**There is all the difference in the world between treating people equally and attempting to make them equal.**

***- Friedrich Hayek***



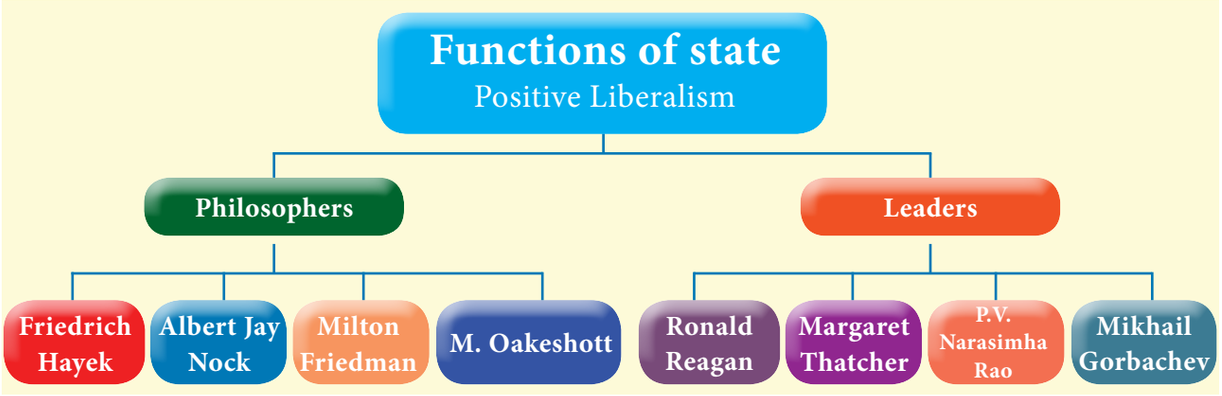
Libertarianism is a re-invention and re-application of Classical Liberalism in the second half of the 20th century and in the first half of the 21st century. It believes in the worth and importance of individuals. It advocates individual freedom as indispensable for the life of man. It staunchly supports the concept of 'Personal Autonomy' whereby every human being is provided with complete freedom of choice to make decisions in their life as they want. It restricts the domain of the State to maintenance of law and order. Nozick famously coined the slogan 'Minimal State is Inspiring as Well as Right'. He criticised any more functions of the State as unjustified and unwarranted. Another proponent of Libertarianism, Oakeshort commented that the government merely pursues peace.

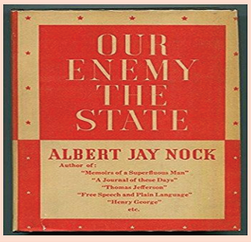
**DO YOU KNOW?**

Karl Popper described Plato as a enemy of open society in his work "Open society and its' enemies".



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Albert Jay Nock, a Libertarian even went to the extent of titling his book "Our Enemy the State"

The libertarians argue that the increase in the functions of the State in the name of development and social welfare leads inevitably to emergence of collectivism and resultant concentration of power in the hands of the State leading to the destruction of personal liberties of man.

## End of Ideology

A few political thinkers and political sociologists in the 1950s had brought out the new concept of 'End of Ideology'. Daniel Bell who authored book 'End of Ideology' is the strongest proponent of this concept along with the noted political sociologist Martin Lipset.

They argue that the political and economic search of humankind had reached its final destination with the emergence of Liberal Democratic State or Social Welfare State. The ideal system of human life should be planted and rooted in the soil of welfare State, decentralised power, mixed economy and competitive party system. The western nations have attained these ideal socio-political characteristics. They called for an end to the Liberalism versus Marxism debate and accepted that democracy is not merely a system of government but the good society in operation. They praised democracy as the ideal means of conflict resolution and governance.

But a set of thinkers collectively described as "New Left" rejected the validity of the End of Ideology concept. Though, the thinkers do not advocate any class conflict like Marxism they sought to improvise the tenets of Marxist State. The western societies also witnessed rise of the voice of many thinkers that demanded not the end of ideology but the end of materialism that is implied in the end of ideology concept.

## End of History

The American political thinker Francis Fukuyoma wrote the book 'The End of History and the Last Man' in 1992. He argued that history has ended with the end of the Cold War and the victory of liberalism over communism. The history of mankind essentially composed of its ceaseless search for the ideal political, social and economic system. The victory



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of Liberalism signifies the end of that human search for right ideology and the advent of post-ideological world. The Liberal State and the Libertarian economy represent the culmination of the social economic and political evolution of humanity, therefore human history has ended was the argument of Fukuyoma.



**The end of History and the last man**
*- Francis Fukuyama*

But many political scientists and ideologies disagree with this. The post-modernist thinker Derrida argued that liberal democracy is not the ideal political system that solves the problems of man. He said, "Never have violence, inequality, exclusion, famine, and thus economic oppression affected as many human beings in the history of the earth and of humanity as it happened in the times of liberal democracy."

The American political scientist Samuel Huntington propounded 'The Clash of Civilization' theory as a counter to Fukuyoma's End of History thesis. Huntington argued that end of the Cold War has not resulted in the universal and permanent success of liberal democracy. On the contrary, a new ideological rivalry has emerged between the two major civilizations of the world, Western Civilization and Islam that will dominate the politics of humankind in the 20th. He contended that other civilizations of the world will be sucked into the civilization clash between Western Civilization and Islam, and therefore history has not ended in the post-Cold War period, rather it has entered a new phase of confrontation.

### India and libertarianism

New Economic Reforms were introduced in India in 1991 heralding the era of Liberalization, privatization and globalisation. They reflect the ideology of Libertarianism. The State has withdrawn itself from many economic and social activities. 'Minimum Government and Maximum Governance' is the guiding principle of the State. The State has consciously shrunk its sphere of activities encouraging private initiative through measures like disinvestment. Under the impact of libertarianism the planning process was initially changed to the strategy of Indicative Planning and recently the planning Commission itself was replaced by a body called National Commission for Transforming India (NITI Aayog).

## 8.2 Communism (Vladimir Lenin)

**DO YOU KNOW?**



Vladimir Lenin died in 1924 and the mortal remains are preserved in Lenin's Tomb in Red Square in Moscow. The embalmed body is regularly bathed in special chemicals and has been on public display. Earlier the government funded the finances needed for preserving the body and after the disintegration of Union of Soviet Socialist Republics preservation of the body is maintained through public donations. There are intermittent calls for burying the coffin next to the resting place of Lenin's mother.



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Vladimir Lenin was a revolutionary Marxist thinker who organized the October Revolution of 1917 in Russia to implement the ideas of Marxism. He was the architect of the communist country called Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) that consisted of 15 Republics. Lenin contributed to the theoretical content of Marxism.

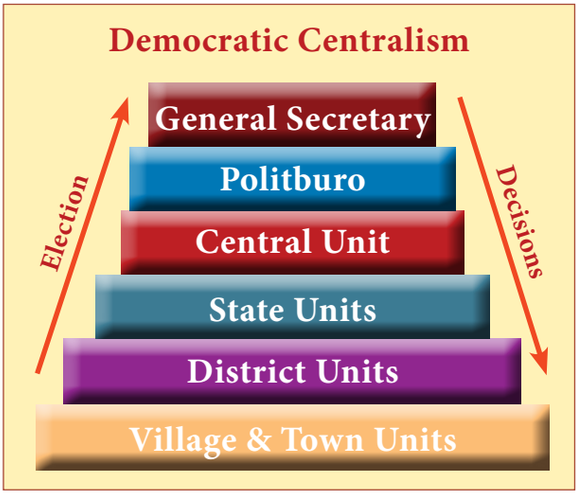


## Communist party

Lenin wrote in his work 'What is to be done?' his ideas of the Communist Party. Marx had called for a communist revolution to end capitalism and exploitation and Lenin as his successor developed the instrument of the party to carry out the proletariat revolution. He said the party should be formed in every industry and factory by a small group of workers who possess knowledge of Revolutionary Marxism. They must possess qualities and abilities like dedication, commitment and hard work. The members of the Communist Party should mobilize the workers ideologically to conduct the revolution. Lenin asserted that the party must be in the vanguard of the proletariat that is the forefront of the Proletariat Revolution.

It was expounded that the Communist Party should be organised on the basis of an innovative concept called Democratic Centralism. As the name indicates there are two features in the organisational structure of the Communist Party, democracy and centralism. Democratically, the lower organs of the party organisation must elect the members of the higher organs of the party. The party units in villages must elect the party units of the district and State units are to be elected by the district units of the party and the central unit will be elected by the State units.

The element of centralism in the Communist Party means that the decisions of the higher unit must be accepted and implemented by the lower units. The State units should accept the decisions of the central unit and district units must obey the decisions of the State unit and the village unit ought to follow the decisions of the district unit.




## Imperialism

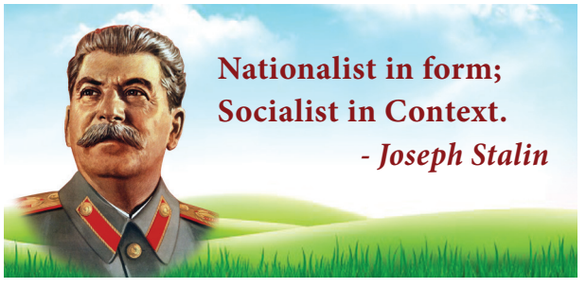
Imperialism refers to the system where European countries subjugated and exploited the Asian and African countries through military conquest and force. Lenin expounded a new insight linking imperialism and capitalism in his book 'Imperialism. The Highest Stage of Capitalism'. He argued that capitalism had not faced self- destruction as Marx predicted. The capitalist countries exploit



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the subjugated Asian and African countries and through this looted wealth capitalism sustains itself in their home countries. There should be two revolutionary struggles, one the struggle of Asian-African countries against the imperialist Europe and another revolutionary struggle of working class in the western countries. Once these two struggles become successful, the two inter -linked exploitative forces of capitalism and imperialism will be destroyed and communist society of equality and fraternity will be born internationally.

## Joseph Stalin




Joseph Stalin was the general secretary of The Communist Party and Premier of Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in the post-Lenin phase up to 1953. He introduced a major ideological component in Marxism called Socialism in One Country. The seed of the idea was first brought out by another communist theoretician Nikolai Bukharin.

Marxism rejected nationalism and supported universalism. It attacked nationalism as a bourgeois concept and appealed to the workers of the world to unite and fight to establish communism as seen in the last lines of Marx book 'The Communist Manifesto'. The ultimate goal of Karl Marx was the formation of international socialist society through the instrument of world proletariat revolution. Karl Marx said, 'The working men have no country'. Lenin also continued in the same vein and considered the October Revolution of 1917 in Russia as a springboard to global revolution.

Stalin makes a fundamental change in Marxism through the Socialism in One Country concept. He claimed to have developed his idea from Lenin's statement that socialist revolution can emerge in even one country as detailed in the work 'On the Slogan for a United States of Europe'. The central theme of this concept is that socialism can be successfully established in Russia alone. Russian socialism is threatened by a capitalist encirclement as the western enemy capitalist countries avowedly endanger the existence of communist USSR. Stalin advocated the consolidation and strengthening of USSR so that it can withstand the capitalist threat postponing the task of organising an international communist revolution to a more appropriate period in the future. This thesis was accepted as the State policy of USSR and also by the Communist International organization.

Leon Trotsky criticized Stalinist socialism and reiterated the concept of permanent revolution advocated by Karl Marx. He called for the export of communist revolution to other countries of the world to achieve international communism and cautioned that otherwise communism within USSR itself will collapse.

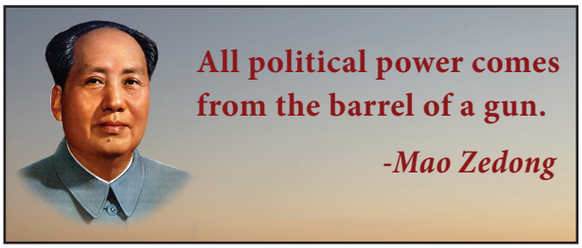
## Mao Zedong

Mao Zedong was one of the greatest Marxist theoreticians and practitioners in the history of the world. He was one of the



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founders of the Communist Party of China and conducted the Communist Revolution in 1949, leading to the establishment of the People's Republic of China.




## Signification of Marxism

Mao introduced certain changes in Communism to make it suitable for China. The modification of communism to reflect Chinese realities is described as Signification of Communism.

## Peasantry-led Revolution

Karl Marx predicted that Communist Revolution will be seen only in west European countries that are fully industrialised and where workers are numerous and organised. But China in the decade of 1940s was an agricultural and industrially backward country. Karl Marx never considered that the peasants as a class have revolutionary potential as they are conservative and reactionary. Mao organized the peasants of China and succeeded in overthrowing the feudal exploitative State heralding the arrival of communism. Mao's success in China provided a revolutionary model for the other agricultural countries of Asia and Africa.

## Mass line

Leninist concept of the Communist party as the vanguard of the revolutionary struggle was modified by Mao to suit Chinese conditions. Mao contended that the masses should not be separated from the revolutionary party in the domains of both policy and struggle. They should be integral to the Communist Party and the guiding principle is 'from the masses to the masses'.

## People's War and Guerilla War

Mao believed in the 'revolutionary struggle of the vast majority of people against the exploiting classes and their State structure'. He propagated the idea of People's War. He suggested the intensive mobilization of the millions of peasants as part of the People's War as they are the worst victims of feudalism and imperialism. The ideal strategy of war was to surround the cities by capturing the rural landscape with the help of mobilized peasants.

Mao believed in the unconventional guerilla warfare. As a strategy it had three stages. In the first stage, the Communist cadre will win the people through propaganda. In the second stage, the cadre will ambush and attack the military and vital State installations. In the third stage, the cadre will act as a conventional army fighting the army of the State and capturing cities after inflicting defeat. Mao also taught that any of three stages can be used any time depending on the circumstances.

## Let Hundred Flowers Bloom

The Communist Party of China conducted the Hundred Flower Campaign in the second half of 1950s and the chairman Mao said "Let the hundred



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flowers bloom. Let the hundred schools of thought contend". He considered each thought as a flower and argued that all schools of thought must be allowed to bloom. The clash of thoughts will lead to the defeat and destruction of the rotten and obsolete ideas and better ones will endure competition and become successful. The ancient philosophy of Confucianism underwent this conflict of ideas test many centuries ago and came out successful. Though the State welcomed constructive criticism in the beginning, the campaign got derailed later as contention among ideas threatened the Communist Party of China itself.

### 'The Hundred Flowers Campaign'

**Where does the term originate?**



**Let a hundred flowers blossom, let a hundred school of thought contend'**

**What does it actually mean???**

**It means 'to allow free expression and criticism'. Mao used this expression when, in 1956, he invited Chinese people to assess the performance of the communist party, and to offer it advice.**

**An Ancient Chinese Philosopher - the expression comes from a traditional poem.**

DO YOU KNOW?

### Cultural Revolution - 1960



Mao wished to regain power he lost in the Great Leap Forward and create another revolutionary movement. Created the Red Guard from the Chinese youth - **Students, peasants, soldiers**.

## Cultural Revolution

Mao launched the Grand Proletarian Cultural Revolution in 1965-66 to exterminate' representatives of the bourgeoisie who have sneaked into the party, the government, the army and various spheres of culture' and destroy the 'Four Olds' — old ideas, old customs, old culture and old habits. The stated aim of the revolution was to save the Chinese communism from becoming a victim of bureaucratization induced by industrialization like the western countries and USSR. The actual backdrop was provided by the Great Leap Forward Campaign.

Mao implemented forcefully industrialization and collectivization as part of this campaign from 1958 to 1962 to rapidly change China from agricultural economy to socialist system. But, unfortunately, it resulted in the advent of the Great Chinese Famine killing millions of people. To reclaim the authority and legitimacy of the leader and the party cultural revolution was launched. It was argued that even after the establishment of communism the class struggle continues and intensifies and to weed out the communist enemies, Red Guards were organized. The members of the Red Guards adopted repressive measures against the class enemies even jailing the Chinese President. The role of the State and party was taken over by the paramilitary organization.

## New Democracy

Marxism believed that the State is an instrument of exploitation of the workers by the capitalists and workers and capitalist



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are always antagonistic towards each other. Mao modified this fundamental feature of Marxism. He propounded the concept of New Democracy. He created a new alliance in which the peasantry, the proletariat, the petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie became members. Subsequently, Mao declared the formation of a new kind of State called People's Democratic Dictatorship.

The working class and peasantry were provided with key positions in the State. The petty bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie were accorded with junior partner status. The People's Democratic Dictatorship guaranteed democracy for the general people while simultaneously acting as dictatorship over the enemies of the people especially those who were described as 'running dogs of imperialism'. In ideal Marxism, the workers and bourgeoisie are adversaries but New Democracy treated them as partners.



**It Doesn't matter if a cat is black or white, so long as it catches mice**

***Deng Xiaoping***

Maoism continues to be the ruling ideology of the People's Republic of China in the twenty first century in a changed milieu. The paramount leader Deng Xiaoping introduced massive changes in Chinese economy after 1978. Its economy has been infused with liberalization and globalisation modifying fundamentally the communist economy of Mao period. But politically, the Communist Party of China continues to exercise monopoly of power.

## Antonio Gramsci

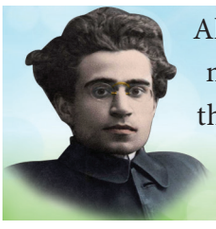


Antonio Gramsci, the famous Italian Marxist, introduced the concept of hegemony to explain the operation of the capitalist State. Hegemony means intellectual and moral leadership. The State manufactures the consent of the people through intellectual and moral leadership. It tries to create a false consciousness among people through propaganda.

**DO YOU KNOW?**

Gramsci was one of the most creative modern political thinkers. But he was imprisoned by Fascism in the prime of his life. The judge convicted him on wrong grounds because of the pressure of Fascist government. While in the prison Gramsci wrote his thoughts on any available piece of paper and that was smuggled out of the prison and therefore his writings are titled "Prison Notebooks".

Its ideas are repeatedly driven into the minds of the people. Only when it fails to create the consent of the people, it starts using brutal force to carry out its activities. Gramsci also argues that, to destroy the capitalist State, the revolutionaries should use organic intellectuals and the Communist Party. The organic intellectuals will analyze the strength of the State and elucidate the means of destroying the State. The Communist Party will carry out the revolution and establish the ideal state of communism.



All men are intellectuals: but not all men have in society the function of intellectuals.

***- Antonio Gramsci***



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## Neo Marxism

A group of philosophers who were associated with the Frankfurt Institute for Social Research in Germany developed new insights into Marxism that are described as Neo Marxism or Critical Theory. The important philosophers of this school are Herbert Marcuse, Jurgen Habermas and Theodor Adorno. Though there are great differences in their writings all of them uniformly protested against the systems of domination and exploitation. They focused on understanding the hidden roots and layers of domination. They concentrated on preparing the masses for revolutionary transformation by augmenting their true consciousness. They propounded the attitude to question the socio-cultural practices in all societies that perpetuate domination over the masses. Their writings can be characterised as counter-culture aiming for the emancipation of the masses.

**ACTIVITY**

After studying the different leaders of communism do you think Karl Marx's stateless society is possible?

## Instrumental Marxism

Ralph Miliband is the main proponent of Instrumental Marxism. This school of thought takes an instrumental perspective of the state. The officials of the government and state come from the same background as the property or ruling class. They have personal contact with the members of the ruling class. Therefore the state is used as an instrument by officials and the members of the ruling class to perpetuate exploitation and to manufacture the ideological consent of the people for their hegemony.

## Structural Marxism

Structural Marxism propounded by the French philosopher Louis Althusser and Nicos Poulantza is a new school of Marxism that emerged in the 1970s. It repudiated the arguments of Instrumental Marxism. Althusser debated with Ralph Miliband and asserted that the class origin and position of the administrators is purely incidental and has no significance. Regardless of class origin of officials the state is bound to aid exploitation because of its objective or structural position in the economic system.

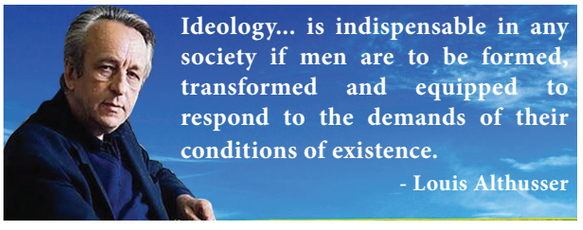
## Louis Althusser

Louis Althusser introduced further innovations in the Marxist concept of state. He argued that the capitalist State has two kinds of coercive instruments to safeguard itself.

### They are;

1. Repressive State Apparatuses
2. Ideological State Apparatuses.

The Repressive State Apparatuses include police, military, law courts etc. They are repressive as they punish the people when their orders are not obeyed. The Ideological State Apparatuses include family, schools, colleges, the media and trade unions. The State creates consent and support from people by ideological indoctrination, without violence.






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## 8.3 Socialism

Socialism is an ideology that supports public ownership of property and natural resources. It is fundamentally opposed to Liberalism that believes in the private ownership of property. There are many kinds of socialism like democratic socialism, evolutionary socialism, Fabian socialism, guild socialism etc. The terms 'Socialism' and 'Communism' are at times interchangeably used. But Karl Marx introduced a distinction by describing his socialism and ideology as scientific socialism and other prevailing kinds as Utopian socialism.

### A. Utopian Socialism

Many thinkers in the 19th century had questioned the negative consequences of liberalism. They strove to protect the interests of the working class. Robert Owen was an industrialist and a philanthropist. He started the cooperative movement and experimental socialist communities in England to realise betterment in the conditions of the workers. He associated the workers in the management of his industries and showed that profits can be increased by the joint endeavour between workers and employers. He appealed to the reason of the fellow capitalists to take into account the welfare of the working classes.Saint Simon, a French industrialist and thinker, argued that the welfare of the working class must also be taken into consideration for realising an efficient economy and effective society.

Charles Fourier, another French thinker, suggested the socialist reconstruction of the society by forming association of producers termed as phalanges. Both Saint Simon and Charles Fourier appealed to the conscience of the capitalists to improve the miserable state of the workers. These three notable theorists advocated ideas in favour of the workers in 19th century. Karl Marx described their thoughts as Utopian Socialism as they provided only a superficial understanding of capitalism and their alternative schemes are wishful and utopian in nature. He claimed that, in contrast his communism is based on scientific understanding of capitalism meriting the name of Scientific Socialism.

### B. Democratic Socialism

Democratic Socialism as the nomenclature indicates combines the two systems of socialism and democracy to provide a unique political and economic system to promote equality and freedom. It differs from Marxism in its conception of the State. It believes that the State is not an instrument of exploitation of workers by the capitalists. Rather, the State is an instrument of social welfare. The State must be made democratic. All classes in society own the State. Socialism can be established only through the State. It will not and should not wither away as Marxism predicted.

Democratic Socialism argues that socialism can be established through evolutionary and peaceful means. It's methodology of change characterized as gradualism or ballot box socialism. It dismisses revolutionary, violent struggle as unnecessary. Democratic Socialism argues for harmonious relationship among classes and class differences must



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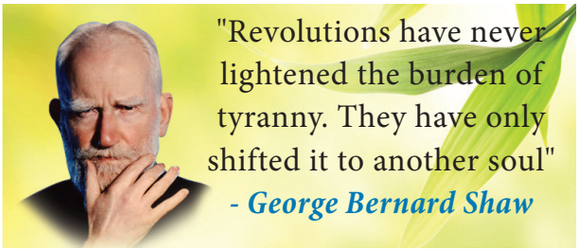
be solved through peaceful methods. The right to property need not be abolished. Rather for the sake of social welfare the right to property must be limited.

There are crucial differences between Marxism and Democratic Socialism. Many basic concepts of Marxism are either modified or rejected by Democratic Socialism. Nevertheless, both have certain similar goals like ending the exploitation of workers and promoting equality among people.

## C. Fabian Socialism

Fabian Socialism was the British version of socialism propagated by the Fabian Society from 1884. They chose the nomenclature Fabianism inspired by the great Roman General Fabius who was historically famous for adopting the military strategy of 'wait and hit hard at the right moment'. Sidney Webb and Sidney Oliver and H G Wells brought out the ideology of Fabianism. English playwright George Bernard Shaw was one of the greatest proponents of Fabianism.

As an ideology Fabianism attacked capitalism as an exploitative system and advocated a thorough reorganization of economy and politics of their contemporary period. It expressed its resolute support for democratic State. There are two important attributes of the Fabian State. Firstly, it should be based on decentralization of power. Secondly, it should be led by experts. Fabianism rejected Marxist call for the abolition of the State. It wanted the State to exist on the foundations of decentralized power and expert leadership to promote social welfare.




DO YOU KNOW?

Jawaharlal Nehru while in England, was inspired by Fabian Socialism.

Fabianism believed that socialism and democracy are complementary and supplementary to each other. They are to be appreciated as noble ideals of equality and justice are dearer to them. The Fabians did not advocate the abolition of private property. On the contrary, they supported existence of limited right to property governed by the principle of social welfare.

Fabianism as an evolutionary socialism rejected Communist revolutionary methods of change. It supported peaceful methods of change in society. The Fabian ideologues depended on persuasion tactics to realize socialism.

## D. Evolutionary Socialism

Evolutionary Socialism was initially advocated by Lassalle, one of the earliest leaders of the German Social Democracy tradition. The ideals of Evolutionary Socialism were formally expounded in the Gothe Programme in 1875, an important document in the evolution of socialism in Germany and Europe. Later on, Eduard Bernstein wrote the book 'Evolutionary Socialism' that attracted the many supporters like Jaures in France, Anseele in Italy, Bauer in Austria. It argues for an evolutionary change in capitalism. It believes that along with economic factors



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non-economic factors are also important to explain human life. Democratic Socialism and Evolutionary Socialism are inter-related. Marxism attacked Evolutionary Socialism as 'revisionism' and 'broker's view of socialism'.

## E. Guild Socialism

It is a kind of evolutionary socialism that emerged in Great Briton in the first two decades of the 20th century. The English political thinker and the founder of National Guilds League in England, D H Cole was the leading advocate of this brand of socialism. He wrote the book 'Guild Socialism: A Plan for Economic Recovery' to propagate the tenets of Guild Socialism. Guild Socialism criticized the exploitation of workers by the capitalists in the western world and arose as a protest ideology against capitalism

The word guild refers to the association of craftsmen and artisans of a particular profession in the medieval period in Europe. It acted as a source of mutual support, as a medium to pass on the professional knowledge to new entrants. Guild Socialism combines the medieval guild with modern socialism and envisages a political organization in which organized workers-based associations will discharge most of the political functions. This ideology believes that in any society there are numerous professions, trades and occupations and a member of one profession cannot represent the interests and welfare of members of another profession and therefore every profession must have its own organization. All such organizations must come together to form a governing council at the district, State and national-levels to administer the system. A national-level confederation of guilds will govern the country.

Guild Socialism does not call for the destruction of the State. It endows the State with certain common functions like providing education and health services to the people. Guild Socialism supported the principle of gradualism to bring about changes in the existing capitalist system. It abhorred the revolutionary methods of struggle associated with Marxism. All changes in society should be brought through peaceful and democratic means. This was a cardinal principle of Guild Socialism.

Though Guild Socialism was laudable in its commitment to the welfare of workers it was criticized as an impractical alternative. Its attempt to reduce the State to the position of an ordinary guild was not accepted by many political theorists who asserted that the weakened state of Guild Socialism cannot maintain law and order and protect its people from invasions and insurrections.

## F. Socialism in India

The Indian kind of socialism is known as Socialistic Pattern of Society that was adopted by the Indian State in the mid 1950s. Provision of all basic necessities to all people irrespective of caste, creed, religion, race and gender and elimination of poverty, inequality and illiteracy are the objectives of Indian Socialism. Parliament passed a resolution for the establishment of Planning Commission In 1950. The strategy of Five Year Plan was implemented



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to promote development with socialist content from 1951. We adopted a Mixed Economy where both private and public sectors were allowed to operate. We provided the commanding heights of the economy to the public sector to achieve development and equality.

The 42nd Constitutional Amendment Law introduced socialism as an official feature of the Preamble of our Constitution. The 44th Constitutional Amendment Act removed the Right to Property from the list of Fundamental Rights and made it an ordinary right in Part XII of the Constitution. The Directive Principles of State Policy in Part IV of the Constitution contains many provisions that are designed to promote socialistic objectives like Right to Work and avoidance of concentration of wealth in the hands of a few people. India had adhered to socialism from the year of independence to 1991 when we launched our New Economic Reforms that favored liberalisation, privatisation and globalisation.

**Differences between Communism and Socialism**

| Communism | Socialism |
|---|---|
| 1. Revolution is the mid-wife of change | 1. Evolutionary changes are more enduring and beneficial |
| 2. The state is an instrument of exploitation of the property-less class by the rich class and therefore should be abolished | 2. The state should not be abolished. It should be made more democratic and social welfare oriented. |
| 3. Class struggle is the fundamental force of change in human history. | 3. Violent class struggle is unnecessary. |
| 4. The right to private property must be abolished. | 4. The right to private property must be modified and limitations must be imposed for social welfare |
| 5. Historical materialism can explain human history. Economy alone drives human history. | 5. Historical Materialism is not adequate to explain human history. Apart from economy, other factors like culture, politics and religion are also important to explain human history |

## 8.4 Nationalism

### Meaning, Emergence and Spread

Nationalism refers to an ideology that promotes loyalty, affection and devotion to a particular nation. It creates attachments among people to a common homeland, a common language, ideals, values and traditions. It is based on a consciousness that exalts the nation above other categories and factors of social life. It strongly believes that the individual's loyalty and commitment to the nation should override their attachments with any group interest. Ernest Gellner, an important theorist wrote the book 'Nations



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and Nationalism'. He defined nationalism as "primarily a political principle that holds that the political and the national unit should be congruent". Nationalism is a modern concept. It emerged first in England and later on diffused to other countries of Western Europe like France, Germany aided by French Revolution.

The North American colonies revolted and formed their own nationalism in opposition to Europe. The African and Asian nations witnessed the emergence of a new kind of nationalism called post-colonial nationalism as a result of anti colonial struggle. Many factors contributed to the emergence and diffusion of nationalism throughout the world and the notable ones include capitalism, French Revolution, industrialization, World Wars and colonialism.

## Theories of Nationalism

There are many theories of nationalism that can be listed as

- Primordial Theory of Nationalism
- Socio-biological Theory of Nationalism
- Social communication Theories
- Marxian Theory of Nationalism
- Post-ideological Theory of nationalism

These theories can be divided into perennial theories and modernization theories. The first two theories can be categorized as perennial theories and the last three are designated as modernization theories.

## Primordial Theory of Nationalism

The word primordial means existing at or since the beginning of the world. The theory of primordialism considers that the people of a particular language, region, religion, race etc have developed a great intra-group affinity as they inhabit together since ancient period. They develop a strong ethnic identity and loyalty. They demonstrate the qualities of affection, sentiments and attachments. They may not exhibit ostensibly sufficient social interactions as part of their affinity. Nevertheless the primordial identities are powerful having even coercive impact on their lives. The primordial theory of nationalism is grounded on the concept of ethnic nationalism.

## Socio-biological Theory of Nationalism

This theory considers nationalism as emotional attachments of a group of people who identify with and agree on a common descent. The people consider themselves as belonging to an extended family. For them, the nation is the family writ large. Nationalism is a blend of both rationalism and irrationalism. It is a 'primitive mind with modern techniques'. As for as the roots are concerned nationalism relies on the past. But on its relations with other groups it is contemporary. Nationalism shows the face of ethno centrism towards the members of the group and xenophobia to the members of the other groups and nations.

## Post-Ideological Theory of Nationalism

A number of theorists propounded the post-ideological theories of nationalism. Anthony Giddens, Paul Brass and Michael Mann are the main authors of this theory. They differ greatly in their expositions about the origin and nature of nationalism but a fundamental similarity exists as all of them identify State as the



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most paramount factor in the evolution and operation of nationalism. They argue that though nations and nationalist sentiments existed in the medieval period, nationalism blossomed fully only in the modern period with the emergence of the modern State. Anthony Giddens argued that the advent of French Revolution engineered the birth and growth of nationalism all over Europe.

Michael Mann articulated that there are four sources of social power. They are 1) Ideological power 2) Economic power 3) Military power and 4) Political power. These four sources, often in combination acted historically to produce nationalism in different periods. The ideological factor in the form of religion promoted the birth of infant nations as in the case of England in the 16th century. The second phase saw the economic, especially commercial power contributing to the birth of nationalism in Western Europe. The military power influenced the origin of nationalism in the third phase and finally political power shaped the evolution of nationalism.

The central argument of these theorists belonging to post-ideological theory of nationalism is that the modern State along with commercial capitalism initially created and influenced the growth of nationalism.

## Communication Theory of Nationalism

Karl Deutsch and Benedict Anderson are among the important theorists of communication theory of nationalism. Deutsch defined nation as 'as a group of people who communicate more effectively and intensely with one another than with people outside the group'. He examined the data from different streams of knowledge like economics, history and demography and arrived at the conclusion that communication played the role of a parent in the birth of nationalism and nationality. The development of effective internal communication linked all people in the country and created the feelings of moral and political identity contributing to the emergence of nationalism.

Anderson described the nation as an imagined community and nationalism as its life force. He wrote the book 'Imagined Communities' and argued that the nation is an imagined community exiting only in the mind, imagination of the people. The members of a nation do not see, talk and know all the other members of the nation. Yet, they consider all other members as their own people.

When a cricket match is played, lakhs of spectators in the ground and people before the TV sets perceive each other as members of the same community sharing joy and sorrow at the victory and defeat of the team. Similarly the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier is another example for the concept of imagined community. The people do not know personally the soldier whose body is buried in the tomb but all compatriots have emotional attachment with the tomb.

Anderson contends that the capitalism and the discovery of the printing press played a crucial role in the emergence of nationalism. After the discovery of the printing press, books were printed and sold in large volumes in



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the vernacular languages of the period like English, French and German. Millions of the people for the first time in history had the opportunity of reading books in their own languages. As they read the same text and matter they developed in their minds the same thoughts and ideas leading to the creation of the idea of community in their minds. Capitalism helped in the process of creation of imaginary community. The capitalists wanted to earn profits and printed books in large quantities and sold them. The print capitalism (the combined forces of capitalism and printing press) contributed to the advent of nationalism in the minds of the people.

*"The fellow members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the images of the communion..... Communities are to be distinguished, not by their falsity or genuineness, but in the style in which they are imagined."*



***- Benedict Anderson***

## Marxist Theory of Nationalism

Marxism considers nationalism as an offspring of capitalism. Nationalism was created by capitalism to protect the exploitative capitalist order. Karl Marx contended that the ruling ideas are essentially the ideas of the ruling class that owns the means of production. The capitalist class possesses private property and indulges in the exploitation of the property-less class. Nationalism was conceived and created by the bourgeois class for its own benefit to numb the feelings of the workers. "Nationalist consciousness is quintessentially a false consciousness deliberately created perpetuate and legitimize class exploitation". Marx commented, 'The Proletariat has no fatherland'. He issued a clarion call in the 'The Communist Manifest' to the workers of the world to conduct revolution for ending capitalism and establishing socialism all over the world. He favoured internationalism and opposed nationalism. Michael Hechter, Miroslov Hroch and Tom Narim are the important Marxist theorists to analyze nationalism.

## Indian Nationalism

Indian nationalism emerged in the second half of the 19th century. All Indians began to think of nationalist feeling transcending their religious, regional, linguistic, ethnic differences and barriers. There are two kinds of factors responsible for the emergence of Indian nationalism. They are internal and external factors.

India has been a subcontinent of pluralism, pluralism in culture, religion, languages and traditions yet the Indians share a common history and have been accommodative of each other. This unique feature of India is defined as unity in diversity. In the past, India lacked political unity, yet Indians have nurtured a culture of peaceful co-existence.

Externally, the impact of British colonial rule facilitated the growth of Indian nationalism. The major forces are;

**A**. Colonialism carried out the political, administrative, economic and communication unification of India. India



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was a politically divided subcontinent in eighteenth century with over 700 different territories and rulers. The British unified them into one country. India followed village-based economy. Colonialism introduced modern economy and market system unifying the country economically. The British rule introduced modern means of communication like railways, telegraphs, uniform postal system-making transport and movement of people, goods and ideas easier and faster throughout the subcontinent. The newly unified India in the 19th century was conducive for the emergence of the modern political force called nationalism.

B. Western education was introduced in India by colonialism. Indians learned modern political ideas like liberty, equality, sovereignty in the classrooms and demanded that our motherland should be empowered with those modern political values.

C. English became the lingua franca of India during colonialism. India is a polyglot nation as it speaks more than a thousand languages and political unity was derailed. In this backdrop the English language became the language of communication among nationalists facilitating the growth of nationalism.

D. The 19th century witnessed the emergence of many socio-religious reform movements like Brahmo Samaj of Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Prarthana Samaj, etc. They strove to sow the seeds of renaissance and reform in Indian society. They also revived the memories of centuries-old great Indian civilization even while articulating the need for reforming Indian society and eliminating evils like sati, caste system and untouchability.

E. Racialism of British rulers and authorities created bitterness among Indian people. Indian nationalism grew as a protest movement against the racial humiliation of Indian people in the colonial period. They reacted against the concept of the White Man's Burden flaunted by the colonial rulers. It refers to idea that the white people are the most advanced and civilized race in the world and their mission in India is to civilize the Indian people. Indian leaders repudiated this racial myth and mobilized Indian people through the medium of nationalism.

F. The patently exploitative and flagrantly arrogant rule of the Governor General Lord Lytten spurred the faster emergence of Indian nationalism. He imposed discrimination on Indian vernacular press. Measures were taken to promote the import of goods from England and to restrict the export of Indian goods to England. No active relief was provided by the colonial government when millions of people suffered and even died under severe drought. There was an unnecessary war with Afghanistan in which thousands of Indian soldiers died. Indian nationalism grew as a result of anger against the maladministration of Lord Lytten.

G. Lord Ripon was a notable Governor General of India. Along with the Law Member Ilbert, the Governor General introduced a Bill granting powers to Indian judges to sit in the trial of cases involving Europeans. There was a huge protest organized by racist people and the government was forced to backtrack on its proposal. Indians were disappointed



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at the behaviour of Europeans in India. The Ilbert Bill controversy taught Indians the art and science of political agitation against the negative actions of the government. These factors created the conditions for the conclusive emergence of Indian nationalism in the 19th century that powered the Indian struggle for independence.

## Challenges before Nationalism

Nationalism faces a host of challenges in the contemporary period. Some of them are intra-national and many of them are extra-national in origin and theatre of operation. The paramount challenges can be listed as secessionism and globalisation.



**Nationalism is the last refuge of scoundrels**

***- Winston Churchill***

## Secessionism

Today's nationalism confronts several challenges, such as separatist tendencies, such nationalism and divisive trends. The Quebec separatism in Canada, Baluchistan movement in Pakistan, Uyghur issue in China, Catalan nationalism in Spain, Scottish movement in the UK are the living examples of nationalism being questioned and endangered by intra-national forces. Religious fundamentalism, resistance to over-centralism regional in balances, loss of faith in democratic resolutions of issues are some of the major threats fostering secessionism and endangering nationalism.

## Extra National Factors

Many extra-national and global factors imperil nationalism. Globalisation refers to the increasing integration of the world in terms of economy, trade, technology, culture and institutions. The contemporary world is dominated by the ascendency of globalisation process. The barriers between and among nations are being undermined by the onward march of globalisation. Economically, multi-national corporations have established their production and sale units across many countries and continents. They employ people belonging to different countries and exercise great influence in political domain also.

The establishment and functioning of World Trade Organization has hastened the process of globalisation. 'Barrier-free trade' is the fundamental slogan of the organization. It has created several agreements in the last two decades from 1995 the year of its inception and till now and has brought down the trade and tariff bottlenecks in international domain that partly contributed to the two world wars in the 20th century. Trade tariffs are closely related to nationalism and their elimination erodes the rationale of nationalism.

There is a large-scale migration of the skilled people propelled by the forces of globalisation. The highly educated and technologically qualified people migrate from Asian and African countries to the developed countries like the United States, Australia and countries of Western Europe. The educated and technologically advanced Indian and Chinese youth have migrated in large numbers to the United States in the age of globalisation.

The international regional organizations have eroded the stature of the States and their nationalism by promoting regional economic co-operation. The



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European Union consisting of 27 nations is the most advanced international regional organization that seeks to achieve economic, political and cultural integration. It has created European Parliament, European Council and European Commission. Euro is its currency and a large portion of the dream to create structures for the free movement of people, capital, service and goods has been realized. It has brought out the concept of 'Pooled Sovereignty' where the States share their decision-making powers with member-States of the regional organization foregoing their sovereignty, definitely a blow to the concept of nationalism and its cardinal feature of State sovereignty. Succinctly to state, the continent of Europe from being the cradle of nationalism has become the beacon of globalism.




The gradual emergence of the role and relevance of the United Nations indicates the march, though slow of the humanity towards a World Government that is a negation of nationalism and its political body the state.

Radical ideologies adhering to a different kind of internationalism pose a threat to the concept of nationalism. For example the Islamic State with its ideology of salafism (Pure Islam) rejected the concept of nationalism and nation States as anti-Islam. It established a caliphate in the captured territories in Syria and Iraq in 2014 and appealed to the global Islamic community to be associated with the international jihad to establish a global Islamic State or universal Caliphate.

The environmental problems like climate change, acid rain, ozone depletion have been caused by factors within the nation but the consequences and remedies are transnational and beyond the capacity of nationalism and national States to solve. The environmental conservation responsibility is a global challenge and numerous multi-lateral environmental conferences have been conducted by global community to discuss and provide solutions.

The growth of information technology especially internet, mobile phones and social media have left a profound impact on the concept of nationalism. It has sided with internationalism. The national State cannot effectively protect its nationalism and national interests as cross border transmission of ideas and networks become stronger.

The communication revolution has shrunk the world and the idea of the global village gains momentum that in the long run may jeopardize nationalism.

Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that nationalism continues to be a strong ideology in the 21st century too. The end of nationalism is not observable even in the distant horizon. The State still retains with itself the priceless feature of sovereignty. The ultimate deciding factor of internationalism is still nationalism and national interests. The BREXIT or exit of Britain from the



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European Union and the exit of United States from 2015 Paris Accord of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change on grounds of national interests reveal the relevance and resilience of the ideology of nationalism.

CASE STUDY

### Uyghur Separatism: Case Study

Xinjiang is a turbulent province of People's Republic of China located in the north western region of the country. Xinjiang means 'New Border' or 'New Frontier' in Mandarin language. It is a thinly populated and expansive semi-arid or desert territory and the indigenous inhabitants are called as Uyghur Muslims. The restive province deeply harbours grievances about the putative economic discrimination against them from the mainstream of Chinese government and economy. They argue that their province had witnessed a huge leap in Hans Chinese population from a mere 6 percent at the time of revolution to around 40 percent in the beginning of new millennium endangering their identity. The ethnic community also contends that the atheist communist government discriminates against them in the sphere of religion. They protest against the national government for enforcing regulations and restrictions on many aspects of religious life like telling people not to grow beard and enforcing penalty on taxi drivers who transport burqa-clad passengers. The Chinese government has adopted a stringent attitude towards terrorism in Xinjiang and its response is characterized by strike-hard policy and zero tolerance for terrorism and splitism (a favourite slogan of administration to describe secessionism).




## 8.5 Fascism

Benito Mussolini founded a totalitarian party, movement and ideology in the inter-war period and ruled Italy for more than two decades. Fascism in Italian language has its origin in the word Fasci meaning the bundle of rods bound with a red cord round an axe helve. In Italian tradition, this symbol is powerful as it was borne by the magisterial attendants before the Roman Consuls as symbol of political power. The bundle of rods signifies unity and strength and Benito Mussolini chose the nomenclature to arouse the emotions of the cadre.

The most important factor for the emergence of Fascism can be attributed to the socio-economic problems of Italy in the post-war period. Though it was on the side of the allied powers in the First World



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War, there was a huge popular disappointment that it did not receive benefits from the post-war settlement. The country suffered from numerous socio-economic problems like unemployment, inflation, stagnation and instability in industrial sector. All sections of Italy like workers, farmers, middle class and even rich classes faced war-related miseries. Benito Mussolini, being a dangerous demagogue, capitalized on this widespread discontent and conducted a 'March on Rome' in 1922. The political authorities in the face of fascist intimidation capitulated and Mussolini and National Fascist Party captured power without any violence.

DO YOU KNOW?

R.M. Mac Iver regards fascism as a movement of lower middle class.

## Basic Characteristics

Fascism preached and practiced aggressive nationalism. Fascism proclaimed that Italy is the greatest nation in the world and created hatred against other nations and people. Fascism pursued imperialism both in theory and practice. Its expansionist drive re-ignited colonial rivalries in Africa precipitating the Second World War. A Fascist writer Giovanni Gentile wrote the book 'Doctrine of Fascism'. He said that the Fascist State is a will to power and empire. The Roman tradition is here a powerful force. According to the doctrine of Fascism, empire is not only territorial or military or mercantile concept, but a spiritual and moral one. One can think of an empire, that is, a nation, which directly or indirectly guides other nations, without the need to conquer a single square kilometer of territory. Mussolini believed that the Fascist State is the 'Third Rome', a worthy successor to the First Ancient Roman Empire and second the Renaissance Rome that disseminated the seeds of renaissance throughout Europe.

Fascism extolled the virtues of war. Mussolini infamously stated 'war is to man what maternity is to woman'. It deprecated peace as a slogan of the weak and cowardly. Fascism sought to honour women as 'reproducers of the nation'.

Fascism rejected the idea of a limited State. It enthusiastically followed the concept of totalitarianism. Mussolini exclaimed, 'Everything within the State, nothing outside the State, nothing against the State". The State was empowered to create a radically new society. It exercised a complete control over the minds and actions of its citizens. Fascists provided a positive outlook to the concept of totalitarian State contending that the powerful authoritarian State is vital for the metamorphosis of Italy into a mighty nation and moulding of its citizens into politically-active brave people.

Fascism considered communism as its mortal enemy and endeavored hard to suppress it. The great Marxist thinker of Italy, Antonio Gramsci was jailed for 20 years. The official prosecutor in that case ended his peroration infamously demanding the judge 'we should stop this brain working for 20 years'". Fascism banned political parties, movements and writings supporting communism. Ideologically, it repudiated the Marxist



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concepts of State, society, class and revolution. As against the class-ridden society of communism, Fascism supported the organic unity of the State.

**DO YOU KNOW?**

The doctrine of fascism arose as a theory of reaction to democracy, socialism and communism. While democracy and communism represented progressive focus of the modern age fascism sought to promote a tendency in reverse direction.




Notable fact of the Fascist State is its nature as a Corporate State. Every profession, trade or occupation possessed its own corporate organisation. The national objectives of the State were given primacy over everything. The corporate State was promoted to remove any conflict between employers and employees. Mussolini firmly believed that the disputes between the business classes and labour should and could be removed through the system of corporate bodies.

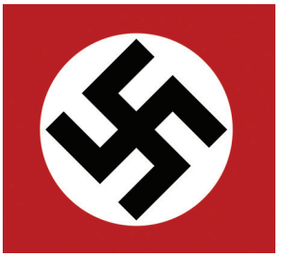
The workers were sternly told that strikes were illegal. They came to be affected greatly as wages were fixed low by the Fascist State and party. The corporate organizations suffered from corruption and inefficiency. The corporate State was the bedrock of Fascist economy but trampled upon the rights of the workers.

### Criticism

Fascism was the most powerful totalitarian State that mankind had ever faced. It was undemocratic. Fascism was attacked as an opportunistic, intellectually dishonest ideology as it changed frequently its core ideological principles and postures. Though Fascism and Nazism had been cruel collaborators in inflicting massive death and destruction on humankind in the Second World War, Fascism as an ideology was more coherent and therefore continues to be used as a term even in the 21st century to assail dictators and totalitarian States.

## 8.6 Nazism

Adolf Hitler was the architect of the totalitarian ideology of Nazism that ruled Germany in the inter-war period. Hitler formed the Nazi Party (officially National Socialist German Workers' Party) on the basis of a radical 25-point programme in 1920 that included nationalization of all major industries, forfeiture of war profits and freedom from the thralldom of money-lenders. Hitler was a wily demagogue and attracted all sections of German society by promising everything to everybody. He promised 'food to every belly, cloth to everybody, work to every hand and house to every family'. He arrived at the citadels of power without shedding blood by manipulating the parliamentary and constitutional processes in 1933.







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## Cause of Emergence

The major cause of emergence of Hitler and Nazism can be located in the controversial Versailles Treaty of 1919 that was signed in Paris in the post-war settlement process. Hitler resorted to heighten the emotions of the ordinary German people by condemning the economic, military, and political humiliation of the German nation by the victorious allied powers. He authored the book 'Mein Kempf' meaning 'My Struggle' containing his views and ideas about German nation.

## Core Features

Nazism believed in totalitarianism. It adhered to the historical slogan of the German philosopher Friedrich Hegel that 'the State is the march of God on earth'. Complete obedience was demanded from the citizens.

Nazism resorted to systematic glorification of war. Hitler said, 'War is eternal, war is universal. War is life. War is the origin of all things'. This war-mongering precipitated the Second World War and inflicted misery on mankind.

Perhaps the one of the most controversial principles of Nazism is its racial superiority and purity myth. Hitler considered the Aryan race as the most intelligent and superlative one calling it the master race of mankind. He detested other races living among or in the vicinity of German nation especially Jews and Slav races. A set of laws known as Nuremberg Laws were enacted in 1934 to preserve the racial purity of the Aryan race. Marital relations between Aryans and other impure races like Jews, gypsies were banned.

## Concentration Camps



## The Holocaust



Nazisim implemented a brutal campaign of persecution against the Jews that resulted in the killing of millions of people which is now observed as the Holocaust. Nazism suppressed Jews holding them responsible for the misery of German people. The disproportionately higher representation of Jews in the wealthy classes and their lower percentage presence in lower sections of society invited the wrath of the Nazi State. They were subjected to inhuman conditions in places of detention known as concentration camps.

Nazism was expansionist. Germany wanted to capture colonies so that the surplus population can be exported and it could overtake England as the colonial giant of the world.

Nazism rejected the prevailing political ideologies and systems like communism of Soviet Union, liberal democracy of the United States of America and internationalism of League of Nations.



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Nazism believed in hero worship. The idea that 'Germany is Hitler and Hitler is Germany' was instilled in the minds of the people. The concept of equality of human beings was rejected and Adolf Hitler was addressed as the "Fuehrer" (leader). In fact, Germany itself was called as "Fuehrer-State" meaning the 'Leader-State'.

## ACTIVITY

### Film Screening

Dear students, now you understand that Nazism inflicted genocide on innocent people. There are numerous films dealing with the atrocities of Nazism. For example, the film Schindler's List dealt with Nazi crimes and won many Oscar Awards. You can arrange the screening of the film in the classroom.




Nazism followed irrationalism and was vehemently against reason. Adhering to the philosophy of irrationalism it appealed to the emotions, sentiments and passions of the German people. Nazism recognized only single party rule. All other political parties were banned and suppressed. The party resorted to mobilization of the people. Organizationally, it was based on strict hierarchy principles with Hitler concentrating all power at the top.

Succinctly to state, Nazism is criticized for being totalitarian, irrational, racist and inhuman ideology. The defeat of Germany in the Second World War and the suicide of Adolf Hitler extinguished the Nazi party and ideology. The emergence of the liberal democratic political system in Germany based on competitive party system has denied scope for the revival of Nazism.

## Glossary

Laissez Faire : In French language it means Leave Alone. The state should leave the individual alone to pursue his life

Market Economy : Economy driven by demand and supply

Social Welfare State : The state that implements various social welfare programs

Perestroika : In Russian language it means Restructuring. The former President of USSR Mikhail Gorbachev introduced reforms to restructure the economy

Glasnost : In Russian language it means Openness. It refers to the political rights made available to the people of USSR by its President

New Deal : The economic reforms introduced in the United States by President Franklin D. Roosevelt to reform American economy

Democratic Centralism : The organizational principle of the communist party visualized by Lenin

Signification of Communism : The adoption of Communism to suit the conditions of China by Mao

Hegemony : Moral and intellectual leadership as provided by Gramsci



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Utopian Socialism : Socialism in the pre Marxian era where sympathy and compassion not science drove socialist ideas

Fabian Socialism : Socialism named after the Roman General Fabius who was historically famous for adopting themilitary strategy of 'wait and hit hard at the right moment'.

Guild Socialism : Socialism named after Guild that refers to the association of craftsmen and artisans of a particular profession in the medieval period in Europe.

Primordialism : The belief that the people of a particular language, region, religion, race etc. have developed a great intra-group affinity as they inhabit together since ancient period.

Imagined Communities : Benedict Anderson introduced the terms to argue that the nation is an imagined community exiting only in the mind, imagination of the people.

Proletariat : Karl Marx extensively used the word to denote the working class or industrial wage earning class

U.S.S.R : Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. It was the official name of the communist country consisting of fifteen republics including Russia

BREXIT : Exit of Britain from European Union

Globalisation : The integration of the world in economic and commercial domains

Fascism : In Italian language Fasci means the bundle of rods signifying unity and strength.

Concentration Camps : The places where the hapless Jews were imprisoned without trial, exploited and killed mercilessly by the Nazi army

## Evaluation

### I Choose the Correct Answer:

1. Which ideology considered the state as a necessary evil?

a) Negative Liberalism b) Positive Liberalism
c) Marxism d) Anarchism

2. Positive Liberalism viewed the state as an instrument of

a) Law and Order b) Exploitation
c) Social Welfare d) Revolution

3. Libertarianism was supported by

a) Nock b) Nozick
c) F.A. Hayek d) All the Above Thinkers

4. The concept of Hegemony was advocated by

a) Karl Marx b) Lenin
c) Antonia Gramsci d) Mao

A4XDR



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5. The perspective that the communist party must be the vanguard of the communist revolution was propagated by

a) Karl Marx
b) Lenin
c) Mao
d) Stalin

6. The major contribution of Mao to the communist ideology is found in the form of

a) Sinification of Communism
b) Historical Materialism
c) Surplus Value
d) None of the Above

7. Match the following

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. Bernard Shaw | A. Utopian Socialism |
| 2. Robert Owen | B. Evolutionary Socialism |
| 3. Eduard Bernstein | C. Guild Socialism |
| 4. D.H. Cole | D. Fabian Socialism |

a) 1-A 2-B 3-C 4-D
b) 1-D 2-A 3- B 4-C
c) 1-A 2-D 3-C 4-B
d) 1-C 2-B 3-D 4-A

8. Fabian Socialism was named after

a) Roman General
b) Russian General
c) English General
d) Indian General

9. Guild Socialism advocated

a) Modernized Medieval Guild System
b) State Performing Functions Like Education
c) Peaceful Methods of Change
d) All the Above

10. Who among the following is not a communist thinker?

a) Karl Popper
b) Karl Marx
c) Louis Althusser
c) Antonio Gramsci

11. The Indian variety of Socialism is

a) Syndicalism
b) Fabian Socialism
c) Socialistic Pattern of Society
d) Guild Socialism

12 .Who described Nationalism in terms of Imagined Communities?

a) Karl Deutsch
b) Benedict Anderson
c) Michael Mann
d) Anthony Giddens



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13 .Who said "The Proletariat has no fatherland".

a) Benedict Anderson b) Karl Deutsch
c) Aristotle d) Karl Marx

14. Who authored the book Mein Kempf?

a) Karl Marx b) Plato
c) Adolf Hitler d) Adam Smith

15. Nazism believed in

a) Aryan Racial Supremacy b) National Equality
c) Jewish Supremacy d) European Supremacy

16. Assertion: Gramsci advocated hegemony.
Reason: The developed nations can exercise control and domination over the developing counties.

(a) Both A and R are true and R is the correct explanation of A.
(b) Both A and R are true but R is not the correct explanation of A.
(c) A is true but R is false.
(d) A is false but R is true.

## II. Answer the following questions very shortly

1. What is meant by End of History?
2. Explain the term "Democratic Centralism"
3. Give a brief explanation about Neo Marxism
4. Name the leaders who implemented Libertarianism in their countries.
5. What is Instrumental Marxism?
6. Is nationalism based on Primordial Identities?
7. Explain the Ideological State Apparatuses.

## III Answer the following questions shortly

1. Identify the functions of the State in Positive Liberalism
2. What do you understand about the concept of Hegemony propounded by Gramsci?
3. Provide a detailed account of the contributions of Lenin to Communism
4. Compare and contrast Communism with Socialism

## IV Answer the following questions in detail

1. Analyze the ideology of Libertarianism
2. Examine the main characteristics of the ideology of Mao
3. Describe the salient features of Fabian Socialism
4. Enumerate the causative factors of Indian nationalism
5. Discuss the chief components of Fascist Ideology



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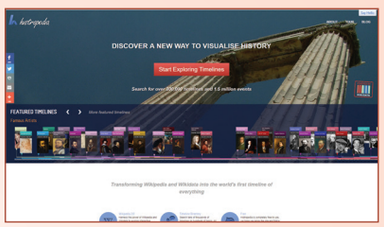
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## ICT CORNER

### Unit-8 Political Ideologies Part - I

Through this activity you will learn about different philosophies and the philosophers.




### Political Ideologies

**Steps**

1. Use the URL or QR code to open the "histropedia" page.
2. An activity window histropedia home page will open, click on search and type communism on the top right corner of the activity window.
3. It will show the timeline of the philosophy from the early beginning till is date on communism.
4. Explore the different philosophies and the philosophers by clicking the year on the timeline, you will understand philosophy developed during that period and the links related to that particular philosophy will be shown.

**Download Link**

*Pictures are indicative only.

*If browser requires, allow Flash Player or Java Script to load the page.

URL: http://www.histropedia.com/



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UNIT 9

# Political Ideologies – Part II



## Learning Objectives

- To understand the etymology, characteristics, kinds and thinkers of Anarchism
- To comprehend the meaning, emergence and diverse schools of Feminism
- To know a few measures of the Indian State to promote women empowerment
- To have knowledge about the emergence, thinkers and main characteristics of communitarianism especially its stand on Man, Society, Rights and Justice
- To grasp the meaning and thinkers of Post Modernism and also to examine its views on multiplicity of truth, particularism and identity politics
- To know the basic concepts like Deep Ecology, Shallow Ecology and Ecological Political Theory
- To identify a few important Ecological Movements of India

## 9.1 Anarchism

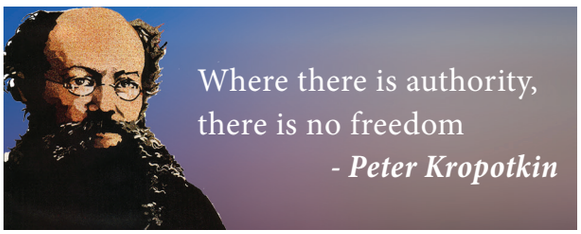
Anarchism is a political ideology that advocates the model of self-governed societies based on innate cooperative instincts of man. Etymologically, anarchism is derived from the Greek word 'anarchos' meaning 'without authority'. One of the earliest political philosophers of anarchism was Pierre Joseph Proudhon who famously described profit as theft.

Russian thinker Peter Kropotkin and Russian author Leo Tolstoy are among the other important advocates of this philosophy.

BOLP4

Anarchism as an ideology seeks to abolish all authority and emancipate man from the State, property and religion. It alternatively visualizes a society based on voluntary association of human beings.

Anarchism considers the State as an unnecessary evil. State is an evil because it suppresses rights and liberties of man hindering his moral development. Unlike the negative liberalists who called the State necessary even though it is an evil, anarchism rejects the State as an unnecessary institution. They argue that the state does not perform any useful function in society and, therefore, it must be exterminated immediately. Bakunin, another famous anarchist thinker asserted that if there is a State, there must be domination and subjugation of one class by another class and therefore all States must vanish.






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**Anarchy**

(Noun) a theory holding all forms of governmental authority to be unnecessary and undesirable and advocation a society based on voluntary cooperation and free association of individuals and groups

Anarchy is not chaos
Anarchy is not lawlessness.

Aanrchy is based upon the principle of self-ownership.

The idea that you are the exclusive controller of your own body and life.




Anarchists are peaceful people who reject initiated aggression against anyone without exception.

Anarchism does not champion the cause of disorder and disunity. On the contrary, it claims to embody order and unity. Human beings are naturally provided with cooperative instincts. They can lead a life of happiness and fulfilment guided by the instinct of voluntary cooperation. But the artificial institution of the State suppresses the cooperative instincts of man. It endangers freedom and rights of man. Anarchism aspires to destroy the State and implant in its place a new system of voluntary associations. Every man will voluntarily and enthusiastically participate in public life. Anarchy does not mean a society without rules, rather without rulers.

Anarchism believes in the principles of self-determination and self-ownership. Every human being has the right to self-determination and can decide his or her life based on his wishes and freedom. Similarly, every person has complete ownership of himself or herself and this is the most basic form of property. The State threatens these two important principles and therefore should be discarded.

Anarchism opposes not only State but also other social institutions like family and religion criticizing them to be responsible for the abominable exploitation of man. Some anarchists equate property with tyranny and condemn it as source of crime. Anarchism is similar to Marxism in demanding the abolition of the State. But while Marxism believes that the State will wither away after the establishment of socialism, anarchism demands the immediate destruction of the State.




Gerard Casey supported anarchism in the 21st century by stating that not only the totalitarian and repressive ones all states are criminal organizations. A new system of Stateless societies is the cherished goal of anarchism.

There are different kinds of anarchism. They can be categorised as philosophical anarchism, socialist anarchism, revolutionary anarchism and libertarian anarchism. However, not all of them demand the abolition of the State.



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The libertarian anarchism wants to restrict the State to the minimum possible extent. Still, a majority of anarchist philosophers advocate the abolition of the State.

Philosophers, critical of anarchism, opined that anarchism is too optimistic of the human nature. Their assumptions are plainly naive. They are oblivious to the ground realities especially the selfish side of human beings. Not all human beings are instinctively cooperative. Moreover, as man is not only rational but also emotional at times strongly influenced by emotions a cooperative individual may become selfish. A world or society without the State will prove to be a source of immense misery as issues like terrorism, cybercrime, and environmental pollution will spiral out of control. The safety of the world becomes fragile in the absence of the State as extremist groups will gain access and control over nuclear weapons and herald death and destruction.

## 9.2 Feminism



❖ Feminism is the radical notion that women are people.

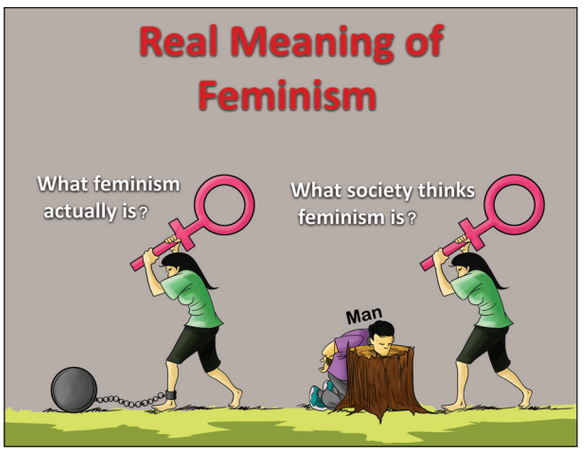
❖ A feminist is anyone who recognizes the equality and full humanity of women and men.

*- Cheris Kramarae*

Feminism refers to the movements and ideologies that strive to promote empowerment of women so that they achieve equality with men. Feminist schools of thought emerged on the horizon of Modern Political Theory from the last decades of the 19th century. It was propelled by scientific realisation about the innate capability and equality of women with men

There are different feminist schools of thought that can be broadly categorized as;

A. Liberal Feminism
B. Marxist Feminism
C. Radical Feminism
D. Eco Feminism
E. Post-Colonial Feminism




### A. Liberal Feminism

The feminist movement, in its infant stage in the late 19th century, advocated equal political rights for women. It believed that the subordination of women in society could be rectified with electoral enfranchisement of women and endowment of other political and economic rights. The State was considered to be a gender neutral institution. Therefore granting of voting rights to women will culminate in the fruition of women development. The greatest feat of liberal feminism lies in winning voting rights to women in the democratic western countries.



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## B. Marxist Feminism

It placed gender inequality and exploitation in the origin of private property from the second stage of human history called Ancient Slave Society. Friedrich Engels, a close associate of Karl Marx, wrote the book "The Origins of The Family, Private Property and the State". He argued that subordination of women emerged with the rise of private property as men controlled the property and used it to establish their domination over women. The struggle for women liberation should take place simultaneously with the struggle for liberation of the working class. Marxist revolution will lead to the destruction of capitalism and the establishment of communism where there will be no private property. There will be equality among not only men but also between men and women

## C. Radical Feminism

There are no innate differences between men and women and women came to be subjugated deliberately for the purpose of exploitation, is the ideological crux of Radical Feminism.

Simone de Beauvoir, the famous radical feminist and author of the work "The Second Sex", asserted that "A woman is not born but made". Both woman and man are endowed with same capacities when they are born. Male-dominated society and culture known as patriarchy creates through indoctrination the inequality between them. The differences in gender are created artificially and unjustly. We can understand this assertion when we note the enormous differences in the status and position accorded to women among the cultures of the world.

Carole Hanisch, a famous Radical Feminist, brought out the most important slogan of Radical Feminism - Personal is Political - to reveal patriarchal domination over women. The liberal politics divides the activities of humankind into personal and public domains. The personal domain is considered to be a sphere of personal life where family operates. It is believed that there is no scope for conflict and domination in this sphere and only love, affection and empathy are relevant. Women live in the personal sphere and therefore there is no need for political rights, power and authority for women.

But the public domain is a sphere of struggle, competition and therefore politics. This domain is dominated exclusively by men. Therefore, men alone participate in politics and possess political power.

Radical Feminism repudiates the above liberal exposition and asserts that private and personal domain is also subject to politics. The relationship between man and women in personal domain is not always characterised by the considerations of love and affection. Even here struggle, competition and domination operate. For example the relations between husband and wife and a brother and sister are not always friendly and affectionate.

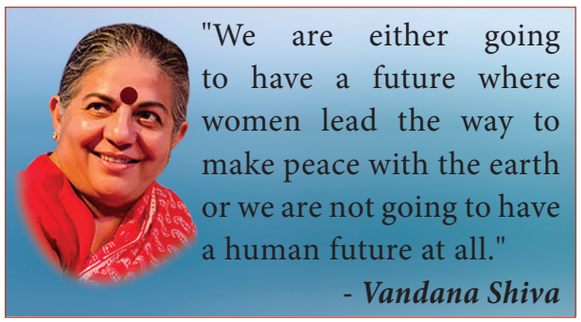
Struggle and competition can also be found in them. Therefore, we should speak about politics, women rights, gender equality in personal domain too. Radical Feminism argues for a revolutionary re-ordering of society and politics to implant gender equality in personal and public domains.



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## D. Eco Feminism

Eco Feminism provides a feminist interpretation of nature. The two ideologies of Feminism and Environmentalism are fused in Eco Feminism. It argues that patriarchy is the root cause of environmental degradation and women exploitation. The important architects of Eco Feminism are Francoise D'Eaubonne, Rosemary Ruether, Ynestra King and Vandana Shiva.



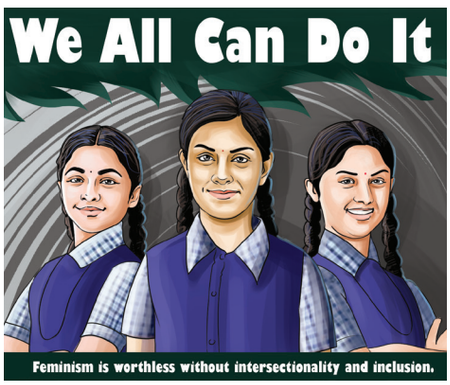

There are two schools of thought in Eco Feminism. They are Radical Feminism and Cultural Feminism. Radical Feminism asserts that patriarchy or male-dominated system subjugates and degrades both environment and women. Male domination of society must be eliminated to realise the twin objectives of environmental preservation and women empowerment.

The other school, Cultural Feminism argues that women are closer to nature as both are food providers and play indispensable role in biological reproduction. The environmental degeneration affects women more than men. The division of work between the two genders leaves women more disadvantaged in the age of environmental crisis. They suffer more as in male dominant societies they are given the responsibilities directly linked with nature.

## E. Post-Colonial Feminism

Post-Colonial Feminism arose as an ideology and movement in the 1980s in the countries of Asia and Africa that were formerly enslaved in colonialism. Audre Lorde contributed to the emergence of Post-Colonial Feminism in one masterpiece essay "The Master's Tools Will Never Dismantle the Master's House". Gyatri Spivak, Chandra Talpade Mohanty and Ethel Crowley are important Post-Colonial Feminists.

Audre Lorde *said, "To imply, however, that all women suffer the same oppression simply because we are women is to lose sight of the many varied tools of patriarchy. It is to ignore how those tools are used by women without awareness against each other... As an African-American woman in White patriarchy, I am used to having my archetypal experience distorted and trivialised."*



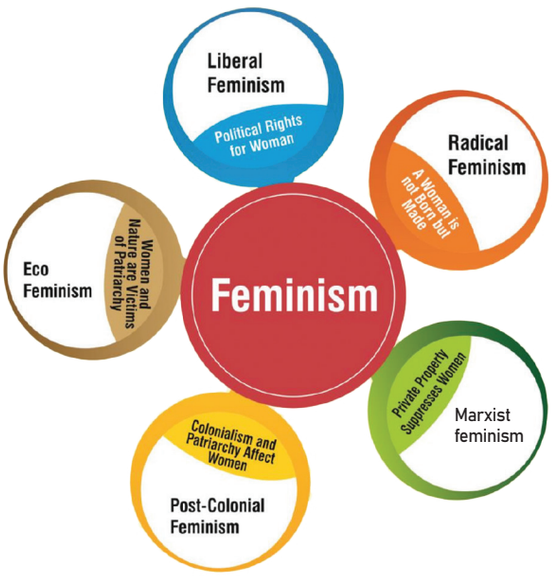

It revolts against the western feminist movements' attempts at universalizing their experience. Women do not constitute a single and homogenous category as they are differentiated by a host of factors like class, race, religion and country. The mainstream feminism suffers from several deficiencies when applied to non-western societies The Post-Colonial Feminism criticises the negative impact of western



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colonialism on the social economic and political universe of women in Asia and Africa, a realty that was ignored and never experienced by the mainstream feminist thought. They had experienced racism, slavery, forced migration and numerous other evils that make them different from the Western women.

It also condemns the projection of the western women as educated, politically-conscious, modern and empowered and non-western women as passive, powerless victims. Post-Colonial Feminism argues that women in these societies are victims of double colonisation represented by the exploitative forces of colonialism and patriarchy. Post-Colonial Feminism castigates the visible indifference of the mainstream post colonial political thought to the peculiar sufferings of the women in their societies and countries.




## Indian State and Women Empowerment

Indian State had implemented certain crucial measures for protecting women. The 73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendment Acts reserve one-third of the seats in panchayat and urban local bodies for women. The implementation of reservation in elected local bodies in the last two decades has led to political empowerment of women. The Supreme Court of India had provided 'Vishakha Guidelines' to protect women from sexual harassment in working places. Accordingly, the Union government enacted The Sexual Harassment of Women at Workplace (Prevention, Prohibition and Redressal) Act, 2013. The Act establishes Internal Complaints Committee and Local Complaints Committee to provide redressal to women seeking justice from sexual harassment in their workplace. Parliament had earlier passed The Protection of Women from Domestic Violence Act, 2005 to provide justice and protection from violence within their homes. In conclusion, one can say gender equality paves way for empowerment of the half of humankind.



**DEBATE**

There is a long standing demand for women reservation in Parliament and State Legislatures. The struggle is for reserving one third of the seats for women. Arrange a comprehensive debate in the class on the pros and cons of women reservation proposal.






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## 9.3 Communitarianism

Communitarianism emerged as a political doctrine during the 1980s when Michael Sandel authored the book 'Liberalism and the Limits of Justice'. He criticised the libertarianism and its thinker John Rawls in that work. The other political scientists supporting communitarianism include Alisdair MacIntyre, Michael Walzer, Charles Taylor, Amitai Etzioni nd Will Kymlicka. Though the British Socialist Goodwyn Barmy coined the word "communitarian" in the 1840s, the doctrine of communitarianism emerged only towards the end of the 20th century




In short Balancing the Rights and Responsibilities of Individual with Rights and Responsibilities of Community.

Communitarianism rose as a revolt against the prevailing two ideologies of libertarianism and Marxism. It criticised the thinkers of libertarianism for their over emphasis on individuals. It rejected Marxism for being committed to class-based action and analysis. However, the opposition was directed against Libertarianism that had become the ruling philosophy of mankind especially in the western world.

### Importance of Community

Communitarianism argues that man is not born in a vacuum. He is a social and cultural animal. Individuals are born in a community or culture and therefore inherit it. Their beliefs, behavior, skills, capacities, attitudes etc are predominantly influenced by the community. Every individual builds on these commonly available and acquired capacities to make a mark in his or her life time. Man is not an atomistic entity existing alone but is embedded in the community. The individual is not 'unencumbered self' (completely free) from society but 'situated self' (rooted and planted) in society

For example a child born in Tamil Nadu speaks Tamil language fluently and not Japanese where as a child born in Japan speaks Japanese fluently and not Tamil. A man living in a community where computer technology is already available in developed form may become a skilled person in software domain. On the contrary, a man living in a remote community that has not witnessed the growth of information technology will not have adequate software skills.

### Concept of State

Communitarianism considers the State as a positive instrument that promotes the idea of the common good. The concept of common good is present in every community. The community develops a set of goals, practices and measures that collectively promote the fundamental welfare of all. The State should promote the realisation of the common good and act against the activities that promote individual good in contradiction with common good. It should protect and promote those cultural traditions of the community that symbolise and sustain



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the common good. Communitarianism supports a State that is democratically elected and constituted. They strongly aspire for a State that is responsible and responsive to demands of the community.

## Concept of Rights

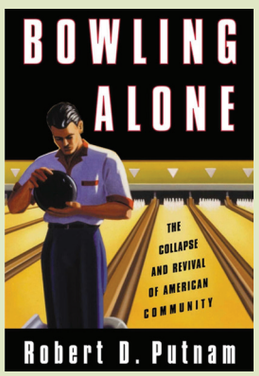
Communitarianism believes that rights and responsibilities are intimately related. It rejects the excessive reliance of libertarianism on the concept of individual autonomy and rights. Instead, it focuses on a new concept of rights where common good is given importance. They strongly contend that the common good of the community has supremacy and priority over the rights of the individuals as it is prior to them. Every person may have his own conception of good but such individual good must be subordinated to the idea of common good. A new concept of positive rights is propagated where in a wide variety of rights like State-subsidised education, State-subsidized housing, safe environment, universal healthcare are demanded for the community members. A synthesis between rights and responsibilities is advocated by certain thinkers who belong to Responsive Communitarianism.

## Concept of Justice

Communitarians attack John Rawls and other libertarian thinkers on the concept of justice. They reject universalism of libertarianism, their argument that the concept of justice is universally applicable as it is based on reason. On the contrary, communitarians articulate the particularistic view of justice. Every community develops its own notions of justice and therefore it differs from society to society.

Therefore, we can conclude that Communitarianism as a political doctrine believes in the indispensability of community for the development of the 'situated and embedded man'. The positive State should concentrate on the provision of positive rights to community and its people so that common good can be preserved and promoted. But Libertarianism still criticises Communitarianism as preparing the path for the emergence of collectivism and authoritarianism.

**DO YOU KNOW?**



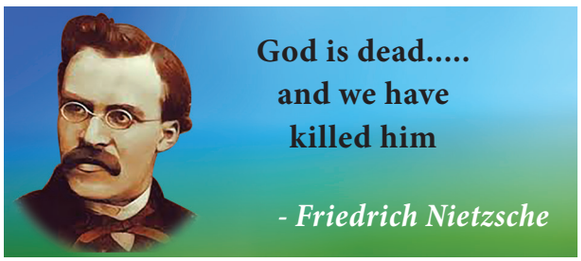

Robert D.Putnam played a crucial role in the emergence of communitarianism. He analysed the game of Bowling in America. In his analysis he found that in the earlier days, a large number of Americans played the game. They built social networks, knowledge and skills (Social Capital) by constantly interacting with other people in the community while playing the game. But gradually people lost interest in the game with the arrival of new forces and facilities like television, internet, etc. As people spent more time in their technology-driven gadgets, their social interaction with other members came down leading to erosion of social capital. Ultimately, the quality of democracy also suffered as people have limited social interactions and public engagement. The political apathy of people eroded the strength of democracy.



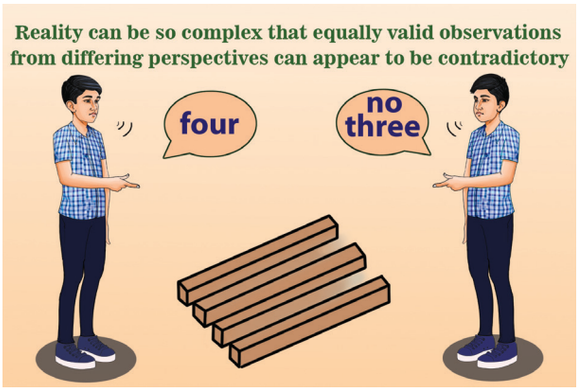
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## 9.4 POST MODERNISM

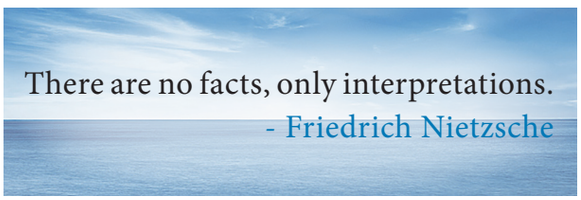
Postmodernism refers to a variety of ideas that criticize modernity and emerge as its successor and rival. The major proponents of Postmodernism include Fredrick Nietzsche, Jean-Francois Lyotard, Michel Foucalt and Jacques Derrida. Modernity has dominated the political theory in the last 200 years. Rationality, universalism, reductionism are among the dominant principles of modernity. Postmodernism challenges these principles and advocates alternatives. It emerged in the last three decades in western political theory.




Fredrick Nietzsche is called Father of Post Modernism. He famously said "God is dead". Modernity believes in universalism and reductionism. It explains all the phenomena through a single factor or one ultimate truth. For example, Karl Marx said human life depends on economy and all problems can be solved by eliminating the right to private property. Similarly Fredrick Hegel, the German philosopher argued that the world is nothing but the embodiment of World Spirit. Postmodernism, in contrast, advocates that the world and our life is complex and cannot be explained by a single factor. A host of factors like culture, language, religion, politics, and economy decide human life and this world.




Postmodernism believes that truth is not singular but plural. There are multiple versions of truth. For example, take any one leader or historical event. Different people will talk about the leader or the event differently. One person may call that leader a visionary. Another may call him a demagogue. Yet another may have a different perspective. All may be right in their own perspective and interpretation. The world is not constituted only by the two colours of black and white. There are more colours positioned in a continuum in between black and white.

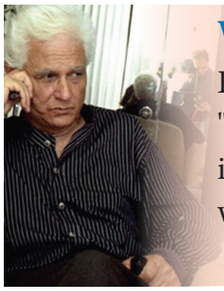



Jacque Derrida was a French philosopher who advocated an innovative Post- modern concept called deconstruction. He provides deconstruction as an approach to understand meanings and texts. There are multiple meanings in a text and as human language is not so developed it may not be possible for the author of a text to communicate all his thoughts and the receiver or reader of the text may understand the meanings differently.



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Multiple interpretations of a text exist and therefore Derrida suggests deconstructing the meanings of the text.



**What is Deconstruction?**

Explained as a strategy "Rules for reading, interpretation and writing."

*Jacques Derrida*

Postmodernism opposes the universalism of modernity. In contrast it supports Particularism. It argues that the parts are more important than the whole. For example, modernity pays attention to universal theory of rights or welfare. Post- modernism focuses on the rights of particular social groups like women, tribal and the like, who are less privileged. Modernity devotes attention to systemic change but Postmodernism focuses on emancipating or changing the condition of specific social groups.

Identity politics is interlinked with post - modernism. Identity Politics refers to the activities of specific social groups, usually the weak, vulnerable and under-privileged communities who organise themselves under the banner of their own caste, race, and gender to resist domination of other groups over them. The members of these groups call themselves 'we' and oppose the activities of others, 'they'. Postmodernism and Identity Politics promote the empowerment of local, specific communities.

Postmodernism has been criticised by many thinkers and scholars. In fact, Alan Kirby, a British cultural critic, said Postmodernism is dead as its cultural period is over and the world has entered digi-modernism or the Era of Digital Modernism.




**Protests in the United States of America**

## 9.5 Environmentalism

The advent of modern science and technology driven development had devastated the planet's environment precipitating several ecological crises like ozone depletion, climate change and acid rain. Environmentalism arose as a protest movement and ideology against the perilous destruction of the earth. We have only one habitable planet in the entire universe and there is no alternative home and therefore protecting the environment assumes paramount significance



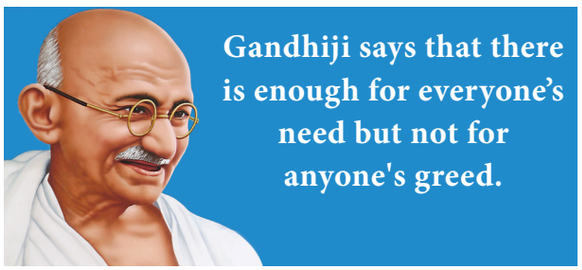

There exists a profound debate in philosophy about the relationship between man and ecology, development



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and environment. The Deep Ecology versus Shallow Ecology controversy is the central point of discussion in the debate.



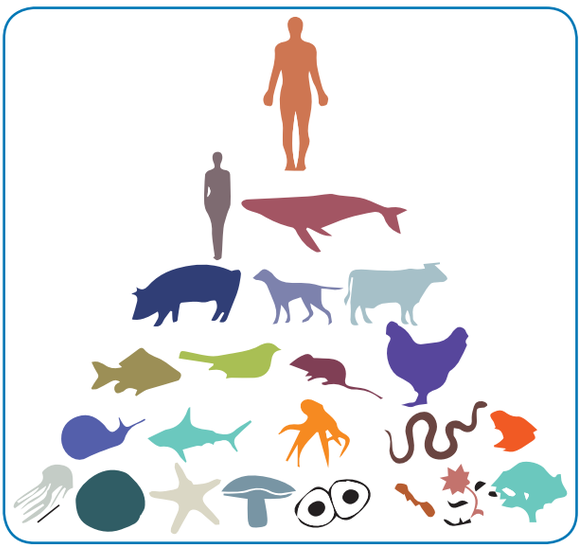




## Shallow Ecology

Shallow Ecology refers to an ideology that approaches ecology through an anthropocentric and utilitarian outlook. American philosopher Anthony Weston is the greatest supporter of shallow ecology. It considers the human beings as fulcrum of life in this world. It accords the position of centrality and supremacy to man in ecology. It adopts an instrumental value of nature meaning that the ecology is important only as it useful to human welfare. The non-human biological forms and inanimate world are nothing but natural resources for human life.

It looks for technological solutions for any environmental problem. If pollution imperils environment then alternative energy sources that are renewable and environment friendly should be developed. It believes in the strategy of three R's - reduce, reuse and recycle.

## Anthropocentrism



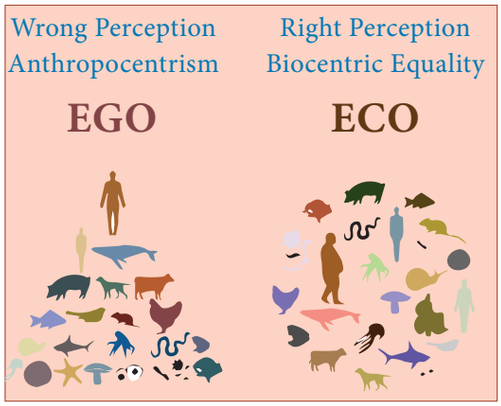



## Deep Ecology

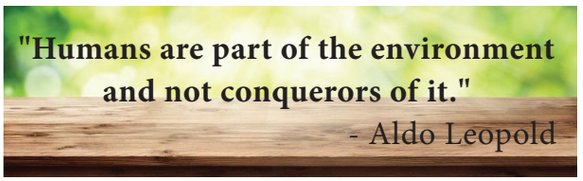
Norwegian ecological philosopher Arne Naess coined the term Deep Ecology in 1973. He was influenced by Rachel Carson and Mahatma Gandhi. Deep ecology theory argues that the planet Earth is constituted by three interlinked parts of the human beings, non-human biological forms and the inanimate objects and forces. The human beings are one among the millions of living organisms in this world. They do not possess any superiority over other organisms. Anthropocentrism, that is, the belief in the centrality and supremacy of human beings in this world must be discarded.



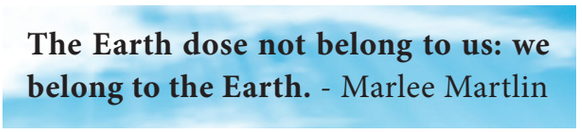
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The non-human biological forms also possess intrinsic value, inherent worth and identity. It believes in biocentric equality. The human beings need to satisfy the vital needs by making careful use of this biodiversity. Preservation of biodiversity is indispensable. The interference of human beings on the domain of the non-human sphere of the planet so for, is destructive, excessive and unacceptable. There is an urgent need to limit the population of the world as the current population explosion has injected enormous stress on the ecology.




We should change our technology, philosophy, economy and politics so that ecological crises can be rectified and averted in the future. The human beings are 'ecological selves' the materialistic and consumerist life style must be changed and a new ecologically-sensitive social and economic order must be created. We should reduce our 'ecological footprint' by adopting a meager resources based life style. As the nomenclature indicated deep ecology asks deeper questions of how and why examining philosophically the impact of human life as one part of the ecosphere on other components.




| Tenets of Deep Ecology vs Shallow Ecology | |
|---|---|
| **The Eight-Tenets of Deep Ecology Paraphrased** | **The Eight-Tenets of shallow Ecology** |
| 1. All creatures on Earth have intrinsic value. | 1. All creatures on Earth have value only for their usefulness to humans. |
| 2. The whole diversity of living beings. simple as well as complex. contributes to life's richness. | 2. Complex creatures (ie humans) are more important than simpler ones. |
| 3. Humans should use other beings only to satisfy their basic needs. | 3. Humans should always use all resources for their material and economic advantage. |
| 4. The health of non-humans depends on decreasing the number of humans. | 4. The human population can increase without restraint. |
| 5. Human interference with the world is excessive and worsening. | 5. Technological progress will solve all problems. |
| 6. Human policy (economics. technology and ideology) must change radically. | 6. Materialism and consumerism should govern human society. |
| 7. Quality of life is more important than standard of living. | 7. The standard of living should keep rising. |
| 8. Every human who believes in these points must work for change. | 8. Leave environmental problems for the experts to solve. |

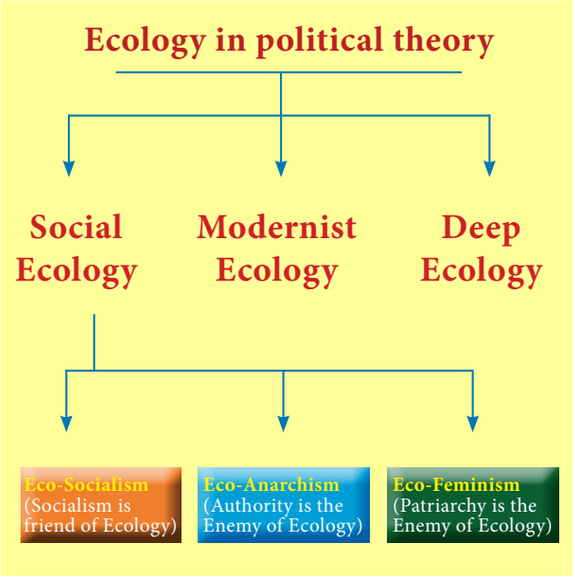


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## Political Theory and Ecology

The words environment and ecology are synonymous. Andrew Heywood, the noted political scientist classifies ecology in political theory into three kinds

- Social Ecology
- Modernist Ecology
- Deep Ecolog y




### A) Social Ecology

The term 'Social Ecology' was coined by American philosopher Murray Bookchin. It advocates radical changes in the existing social and political structures to make them ecologically correct. There are three distinct trends in Social Ecology

1 Eco-socialism
2 Eco-anarchism
3 Eco-feminism

### 1. Eco-Socialism

Rudolph Bahro in his book 'From Red to Green' supported eco-socialism. It considers capitalism as the enemy of ecology. By breeding materialism and consumerism capitalism has inflicted horrific destruction on the environment. The unlimited right to private property, the cardinal principle of capitalism endangers the precious health and wealth of the planet's ecology. The nature is seen only as a commodity to be traded in the market and consumed by the man. Eco-socialism propounds a new approach in politics that combines socialism and ecologism. Socialism alone can nurture environment. The state must be imparted with a socialist content and direction to end the evil of capitalism and to protect environment

### 2. Eco-anarchism

Murray Bookchin advocated eco-anarchism. It considers authority as the enemy of ecology. The emergence of authority in human history in the form of State, religion and even family had led to the domination of man over man. The same forces have produced the subjugation and domination of nature by man. Man is a voluntary animal and his original instinct is the cooperative instinct.

In the ideal society, man establishes various associations based on voluntary cooperation to achieve development. But artificial forces of State, religion, private property have subverted the system and created structures of domination and subjugation. They have also wrought havoc on ecology. Therefore, we should create a new society based on voluntary instincts to protect man and ecology

### 3. Eco-feminism

Carolyn Merchant in the book 'The Death of Nature' propounded eco-feminism. This perspective considers patriarchy as the enemy of ecology and



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feminism as its beloved friend. Patriarchy means domination of man over women. Eco-feminism argues that patriarchy created the domination of man over not only women but over nature also. Patriarchy follows instrumental reason whereby both women and ecology are seen merely in terms of use value, as objects to be exploited and not as subjects endowed with life and intrinsic worth. Eco- feminism demands gender and ecology sensitive politics so that a new world of justice and sustainability can be established.

### B) Modernist Ecology

Modernist ecology is synonymous with shallow ecology. It attempts to promote a new harmony between liberalism and ecology. The liberal tenets and approach should be reformed so that the menace of ecological destruction can be avoided. It advocates a new 'enlightened anthropocentricism' where man, being the centre of the planet must consider the long-term interests of humanity and ecology in his developmental activities and should not be driven solely by short-term interests. Modernist ecology believes in the concept of "inter-generational justice" and argues that we did not inherit the earth from our previous generations but borrowed it from the future generations of humanity and therefore, there is a moral responsibility to protect and preserve the earth for their life in the future. The concept of 'sustainable development' is a basic characteristic of modernist ecology. It argues that 'getting richer faster' should not be the goal of human world rather 'getting richer slower' should be its guiding approach.

### C) Deep Ecology

It advocates a new style of politics, policy and political attitude towards nature. It argues for a fundamental shift in the relationship between politics and nature. Politics must understand, respect and protect the element of inter connectedness found in ecology linking the human beings, other biological forms and the inanimate world.

## Ecological Movements in India

The destruction of ecology through modern development had resulted in the emergence of many protest movements all over the world. India also has witnessed many ecological protest movements seeking to protect environment and biodiversity. We shall study four such important ecological movements of India

A Bisnoi Movement
B Chipko Movement
C Appiko Movement
D Save Silent Valley Movement

### A. Bisnoi Movement

Bisnoi non-violent struggle was a successful ecological movement in the 18th century in Rajasthan. Bisnoi is a religious sect in the Thar desert of Rajasthan founded by Guru Jambeshwar in medieval period. Bisnoi in Hindi means 29 and the sect came to be named after the 29 cardinal principles the founder expounded. The sect promoted a socio-religious belief system in perfect harmony with ecology creating a lush green local ecosystem in the desert.



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The maharaja of Jodhpur desired to construct a palace in the 18th century and sent the army to the Khejarli village to cut the acacia trees in the locally nurtured forest. The ecologically- conscious local population protested against the cutting of trees. An elderly woman named Amrita Devi was in the frontline of the protest and when the army refused to desist from cutting the trees she hugged the trees asking the army to cut her head instead of cutting the trees. The army remorselessly cut her head off and concerned but determined villagers came forward in a line to offer their lives. A total of 363 people sacrificed their lives for protecting the forest. Ultimately the maharaja after knowing about the terrible events in the village recalled the army and offered his apologies for the massacre. He also officially designated the area as a protected forest. Bisnoi Khejarli movement is perhaps, the first greatest ecological movement of modern India.

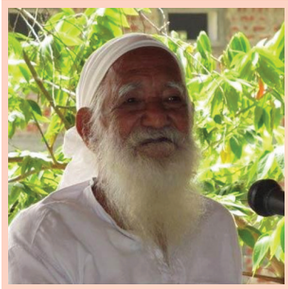
**Quotable Quote**

"A chopped head is cheaper than a felled tree."

## B. Chipko Movement

Chipko movement was a non-violent popular, ecological movement organised by villagers in the mountain state of Uttarkhand in 1973. 'Chipko' in Hindi means to hug. The agitators of Chipko movement embraced the trees to protect them from being cut thereby earning the name Chipko movement. The contractors of sports goods company began to cut the trees in the Alknanda valley of the Uttarkhand state (part of Utter Pradesh at that time) after getting government clearance. The enraged local population, especially women protested in a non-violent manner by embracing the trees and prevented the contractors. The organisational leadership was provided by an NGO called Dasholi Gram Swarajya Mandal (DGSM) that was formed a few years back by a noted social activist Chandi Prasad Bhatt.

The famous environmentalist Sundarlal Bahuguna joined the agitation and appealed to the union government to ban logging in the Himalayan forests. The large-scale participation of women was a significant and laudable feature of the Chipko movement. Many women leaders like Dhoom Singh Negi, Bachni Devi played a prominent role fighting for forest rights of the people. The movement gradually spread across many parts of the Himalayan Mountains forcing the government to officially ban logging from 1980. The movement symbolises the successful fusion of three major ideologies of feminism, environmentalism and Gandhism




'Ecology is permanent economy'
***- Sundarlal Bahuguna***

## C. Appiko Movement

The Appiko movement is an ecological protest movement in Uttar Kannada district of Karnataka in the



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Western Ghats. It was inspired by the Chipko Movement and 'appiko' in Kannada means to embrace. The Uttar Kannada district falls in the Western Ghats. The launch of many developmental projects in the district has precipitated deforestation reducing the forest cover of the district from a massive 81 percent in 1950 to an alarming 24 percent in 1980. The ecologically-conscious people launched the movement with three-fold objectives of conservation of remaining tropical forests, afforestation of the denuded forests and dissemination of ideas on rational utilisation of forests.

### D. Save Silent Valley Movement

The silent valley is an ecologically rich terrain in the Western Ghats in the Palakkad district of Kerala consisting of the tropical moist evergreen forests largely undisturbed by human activities. The valley is named after Sairandhiri (Draupati), the wife of Pandavas in the Indian epic Mahabharata. Another explanation of the nomenclature says that when the Englishmen visited there during the colonial period the valley was observed to be strangely silent because of the supposed absence of the noise-making insect Cicadas.

The valley is rich in biodiversity. The lion-tailed macaque is abundantly found in the valley. There is even an argument that the valley itself is named after the binomial name of lion-tailed macaque, Macaca Silenus. The Kerala State Electricity Board began to implement Silent Valley Hydro Electricity Project across the river Kunthipuzha in the valley in the 1970s.

The Kerala Sasthra Sahitya Parishad, other civil society organisations and ecologically-conscious people conducted an intense protest against the project. They criticised the negative impact of the project on the environment especially the bio diversity of the valley. The Kerala government, in the face of stiff opposition from diverse sections of society dropped the project in 1980. The valley was declared a national park in 1984 and later on it came to be designated as the core area of the Nilgiris Biosphere Reserve. The Save Silent Valley movement is one of the most successful ecological movements of India in late 20th century.

### Glossary



Anarchism : A system in which no authority exists and cooperation among members is the basis of its functioning

Feminism : The ideology that seeks women empowerment and gender equality

Patriarchy : The system in which male domination over women exists in family, politics, economy, culture, religion etc.

Post-Colonialism : The condition of countries in their independence period after the end of colonialism (For example, India after 1947)

Colonialism : The process in which the countries of Asia and Africa were enslaved and exploited by European countries

Vishakha Guidelines : The guidelines contained in the judgement of the Supreme Court to protect women from sexual harassment in working places



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Gender Equality : Equality between man and woman

Common Good : The common welfare or interest of the community

Not Unencumbered Self : Human being is not a completely free person as he lives along with others in the community

Situated Self : Human being is rooted in the community

Reductionism : The approach to reduce the world to one particular factor while interpreting it

Universalism : The belief that one factor or idea is universally valid.

Particularism : The approach that every entity has its own particular identity or validity. Every region, community, culture is special or unique

Deconstruction : Understanding the hidden and inner meanings while reading or interpreting something without accepting the apparent meaning

Identity Politics : The political mobilization of the usually less privileged around their language, race, gender, caste etc. for achieving justice, equality and development

Anthropocentrism : The attitude that places the human as the superior life form and other biological forms as inferior ones existing for the pleasure and life of Human Beings

Biocentric Equality : All biological life forms are equal and human beings are not superior to other animals and plants in this planet

Inter Generational Justice : The present generation must hand over this planet to future generations without greedily destroying the environment

Sustainable Development : We should consume natural resources carefully keeping in mind the needs of future generations.

Deep Ecology : We should understand deeply the negative impact of activities of the human beings on environment and the urgent need to preserve the ecology of the world

Chipko Movement : In Hindi it means Hug. The people hugged the trees to protect them from being cut

Appiko Movement : In Kannada language Appiko means Hug. The people hugged the trees in Karnataka to save them from being cut

## Evaluation

### I Choose the Correct Answer:

ABZ50

1. Find out the false statement about Anarchism

a) It strives for Anarchy

b) It supports order

c) It argues for co-operation among human beings

d) It is against the state



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2. Among the following who believed in Anarchism?

a) Karl Marx
b) Joseph Proudhon
c) Adam Smith
d) John Locke

3. Which institution was opposed by Anarchism as exploitative in nature?

a) State
b) Private Property
c) Religion
d) All the Above

4. Feminism seeks to promote the empowerment of

a) Women
b) Children
c)Minorities
d) Tribes

5. The meaning of the statement "Personal is Political" is

a) We should discuss the personal life of leaders
b) We should expect political honesty
c) We should speak about the political rights of women in family and politics
d) We should ignore the personal life of politicians

6. Who is called the Father of Postmodernism?

a) Jacques Derrida
b) Michel Foucault
c) Fredrick Nietzsche
d) Karl Marx

7. Who coined the term "Deep Ecology"?

a) Michel Foucault
b) Robert D Putnam
c) Audre Lorde
d) Arne Naess

8) Find out the wrong statement of Post Modernism

a) It repudiates modernity
b) It says that the truth is not singular but plural
c) It opposes universalism
d) It rejects particularism

9. Post Modernism is linked with

a) Identity Politics
b) National Politics
c) International Politics
d) Class Politics

10. Communitarianism believes in

a) Religion
c) Community
d) Class
e) Language



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11. According to Communitarianism man is

a) Atomistic
b) Selfish
c) Religious
d) Embedded in Community

12. Communitarianism propagates

a) Natural Rights
b) Moral Rights
c) Positive Rights
d) Economic Rights

13. Match the following

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. Modernist Ecology | A. Biocentric Equality |
| 2. Deep Ecology | B. Reduce, Recycleand Reuse |
| 3. Shallow Ecology | C. Hug the Trees Movement |
| 4. Chipko Movement | D. Sustainable Development |

14. Appiko Movement meant a movement

a) Hug the trees to save them
b) Serve the poor by feeding them
c) Educate the less privileged people
d) Cure the illness of the people

15. The school of Feminism more apt for the women of countries like India, Namibia is

a) Post-Colonial Feminism
b) Liberal Feminism
c) Radical Feminism
d) Marxian Feminism

## II. Answer the following questions very shortly

1. Explain the term Anthropocentrism.
2. What is Identity Politics?
3. Find out the meaning of the term "Situated Self"
4. What are Vishakha Guidelines?
5. Provide the meaning of Feminism.
6. Why does Anarchism say that the state is an unnecessary evil?
7. Give the etymological origin of Anarchism.

## III Answer the following questions shortly

1. Comment on the famous statement of Radical Feminism "Personal is Political"
2. Provide an account on the concept of Deep Ecology.
3. Elaborate the concept of Positive Rights of Communitarianism.
4. Identify the solutions of Shallow Ecology to protect environment.



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## IV Answer the following questions in detail

1. Critically evaluate the chief characteristics of Anarchism.
2. Discuss the various schools of Feminism.
3. Enumerate the major Environmental Movements of India.
4. Examine the stand of Communitarianism on Man, Society, Rights and Justice.

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UNIT 10

# Public Opinion and Party System



## Learning Objectives

- To define the meaning of party system
- To identify the role, function and types of party system within a democracy
- To trace the historical evolution of the party system in modern times.
- To outline the structure of the party system in India at the national and regional levels
- To evaluate the importance of public opinion in the effective functioning of a democracy
- To assess the impact and limitations of the party system

## 10.1 Defining Public Opinion:

Public opinion can be defined as a psychological and social process in which the behaviour of each member of the public is conditional to that of all others with similar beliefs. In short it is the collective views of the people, their attitudes and opinions.

It is the people's collective preferences on matters relating to government and politics. It is based on the premise that collective individual opinions matters in a democracy and public opinion should carry more weight than individual opinion. Others opine that public opinion can be influenced and controlled by organized groups, government leaders, and media elite.

In fact, democracy derives its authority from the people. Public opinion is not the opinion of an individual, though he or she may be a highly respected person. It is not a private opinion. It is also not an expert opinion, irrespective of the wisdom of the expert. Public opinion is an organized and considered opinion of a section or many sections of the people on any public issue or concern.

### Role of Public Opinion:

Public opinion is an essential element for successful working of a democracy where the views of all citizens are respected and no government can survive by ignoring it.

## 10.2 Hindrances to formation of a genuine public opinion

Public opinion needs to be the true reflection of the peoples` ideas and opinion, however there are some hindrances to genuine public opinion;

**Selfish interests (Me above nation):** The interest of the people seeking personal advancement over the affairs of their own country. People need to be sensitized towards important issues related to unity, commitment, integrity and progress of the nation.

**Illiteracy:** It is expected that literate and responsible public make good citizens by exercising their franchise without



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fear or favour. Illiterate masses are often misled by party workers and guided by sentiments, favours and rhetoric. A sound public opinion can be formed only in the environment of free thought and knowledge.

**(a) Poverty:** The poor in any country are easily influenced by the false promise of political leaders and cast their votes subjectively. Sound and objective public opinion is possible only by alleviating poverty.

**(b) Racist and Caste based Discrimination:** Sentiments that provoke discrimination based on caste, creed and religion create a divide among the masses that are often manipulated by political parties for their advantage. Social disharmony in the country is detrimental to the effective working of a democracy.

**(c) Freedom of speech and the media:**



Unbiased, objective and independent media as well as respect for individual freedom of speech and assembly play a very significant role in the formation of healthy opinion. The vital importance of an independent and impartial media that respects peoples freedom and exercises responsible news reporting are important criteria for formation of mature and responsive public opinion.

## 10.3 Definition of Political Parties

Political parties are indispensable instruments in a democratic system. They are formed with definite ideologies, and programme of action. They enlighten the general public on issues concerning the society and state and they also prescribe alternatives. Through propaganda they educate people on political issues and garner their support for their policies and programme.

There is consistent competition between the various political parties and this competition ensures the mature functioning of a democracy.

**ACTIVITY**

Following are the lists of various functions of political parties in a democracy:

- Parties contest in elections
- Parties put forward different policies and programmes
- Parties make laws for the country
- Parties form and run government
- Parities play the role of the opposition
- Parties shape public opinion
- Parties provide people the access to government welfare schemes

Follow the newspaper for one month and collect news items related to the various functions of political parties

**Quotable quote**

In a democracy public opinion is harnessed through political parties.



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## 10.4 Functions of Political Parties

In a democracy, political parties serve as an integral link through which government and the public can interact. Political Parties act as a foundation that orients the people towards political initiatives and public experience. Political Parties work to influence political thought and opinion with the intention of mobilizing votes. They provide a platform for political, economic and social activism that serves as a training ground for future regional and national leadership. In the long run they hold leaders accountable for their actions through rigorous debate and queries both within the party as well as through opposition parties. Thus the people are presented with a diverse choice of candidates, ideologies and approaches to various issues governing the nation. Their confidence in democracy is thus reinforced in the knowledge that they can bring about change and transformation should a majority of the population desire a transformation in the way they are governed.

### The Party System

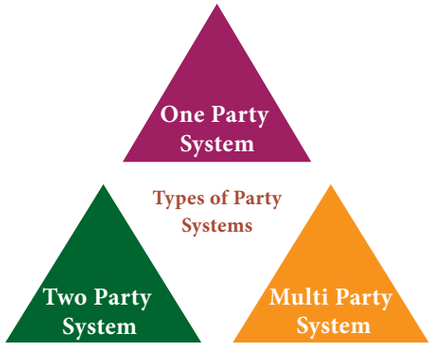
The party system helps to operate and stabilize governments and they are particularly relevant for the effective functioning of democracies. The party system provides a system of checks and balances against the government's policies. By soliciting popular support among the masses and providing a structure for leadership and dialogue within the party according to specific party objectives and agenda, it helps sustain good governance.

DO YOU KNOW?

A political party is a group of people who come together to contest elections and hold power in the government. They agree on some policies and programmes for the society with a view to promote the collective good.

### Types of Party Systems

Different types of party system have evolved in various parts of the globe depending on the particular elements of democracy practiced. By and large the quality of a democracy is determined by how the government is representative of its people, how accountable the government is to its people, how human rights and equality of status and opportunity is guaranteed to all citizens and the level of political participation exercised by the people. The various types of party system address these issues in different ways, thereby determining the quality of democracy practiced.




### A. One Party System

In a one party system, a single political party exercises its right to form the government, which is often derived from a written or unwritten constitution. In most cases under a one party system, there is less participation and weaker accountability. **Examples:** Communist



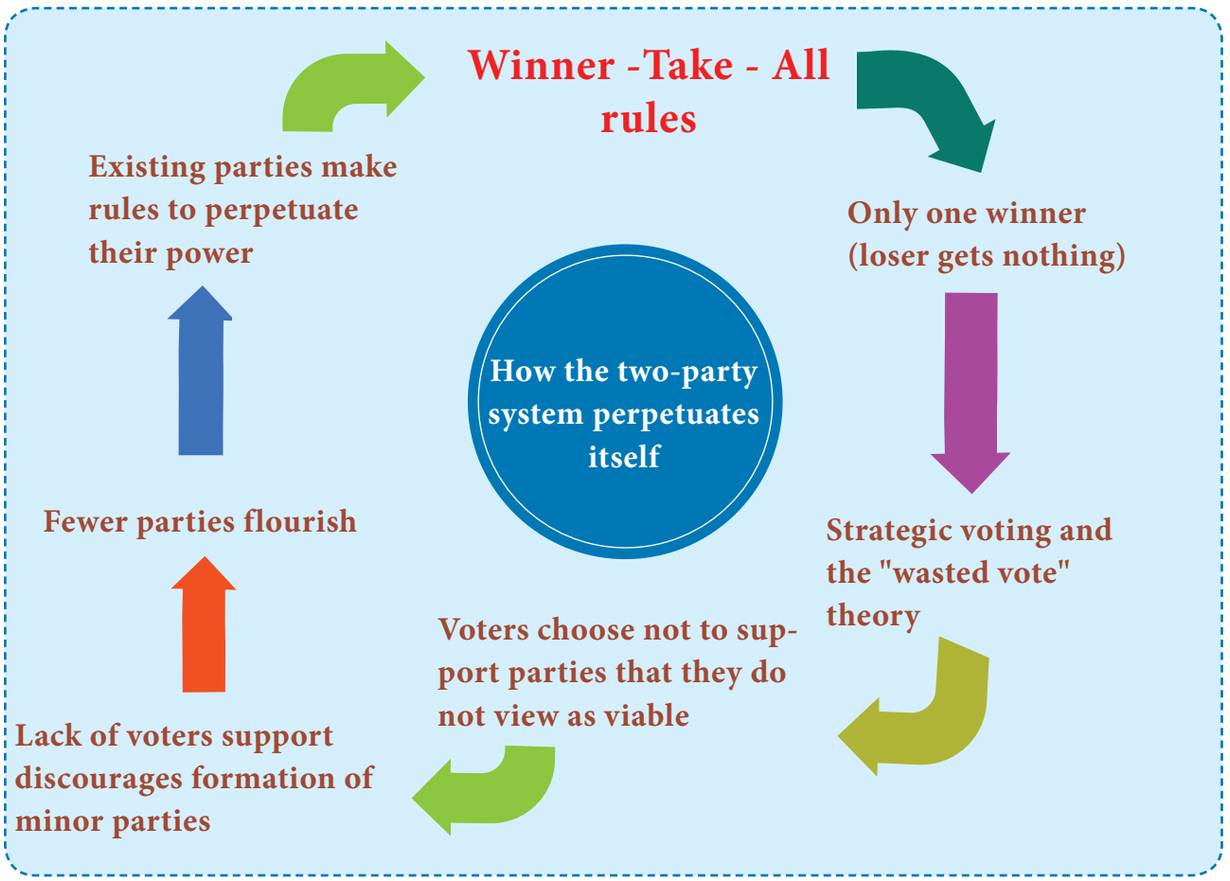
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Party of China, (CPC) the Peoples` Action Party (PAP)in Singapore, Korean Workers Party, (KWP) North Korea, Communist Party of Vietnam (CPV) Vietnam, Communist Party of Cuba (CPC) Cuba. The single party system does not provide adequate space for democratic expressions and not provide scope for alternative. For example in the 1920s fascist movements advocating nationalistic militarism, captured power in Germany under Hitler, in Italy under Mussolini and in Spain under General Franco. They prevented other political parties to emerge.

### B. Two Party System

In the two party system, two political parties, with distinctly different interests have equal opportunity to attain a majority and form the government. The majority party is the governing party and the minority party forms the opposition party in two-party systems. The Two-Party system has far greater accountability by the political leaders and greater political participation. The threat of being voted out by the opposition hangs as a 'Damocles sword' on the incumbent thereby guaranteeing a higher degree of responsible conduct and action. However since the political atmosphere is heavily polarized, drastic changes can happen once a party loses power which may prove detrimental to national interests. Examples of the two-party system include USA –Democrats and Republicans and UK Conservatives and Liberals.

However, in either country there is no constitutional restriction on number of parties. The constitutional procedures and peoples' political maturity led to the emergence of two party system.






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### C. Multi-Party system

In the Multi- party system, multiple political parties are capable of garnering popular support and forming a government, either as a majority party or in coalition with many non-majority parties with similar political objectives. In this system, the political leaders are constantly observed and checked by checks and balances by their coalition partners. They are also subject to rigorous accountability to the people. The multi-party system offers the electorate the multiple avenues of political participation and the ability to bring about political change for greater national development.

The proportional representation system in France and Italy results in multi-party systems and coalition cabinets.

Examples of countries with multi-party systems include Canada, France, Germany, India and Sweden.

**ACTIVITY**

**THINK – PAIR – SHARE**

**Topic for Pair :** Why is one party system not considered a good option?

## 10.5 Role of Political Parties in a Democracy

The existence of political parties is largely responsible for ensuring the quality and effectiveness of a democracy. In a federal multicultural and plural societies such as the United States of America and India, the maintenance of peace, unity and communal harmony are vital for social-economic progress. While single party system may have greater flexibility towards quicker decisions making and cohesive action, these decisions may not represent mass opinion and thus it would create greater opposition and dissent for the government.

**The Role of Political Parties in a Democracy**

**What are political parties?**

- They recruit and run candidates for public office under the party level
- They try to organize and coordinate the activities of government officials under the party name.

**Many political scientists believe that parties are essential to democracy**

- The political party is seen by some as the main instrument of popular sovereignty and majority rule.
- When political parties are working properly they can be essential tools of popular sovereignty

In the dual party system due to the nature of the party structure and leadership, this usually result in public policies and decisions blocked in political polarization rather than collaboration. While in Multi party systems, the performance is on the basis of deliberation and negotiation between coalition members, and issues are mostly settled by reaching a mutually derived consensus after debate and discussion. Thus, political parties are the drivers of a democracy that are necessary to safeguard the rights and freedoms of the people. Through effective Citizenship training and greater civic participation, youth in democratic nations



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can play a greater role in political parties thereby fostering more mature and wider democratization in countries.

**Quotable Quote**

Political parties are the drivers of a democracy.

Politicians exercised oratorical and leadership skills to create public opinion.

## 10.6 Modern Party system

### A. Party system in the United Kingdom

In the United Kingdom, polarization of opinions on issues relating to the status and role of monarchy led to the emergence of two parties:

A. Tories or Conservatives and

B. Whigs or liberals.

In the 20th century labour party became a major force eclipsing the liberals.

### B. Party System in the USA

The founding fathers of the United States wanted to steer clear of political parties and the ensuing factional conflict between them. Nevertheless, after American Independence, the first parties in the newly constituted nation under the Presidency of George Washington were the Federalist Party supporting a strong national government and the Democratic Republican Party supporting state autonomy.

In 1828, the democratic Republican Party was renamed as the Democratic Party which championed state rights. In 1854, the Republican Party established itself on the anti slavery platform and gained pre-dominance with Abraham Lincoln as President of USA. Since the United States settled for the Two-Party system, the Republican and Democratic parties have dominated the American political scene, though third party candidates have been floated on and off.

**Two Party System**

- **Rare around the world**
- **Evenly balanced national at National and local level**
- **Electoral system**
- **Winner take all**
- **Wasted vote**
- **Priority system**
- **Broad coalitions form before election**
- **Opinion of voters**
- **Difficult for third parties to get on ballot**

### C. Party system in Europe:

After the French Revolution (1789), democratic forces gained strength in European Nations, and political parties emerged. Political parties in Continental Europe were largely divided into Conservatives, Liberals, and Christian Democrats. By the 19th century socialist movements gained popularity and social democratic or labor parties emerged which became popular and gained trade union support.

In Soviet Russia, the Bolshevik Party, was responsible for the Communist Revolution in 1917 which created the USSR (Union of Soviet Socialist



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Republics), popularly called the Soviet Union. The COMINTERN (Communist International) was established with the task of encouraging world communist revolution by supporting Communist parties in other countries. After the end of the Cold War era, the Communist party lost its popularity in Russia, though some minor communist parties still influence governmental policies within democratic states. Communist Parties however continue to control authoritarian governments in China and North Korea.

## D. Party System in South Africa

### The Constitution of South Africa

- Universal adult suffrage vote at 18
- A national common voters roll
- Regular election
- A multi-party system of democrate government to ensure accountability, responsiveness and openness

## E. Party System in India

The party system in India emerged along with the rise of nationalism and out of the freedom struggle against British rule. While Indian politics today represent a multi-party system, for long periods in Indian political history, one party has dominated the political stage. The Indian National Congress (INC) was established in 1885 by A. O Hume, as the indigenous base for the political participation of Indians in legislative and political wings. It demanded political reforms in gradual stages. After the non-cooperation movement (1921-23) Indian National Congress began to demand absolute political freedom. In the 20th century, the parties with communal agenda have also come up i.e. The All India Muslim League in 1906 and Hindu Maha Sabha in 1916. In the Madras Presidency the South Indian Liberal Federation (Justice Party) was formed to project their interest of the Non-Brahmins (Dravidian)

Justice party was formed with the demand that political opportunities and political positions should not be monopolized by one particular small social segment and these must be fairly distributed among all communities.

However, the Indian National Congress represented the urban, upper caste elite, mostly western educated and provided a platform for negotiations with the British government. Gradually the Indian National Congress evolved to play a pivotal role in the development of India's political party system. After the partition of Bengal in 1905, the Indian National Congress was divided between the Moderates and the Extremists. The formation of the Muslim league in 1906 resulted in the era of conflicting political bargaining, reflected the true beginnings of the Indian party system.



The entry of Mahatma Gandhi into the political scene with his moral-ethical focus on non-violence as a political ideology and strategy, transformed the Indian National



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Congress to represent all sections of Indian society- the poor agriculturalists and lower caste people. Other parties that also emerged representing specific goals which included the Swaraj Party formed by Chittaranjan Das in 1922, the Congress Socialist Party, formed in 1934 by Acharya Narendra Dev and Jayaprakash Narayan and the Communist Party, formed in the 1920's by the efforts of M. N. Roy were the other major political parties.

There were a number of political parties which carry on political campaigns and propaganda, but do not contest elections, they function as pressure groups. Till 1977, the Communist Party, the socialist parties, and the right wing Janasangh and Swatantra Party were the mentionable opposition parties at the national level. Until 1977, no single party could become an alternative to Indian National Congress at national level. Hence, a number of so called national parties, under the stewardship of Jayaprakash Narayan, merged to create a large national alternative party known as Janata Party. In 1977, it captured power at the centre. Yet this party lacked cohesion and unity and became shattered after 1980. The Jana Sangh was revived with a new name Bhartiya Janata Party, Meanwhile Kanshi Ram's Bahujan Samaj Party emerged as national level party with social justice as its main plank. After a spert as Communist Party. The Communist Party of India (Marxist) became very powerful in a few states like Kerala, West Bengal and Tripura.

The 1990s was the period of an increasing quest towards coalition governments in Indian politics. The Indian Political System became more competitive, more democratized and more representative of the multicultural social nexus and diversity that is observed in contemporary India. It is observed that old parties became obsolete and defunct, and new parties have emerged that represent and seek to address the trans formative challenges faced by various diverse sections of the people. Since the 1990's we see a federalization of politics with regional parties gaining greater influence, representative of regional aspirations against the dominance of the Centre.



In the present period, regional alliances indicate a growing trend towards coalition governments that form an effective voice in favour of federal polity. This fragmentation is largely due to the regionalization of politics, with parties having high support base in specific areas.

## Regional Parties

Shiromani Akali Dal in the Punjab, Samajwadi Party in the Uttar Pradesh, Telugu Desam Party in Andhra Pradesh, Rashtriya Janata Dal (RJD) in Bihar, Trinamool Congress in West Bengal, Telangana Rashtra Samithi in Telangana, Asom Gana Parishad in Assam, Shiv Sena in Maharastra, National Conference, People Democratic Party in Jammu & Kashmir, Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam(DMK) and All India Anna Dravida Munnetra



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Kazhagam (AIADMK) in Tamil Nadu Trinamul congress in Bengal are some of the major regional parties.

While there is growing political awareness among the electorate, there is also greater mobilization along lines of regional, social and religious identities. There is a widespread difference in the composition of political groups, and characteristics of political and social groups between one region and another.

## Party System in Tamil Nadu

In Tamil Nadu, like most Indian states, the early independence period was dominated by the Congress party. However, issues of caste hierarchy, and the rising North South divide eroded the popularity of Congress leadership in the state. The Dravidian movement regenerated in Tamil Nadu under Periyar E.V Ramasamy and garnered popularity on assertion of Dravidian Rights and Dignity and through an anti-North, anti-Hindi, anti-Brahmin social agenda.

TAMIL NADU - POLITICAL




Map not to scale



The Party System in Tamil Nadu is a pioneer model of the pre-eminence of the regional parties in state politics of independent India. There are very clear socio-economic, cultural and historical reasons for this development. The long history of rationalist and social justice movements from the colonial era and the mobilization of Dravidian consciousness since the beginning of 20th century have fundamentally transformed the nature of politics and the future of party system in state politics. The past 52 years Dravidian parties have been at the helm of affairs in Tamil Nadu.

## 10.7 Role of Political Parties in a Democracy

For the effective functioning of a democracy, the existence of political parties that represent conflicting interests is mandatory. While they advocate various interests and policies, largely political parties adopt Rightist ideology (conservative, traditional and capitalistic) or Leftist (pro-equality, liberal and labour interests). While it is true that political parties are essential for attaining the democratic ideal, the rise of individual parties with non-democratic agenda and authoritarian leadership is a critical challenge to Democracy. This is very relevant in the case of a multicultural, multilingual, multi religious and



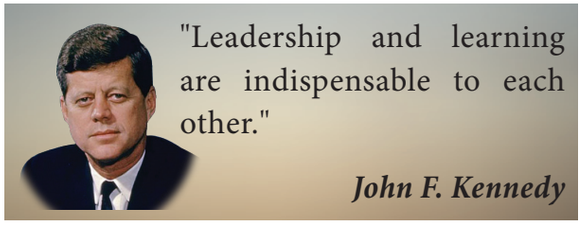
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economically diverse country like India, only political parties can truly represent the multidimensional interests of people from every corner of the country. It is vital in a democracy like India that political parties exercise maturity and maintain a secular position, the precious and precarious unity and stability of India cannot be maintained. It is in the interests of the nation, that responsibly and principled parties show a level of maturity and responsibility in exercising their duties and functions for the sustainability of democratic institutions.

## Role of Opposition in a Democracy

The relationship between party system and democracy will be incomplete without the discussion of the role of opposition parties in democracy. Democracy has no meaning without an effective opposition party or parties in the country. The nature of democracy is not only determined by the strength of ruling party alliance but also in the role and functioning of the opposition party alliance. In fact, the leader of the Opposition party enjoys the status and privileges of the rank of cabinet minister. A weak opposition leads to either a government without accountability or the tyranny of the majority.

Pressure or Interest groups also play an important role in special issues and events. These are organized groups, having common political and social interests, which influence decisions from outside. Pressure groups have voluntary membership and lobby for specific interests. Unlike political parties, pressure groups do not contest elections. The Pressure Groups are able to influence the government through various techniques with various public policy issues and are therefore called pressure groups. Professional pressure groups may include business interests, trade unions, Farmers, Teachers and Students, Doctors, culture groups, and institutional groups. Pressure Groups play an important role in the Indian political system by acting as a link and source of communication between the masses and the political parties. They sensitize the public towards vital socio-economic issues and through their lobbying, influence both the government and the administrative policies.




## Psephology



Psephology deals with the study and statistical analysis of elections and polls. Public opinion polls play an important role in psephology. They analyze both Opinion Polls and Exit Polls as well as election results. Opinion Polls and Exit Polls are both important indicators of voter's choice during the elections.





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The main difference between the two is that opinion poll is conducted before the voter actually votes and the exit poll is conducted after a voter comes out after casting his or her vote. Results of exit polls are generally considered to be more trustworthy than that of opinion polls.

The result of opinion polls may or may not actually collaborate the actual results. Yet they are important in generating opinions among the unsure and undecided as well as help to sustain a balance in voting practices for all parties concerned.

## Glossary



Political Party: An organization that seeks to achieve political power by electing its members to public office

One-party system: A system in which a single political party has the right to form the government, usually based on the existing constitution, or where only one party has the exclusive control over political power

Two-party system: A system where only two parties or alliances, typically placed either side of the centre, have a realistic chance of forming a majority. Other parties are very minor or solely regional.

Multi-party system: A system in which multiple political parties have the capacity to gain control of government offices, separately or in coalition.

Ballot: This piece of paper contains information on the symbols and names of the candidates contesting in a constituency.

By-election: When a seat in Legislature becomes vacant between general elections (often because the incumbent has either resigned, defected to another party or died), a by-election is held.

Election: The process whereby eligible persons vote to determine who will hold a political office.

Elector: A person who is included in the electoral roll for an electorate.

Election Commission: The Election Commission is an independent autonomous entity responsible for the administration of Parliamentary and State Legislature Assembly elections and related works.

Ballot box : The box at a polling place into which a stamped ballot paper is to be dropped.

Coalition:A Government is formed by more than one party when no single party sets absolute majority.

Electoral roll: The list of all the registered electors for a particular electorate kept by the Registrar of Electors.

Electoral System: The general name for all the rules concerning elections, i.e. the voting system, boundaries, registration of electors, candidacy, campaign spending, broadcasting, etc.

Majority Government; A government made up of one or more political parties is formed by a political party which has absolute majority in legislature.

Democracy: Government by the people, through free, fair and periodical elections.



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## Evaluation

### I Choose the correct answer:

1. A group of people who come close to each other to attain their common aim of power is known as
   a) Political party
   b) Factional group
   c) Interest group
   d) Political leadership

2. Which of these is the main component of political party?
   (a) Leaders
   (b) Followers
   (c) Active members
   (d) All of these

3. Which of these are a function of political party?
   (a) To contest election
   (b) To form and run government
   (c) To form public opinion
   (d) All of these

4. Political party that runs the government is ….
   (a) Ruling party
   (b) Interest group
   (c) Opposition party
   (d) Factional group

5. The rise of political parties is directly linked to….
   (a) Emergence of representative democracies
   (b) Large scale societies
   (c) Mechanism of restrain and support the government
   (d) All of these

6. System with one party is known as….
   (a) Single party system
   (b) Multi-party system
   (c) Bi-party system
   (d) None of these

7. System of two parties is known as….
   (a) Single party system
   (b) Multi-party system
   (c) Bi-party system
   (d) None of these

8. Which of these countries have Uni-party system?
   (a) China (b) North Korea (c) Cuba (d) All of these

9. Which of these countries have Bi-party system?
   (a) India (b) England (c) France (d) Pakistan

10. What is the symbol of Congress Party?
    (a) Symbol of Lotus
    (b) Symbol of Hand
    (c) Symbol of elephant
    (d) Symbol of clock



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11. Lotus' is the symbol of which party?

(a) Indian National Congress (b) Bahujan Samaj Party
(c) Bhartiya Janata Party (d) CPI (M)

12. Public Opinion plays a vital role in:

(a) Democratic system
(b) Dictatorial system
(c) Both democratic as well as dictatorial systems
(d) The smooth working of all types of political systems

13. The two major political parties of U.S.A. are

(a) Independent and Democratic (b) Republican and Democratic
(c) Democratic and Socialist (d) Republican and Communist

14. Psephology deals with

(a) statistical analysis of elections and polls
(b) Opinion Polls and Exit Polls
(c) Public opinion
(d) All the above.

15. Assertion: Political parties mobilize public opinion.
Reason: Public opinion influences election results.
Directions: Given below are two statements labelled as Assertion (A) and Reason (R) in the context of the two statements which of the following is correct?

(a) Both A and R are true and R is the correct explanation of A.
(b) Both A and R are true but R is not the correct explanation of A.
(c) A is true but R is false.
(d) A is false but R is true.

## II. Answer the following questions very shortly

1. Define political party.
2. Write a note on Single Party System.
3. Write a short note on Multi-Party system.
4. Make a brief note on regional political party.
5. List out the major political parties in India.
6. Define public opinion.
7. Explain the role of opposition party in India.

## III Answer the following questions shortly

1. Explain the role of political parties in a democracy.
2. List out the functions of political parties.
3. Bring out the types of party system.
4. Discuss the merits and demerits of multi- party system.



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## IV Answer the following questions in detail

1. Elucidate the merits and demerits of bi-party system.
2. Give an account on political parties in India.
3. Write an essay on Public opinion in India.

### Reference books


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## ICT CORNER

### Unit-10 Public Opinion and Party System

Through this activity you will learn about the structure of party system in the state level.




### Structure of Party System in The State Level

**Steps**

1. Use the URL or QR code to open the How the state government works page.
2. An activity window will open, click the navigation key on the bottom right corner of the activity window.
3. After a small introduction story, an explanation of state government will start.
4. Explore the different aspects of the state government by clicking the forward navigation button.

**Download Link**

*Pictures are indicative only.

*If browser requires, allow Flash Player or Java Script to load the page.

URL: mocomi.com/how-does-state-government-work/

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UNIT 11

# Election and Representation



## 11.1 Meaning and nature of Franchise and Representation

### What is Franchise and Election?

The right to vote in public elections. The word "Franchise" is of Anglo-French derivation-from Franc, meaning FREE. An election is the process of voting to choose someone to be their political leader or representative in government.

DO YOU KNOW? Part 15, Articles **324-329 deals with Elections**

### And what is Representation?

It is nothing but the action of speaking or acting on behalf of someone or the state of being so represented.

**Learning Objectives**

- To enable the students to understand the meaning of election and representation.
- To explain the term 'Psephology'.
- To enable students to understand the various methods of election.
- To gain awareness about the Election Commission of India.
- To know the importance of Anti-Defection Law.
- To enlighten about the need of free and fair elections.
- To bring out the role of youth in politics.

Part 15th of the Indian Constitution titled "Elections" is of great importance. The constitution –makers had been anxious to safeguard this political right as an integral part of the constitution itself. It is for this important reason that the subject of elections has been accorded a constitutional recognition in our country.

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DO YOU KNOW? Article 326 of the Indian Constitution says that the elections to the Lok Sabha and to the Vidhan Sabha of every state shall be on the basis of Adult Suffrage.

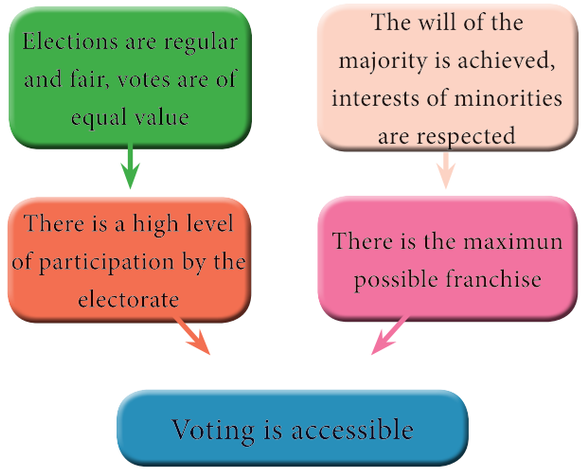
Although elections were used in Ancient Athens, Rome and in the selection of Popes and Holy Roman Emperors, the origins of elections in the contemporary world was in the gradual emergence of representative government in Europe and North America which began in the 17th century. In a representative democracy elections are extremely important. Voting, in elections is the best way to make your voice heard. One fact that makes elections more important is when political parties try to suppress voting with the use of laws to disallow people to vote. Election and representation is the core for the formation of government.



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## Democratic Electoral System

Let us study the most essential features of a democratic electoral system. A democratic electoral system can be said to be one where…




*Features of a Democratic Electoral System*

## Why do we need Elections ?

Election is a mechanism by which people can choose their representatives at regular intervals and change them if they wish to do so. This mechanism is called Election. Therefore, elections are considered essential in our times for any representative government. Hence in most democracies, people rule through their representatives.

## In an election the voters make many choices:

- They can choose who will make laws for them
- They can choose who will form the government and take major decisions
- They can choose the party whose policies will guide the government and law making.

**DO YOU KNOW?**

Psephology is the study of results and other statistics relating to Elections…

## What makes an Election Democratic?

- Everyone should be able to choose. This means that everyone should have one vote and every vote should have equal value.
- There should be something to choose from parties and candidate should be free to contest elections and should offer some real choice to the voters.
- The choice should be offered at regular intervals. Elections should be held regularly after every few years.
- The candidate preferred by the people should get elected.
- Elections should be conducted in a free and fair manner where people can choose as they really wish.

An election is a formal decision making process by which a population chooses an individual to hold public office. Elections fill offices in the legislatures, sometimes in the executive and judiciary and for regional and local government.

## 11.2 Types of Representation/ Reservation of Constituencies

### Election Systems-Plurality/Majority Systems

What are Plurality / Majority Systems? The principle of plurality/ majority system is simple. After votes have been cast and totalled, those candidates or parties with the most votes are declared the winners. However, the way this is achieved in practice varies widely. Five types of plurality/majority systems can be identified.



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## ACTIVITY

Do you know when the last Assembly Election was held in your State? Which other elections have taken place in your locality in the last five years? Write down the level of elections (National, Assembly, Panchayat etc.) When were they held? Find out the details of the MLA/MP who got elected from your area.

A. First Past The Post (FPTP)

B. Block Vote(BV)

C. Party Block Vote(PBV)

D. Alternative Vote(AV)

E. Two-Round Systems(TRS)

### A. First Past The Post (FPTP)

The First Past The Post system is the simplest form of plurality/majority system, using single member districts and candidate-centered voting. FTPT systems are found primarily in the UK and those countries historically influenced by Britain. Along with the UK, the other countries are Canada, India and the USA. FPTP is also used by a number of Caribbean countries, Bangladesh, Burma, India, Malaysia, Nepal and small island countries of the South Pacific.

DO YOU KNOW?

FPTP is the simplest form of plurality/majority electoral system. The winning candidate is the one who gains more votes than any other candidate, even if this is not an absolute majority of valid votes. The system uses single-member districts and the voters vote for candidates rather than political parties.

### B. Block Vote (BV)

The Block –Vote is common in countries with weak or non-existent political parties. The Cayman Islands, The Falkland Islands, Guernsey, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, the Maldives, Palestine, the Syrian Arab Republic etc use Block Vote electoral systems.

DO YOU KNOW?

Block Vote is a plurality/majority system used in multi-member districts. Electors have as many votes as there are candidates to be selected. The candidates with the highest vote totals win the seats. Usually voters vote for candidates rather than parties and in most systems may use as many, or as few,of their votes as they wish

The Block Vote is often applauded for retaining the voter's ability to vote for individual candidates and allowing for reasonably-organized geographical districts while at the same time, increasing the role of political parties compared with FPTP and strengthening those parties which demonstrate most coherence and organizational structure.

### C. Party Block Vote (PBV)

PBV is simple to use, encourages strong parties and allows for parties to put up mixed slates of candidates in order to facilitate minority representation. It can be used to help to ensure balanced ethnic representation. Dijibouti, Singapore, Senegal, Tunisia use the PBV method.

DO YOU KNOW?

Party-Block Vote is a plurality/majority system using multi- member districts in which voters cast a single party-centered vote for a party of choice, and do not choose between candidates



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### D. The Alternative Vote (AV)

This system enables voters to express their preferences between candidates rather than simply their first choice. Hence it is known as 'Preferential Voting'. AV is used in Australia, Fiji and Papua Guinea. By transferring ballots, it enables the votes of several candidates to accumulate, so that diverse but related interests can be combined to win representation.

**DO YOU KNOW?**

The Alternative Vote is a preferential plurality system that voters use in single member districts. Voters use numbers to mark their preference on the Ballot paper.

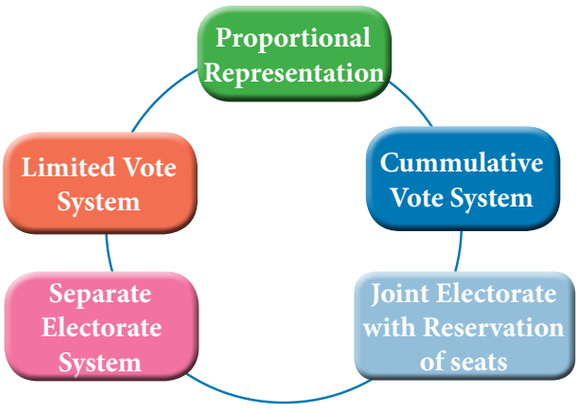
### E. The Two- Round System (TRS)

The central feature of the Two-Round System is as the name suggests: it is not one election but takes place in two rounds, often a week or a fortnight apart. This system is used to elect national legislatures and are most common methods used worldwide for the direct election of Presidents. TRS is used by the Central African Republic, Congo, Gabon, Mali, Mauritania, Haiti, Iran, Vietnam, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan etc.

**DO YOU KNOW?**

The Two-Round System is a plurality/ majority system in which a second election is held if no candidate or party achieves a given level of votes, most commonly an absolute majority (50 percent plus one), in the first election round. A TRS may take a majority – plurality form where more than two candidates contest the second round and the one who wins the highest number of votes in the second round is elected regardless of whether they have won an absolute majority or not.

### Various Methods Of Minority Representation




### Is it good to have political competition?

Elections are all about political competition. This competition takes various forms. The most obvious form is the competition among political parties. At the constituency level, it takes the form of competition among several candidates. If there is no competition, elections will become pointless. Though an electoral competition leads to a sense of disunity and factionalism in every locality, regular electoral competition provides incentives to political parties and leaders. They know that if they raise issues that people want to raise, their popularity and chances of victory will increase in the next elections. But if they fail to satisfy the voters with their work they will not be able to win again.

### What is our system of Elections?

After five years the term of all the elected representatives comes to an end. The Lok Sabha or Vidhan Sabha stands dissolved. Elections are held in all the constituencies at the same time, either on the same day or within a few days. This is called a general election. Sometimes election is held only for one constituency to fill the vacancy caused by death or resignation of a member. This is called ***By–Election.***



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## Electoral Constituencies

The people of Tamilnadu electing 39 lok sabha MPs. In our country we follow an area based system of representation. The country is divided into different areas for the purpose of elections. These areas are called Electoral Constituencies. The voters who live in an area elect one representative.

For Lok sabha elections, the country is divided into 543 constituencies. The representative elected from each constituency is called a member of Parliament or an MP. One of the features of a democratic election is that every vote should have equal value. That is why our constitution requires that each constituency should have a roughly equal population within it. Similarly each state is divided into a specific number of assembly constituencies. In this case the elected representative is called the Member of Legislative Assembly or a MLA. Each Parliamentary constituency has within itself several assembly constituencies. The same principle applies for Panchayat and Municipal elections. Each village or town is divided into wards that are like constituencies. Each ward elects one member of the village or the urban local body. Sometimes these constituencies are counted as Seats, for each constituency represents one seat in the assembly.

## Reserved Constituencies

Our Constitution entitles every citizen to elect its representative and to be elected as a representative. In an open electoral competition, certain weaker sections may not stand a good chance to get elected to the Lok Sabha and the State Legislative Assemblies. They may not have the required resources, education and contacts to contest and win elections against others.If that happens our Parliament and Assemblies would be deprived of a significant section of our population. That would make our democracy less representative and less democratic.

**ACTIVITY**

What is the status of women reservation bill in the Parliament of India?

So, the makers of our Constitution thought of special system of reserved constituencies for the weaker sections. Some constituencies are reserved for the people who belong to the Scheduled Castes (SC) and Scheduled Tribes (ST). This system of reservation was extended later on to other weaker sections at the district and local levels.

## Delimitation

The division of each state into as many constituencies as in the Loksabha from that state and State Legislative Assemblies is done primarily on the basis of population census. As far as practicable, geographical area of constituencies were to be delimited taking into account physical features, existing boundaries of administrative units, facilities of communication and public convenience.

## Delimitation Acts

First Delimitation Commission Act, 1952

Second Delimitation Commission Act, 1963

Third Delimitation Act,1973

Fourth Delimitation Act, 2002.



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## Voters' List

Once the constituencies are decided, the next step is to decide who can and who cannot vote. This decision cannot be left to anyone till the last day. In a democratic election, the list of those who are eligible to vote is prepared much before the election and given to everyone. This list is officially called the Electoral Roll or the Voters' List.

**DO YOU KNOW?**

Like in Panchayat should we not have at least one-third seats in the Parliament and assemblies reserved for WOMEN?

This is an important step for, it is linked to the first condition of democratic election that everyone should get an equal opportunity to choose representatives irrespective of differences. In our country, all the citizens aged 18 years and above can vote in an election. Every citizen has the right to vote, regardless of his or her caste, religion or gender.

It is the responsibility of the government to get the names of all eligible voters put on the voters' list. Names of those who move out of the place or those who are dead are deleted. A complete revision of list takes place every five years. In the last few years, a new system of Electoral Photo Identity Card (EPIC) has been introduced. The voters are required to carry this card when they go out to vote. Not compulsory, for voting, the voters can show many other proofs like the Aadhar Card, Ration card or Driving License.

## ACTIVITY

### Time Sequence

Arrange the different election related activities mentioned in the left side of the table given below in a time sequence, beginning with the first activity and ending with the last.

| Disorder | Order |
|---|---|
| Releasing election manifesto | |
| Preparing the voter's list | |
| Counting of votes | |
| Election campaign | |
| Declaration of election results | |
| Filing nomination | |
| Ordering of re-poll | |
| Casting of votes | |
| Announcing election schedule | |

## Electoral Process In India

- Delimitation of Constituencies
- Notification of the Election
- NotificationbytheElectionCommission regarding Nomination and withdrawal
- Filing of nomination papers by the intending candidates
- Verification and the acceptance or rejection of the nomination papers
- Election campaign



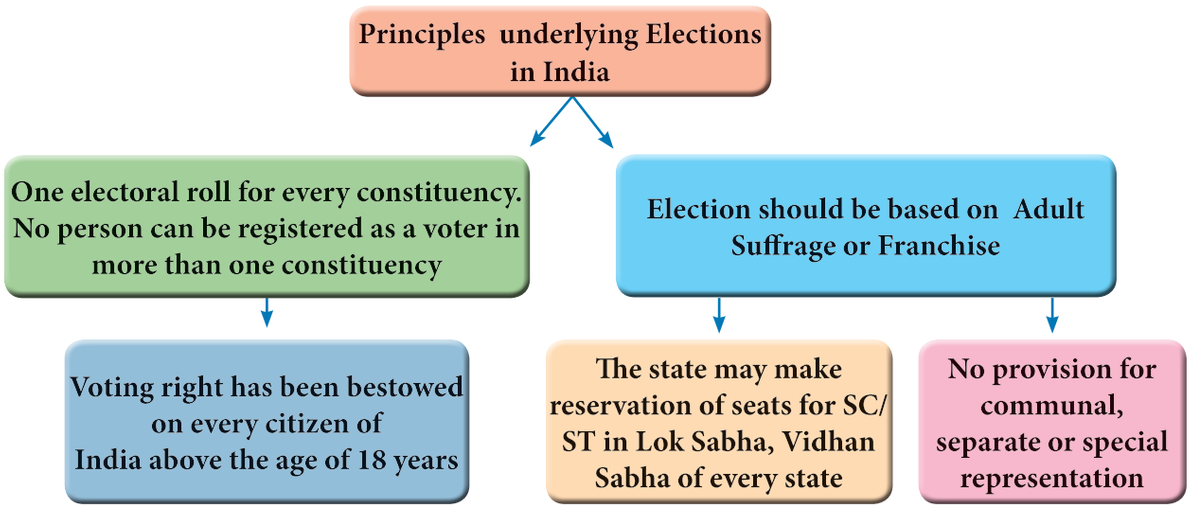
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- Polling process
- Counting of votes and announcement of Election Results

**DO YOU KNOW?**

Which Amendment Act reduced the Voting age of Indian citizens from 21 to 18?

## Provisions Regarding Elections in India




**ACTIVITY**

**Find out the importance of the following:**

- Representation of people's act 1950 and 1951
- Representation of people's act 1966
- Delimitation commission acts 1962 and 1972

### Nomination of Candidates

In a democratic election the people should have a real choice. This happens only when there are no restrictions on anyone to contest an election. This is what our system provides. Anyone who can be a voter can also become a candidate in the elections. The only difference is that in order to be a candidate, the minimum age is 25 years, while it is only 18 years for being a voter. Political parties nominate their candidates who get the party symbol and support. Party's nomination is often called as party 'ticket'.

Every person who wishes to fill a 'nomination form' has to give some money as security deposit. According to the direction of the Supreme Court, every candidate has to make a legal declaration, giving full details of:

- Serious criminal cases pending against the candidate
- Details of the assets and liabilities of the candidate and his or her family
- Educational qualifications of the candidate

This information has to be made public. This provides an opportunity to the voters to make their decision on the basis of the information provided by the candidates.

### Election Campaign

The main purpose of election is to give people a chance to choose the representatives, the government and



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the policies they prefer. Therefore it is necessary to have a free and open discussion about who is a better representative, which party will make a better government or what is a good policy. This is what happens during election campaigns.

In our country such campaigns take place for a two week period between the announcement of the final list of candidates and the date of polling. During this period the candidates approach their voters, political leaders address election meetings and political parties mobilise their supporters. This is also the period when newspapers, social media, televisions are full of election related stories and debates. Election campaign is not limited to these two weeks only. Political parties start preparing for elections months before they actually take place.

In election campaigns, political parties try to focus public attention on some big issues. They want to attract the public to that issue and get them vote for their party on that basis. In a democracy it is best to leave political parties and candidates free to conduct their election campaigns the way they want to. But it is sometimes necessary to regulate campaigns to ensure that every political party and candidate gets a fair and equal chance to compete.

According to our election law, no party or candidate can:

- Bribe or threaten voters
- Appeal to them in the name of caste or religion
- Use government resources for election campaign

If they do so, their election can be rejected by the court even after they have been declared elected. In addition to the laws, all the political parties in our country have agreed to a model Code of Conduct for election campaigns. According to this no party or candidate can:

- Use any place of worship for election propaganda
- Use government vehicles, aircrafts and officials for elections
- Once elections are announced, Ministers shall not lay foundation stones of any projects, take any big policy decisions or make any promises of providing public facilities.

## 11.3 Free and Fair Elections

The true test of any election system is its ability to ensure a free and fair electoral process. If we want democracy to be translated into reality on the ground, it is important that the election system is impartial and transparent. The system of election must allow the aspirations of the voter to find legitimate expression through the electoral results. Elections in India are basically free and fair. The party that wins an election and forms government does so because people have chosen it over its rivals. This may not be true for every constituency. A few candidates may win purely on the basis of money power and unfair means. But the overall verdict of a general election still reflects popular preference.

### Challenges of Indian Elections to our attention.

- Candidates and parties with a lot of money may not be sure of their victory but they do enjoy a big and unfair advantage over smaller parties and independents.



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- Candidates with criminal connection have been able to push others out of the electoral race and to secure a ticket from major parties
- Some families tend to dominate political parties; tickets are distributed to relatives from these families.
- Very often elections offer little choice to ordinary citizens, for both the major parties are quite similar to each other both in policies and practice.
- Smaller parties and independent candidates suffer a huge disadvantage compared to bigger parties.

These challenges exist not just in India but also in many established democracies. These deeper issues are a matter of concern for those who believe in democracy. Hence citizens, social activists and organisations have been demanding reforms in our electoral system. In a democracy, the electoral process has a strategic role. Every ordinary man of this country would have basic elementary right to know about a candidate who is to represent him in Parliament where laws to bind his liberty and property may be enacted.

The right to get information in democracy is recognised all throughout and it is a natural right flowing from the concept of democracy. Article 19(1)(a) of Indian Constitution provides for freedom of speech and expression. Voters' speech or expression incase of election would include casting of votes, that is to say, voter speaks out or expresses by casting vote. For this purpose, information about the candidate to be selected is must. The ordinary man may think over before making his choice of electing law breakers as law makers.

DO YOU KNOW?

**First General Elections In India:**

All You Need to Know…..

The first general election of 1951-1952 elected the first Lok sabha since India became independent. The Congress had won 364 out of 489 Lok sabha seats. Its vote share was 45 percent. The CPI was the second party with just 16 seats.Jawaharlal Nehru became the Prime Minister , the first of independent India. The voters' turnout was 67.6 percent. 54 parties had contested this election. Elections took around four months; October 25, 1951 to February 21, 1952. Election was held in 26 Indian states and 401 constituencies.

## 11.4 Election Commission of India

For the conduct of free, fair and regular elections, Article 324 of the Indian Constitution provides for a single Election Commission which is entrusted with the superintendence, direction and control of all elections to Parliament, state legislatures and to the offices of the President and Vice –President of India.

### Election Commission - An independent body.

The Main objective of the constitution of Election Commission of India is to have a permanent and independent election machinery, which is free from political pressure of the party in power and the executive of the day, and which could be entrusted with the task of holding free and fair elections to the parliament and the state legislatures and to the offices of the President and Vice-President of India.



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## Election Commission of India-Structure




- **Multi-member body**
  - Chief Election Commissioner
  - Two other election commissioners
- **Appointment and term of office**
  - By the President of India
  - 6 years or 65 years of age(whichever is earlier)
- **Removal from Office**
  - Chief Election Commissioner- Impeachment
  - Other Election -Commissioners- Recommendation of CEC

DO YOU KNOW?

**Details of Legislative Assembly Elections Conducted in Tamilnadu**

| No. of Elections | Duration of the Assembly | Election Dates |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | 1952-1957 | 1952 January 2, 5, 8, 9, 11, 12, 16, 21 and 25 (9days) |
| 2 | 1957-1962 | 1957 March 1, 4, 6, 8 and 11 (5 days) |
| 3 | 1962-1967 | 1962 February 17, 19, 21 and 24 (4 days) |
| 4 | 1967-1971 | 1967 February 5, 16 and 21 (3 days) |
| 5 | 1971-1976 | 1971 March 1, 4 and 7 (3 days) |
| 6 | 1977-1980 | 1977 June 12 and 14 (2 days) |
| 7 | 1980-1984 | 1980 May 20 and 31 (2 days) |
| 8 | 1985-1986 | 1984 December 24 (1 day only) |
| 9 | 1989-1991 | 1969 January 21 (1 day only) |
| 10 | 1991-1996 | 1991 June 16 (1 day only) |
| 11 | 1996-2001 | 1996 April 27 and May 2 (2 days) |
| 12 | 2001-2006 | 2001 May 10 (1 day only) |
| 13 | 2006-2011 | 2006 May 8 (1 day only) |
| 14 | 2011-2016 | 2011 April 13 (1 day only) |
| 15 | 2016-2021 | 2016 May 16 (1 day only) |
| 16 | 2021-ongoing | 2021 April 6 (1 day only) |



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## DEBATE



**Have a critical debate on social media. Is social media an effective electoral tool?**

Teacher can conduct a debate on positive and negative aspects of Social Media in the election campaign.

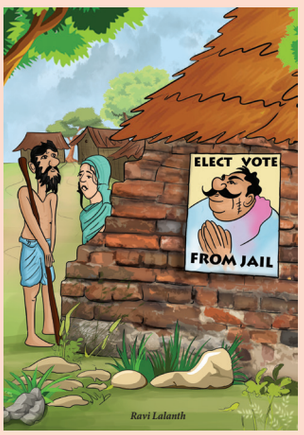
### Powers and functions of the Election Commission of India

- Preparation of the electoral rolls
- Revision of electoral rolls
- Allotment of seats
- Conduct of elections
- Superintendence, direction and control of all matters pertaining to the elections
- Granting of recognition of political parties
- Allotment of symbols
- Ensuring fair and free elections
- The Election Commission of India advises the President of India or the Governor of the concerned state regarding all electoral matters including questions relating to disqualifications of members.
- Settles disputes and petitions referred to it by the President of India or the Governor of a state.
- Decides disputes pertaining to election symbol in the event of a split in the political party.
- Has power to impose ceiling on the election expenses of the contestants.
- Entrusted with the task of collecting affidavits from the contestants to the elections regarding their assets.
- Has the power and duty to disqualify a candidate if he/she fails to submit election returns within the prescribed period.
- It issues a notification after the election is over, that the house is duly constituted.

DO YOU KNOW?

### SUPREME COURT"s Landmark Verdict To Cleanse the Polity

In a landmark judgement, the Supreme Court held on July 11, 2013 that a person, who is in jail or police custody ,cannot contest elections to legislative bodies. A day earlier, on July 10, 2013, the same Bench had held that charge-sheeted Members of Parliament (MP's), Members of Legislative Assembly(MLA's) and Members of Legislative Councils (MLC's), once they are convicted for the offences, will be immediately disqualified from holding office. The Bench struck down Section 8(4) of the Representation of the People's Act, which allowed convicted MP's and MLA's, a three-month period for filing their appeal to the High Court.




### Chief Electoral Officer(CEO)

The chief electoral officer of a state/union territory is authorised to supervise the election work in the state/union territory subject to the overall superintendence, direction and control of the election commission. The Election commission of India nominates or



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designates an officer of the government of the state / union territory as the chief electoral officer in consultation with the state government/ union territory administration.

### District Election Officer(DEO)

Subject to the superintendence, direction and control of the chief electoral officer, the district election officer supervises the election work of a district. The Election Commission of India nominates or designates an officer of the state government as the district election officer in consultation with the state government.

### Returning Officer (RO)

The returning officer of a Parliamentary or Assembly constituency is responsible for the conduct of elections in the Parliamentary or Assembly constituency concerned. The Election Commission of India nominates or designates an officer of the government or a local authority as the returning officer for each of the assembly or parliamentary constituencies in consultation with the state government/union territory administration. In addition, the election commission of India also appoints one or more assistant returning officers for each of the assembly or parliamentary consituencies to assist the returning officer in the performance of his functions in connection with the conduct of elections.

### Electoral Registration Officer(ERO)

The Electoral registration officer is responsible for the preparation of electoral rolls for a parliamentary/ assembly constituency. The Election commission of India, in consultation with the state/ union territory government, appoints an officer of the government or the local authorities as the Electoral registration officer. One or more Assistant electoral registration officers to assist the Electoral registration officer are appointed by the Election commission of India.

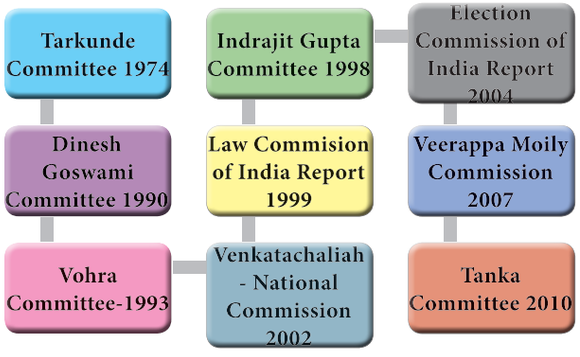
### Presiding Officer (PO)

The Presiding officer with the assistance of Polling officers conducts the poll at a polling station. The district election officer appoints the Presiding officers and the Polling officers. In the case of union territories, such appointments are made by the returning officers.

### Election Observers (EO)

The Election Commission of India nominates officers of government as Election observers (general observers and election expenditure observers) for Parliamentary and Assembly constituencies. They perform such functions as are entrusted to them by the commission. They report directly to the commission.

## 11.5 Electoral Reforms, Anti-Defection Law and Committees related to Electoral Reforms






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**Based on the recommendations made by the above committees and commissions, various reforms have been introduced from time to time in our electoral system. Let us have a look at them.**

- Lowering the voting age from 21 to 18 through the 61st amendment act of 1988.
- Officers, and staff engaged in preparation, revision and correction of electoral rolls for elections to be on deputation to the Election commission.
- Increase of number of proposers to 10% of the electors of the constituency or 10 electors, whichever is less.
- In 1989, a provision was made to facilitate the use of electronic voting machines in elections.
- In 1989, a provision was made for adjournment of poll in case of booth capturing.
- Listing the name of candidates as candidates of recognised political parties, candidates of registered–unrecognized political parties and other(independent) candidates.
- Prohibition on the sale of liquor within a polling area during the period of 48 hours ending with the hour fixed for the conclusion of poll.
- On the death of a contesting candidate, the party concerned would be given an option to propose another candidate within 7 days.
- The registered voters are entitled for a paid holiday on the polling day.
- Prohibition of arms.
- In 1998 a provision was made whereby the employees of local authorities, nationalized banks, universities, LIC, government undertakings and other government aided institutions can be requisitioned for deployment on election day.
- In 1999, a provision was made for voting by certain classes of persons through postal ballot.
- In 2003, the facility to opt for voting through proxy was provided to the service voters belonging to the armed forces and members belonging to a force to which provisions of the Army Act apply.
- In 2003, the Election commission issued an order for the declaration of criminal antecedents, assets etc.
- In 2003, Rajya Sabha elections were reformed by removing the domicile of the contesting candidate and further introduction of open ballot system was introduced.
- In 2003, an exemption of travelling expenditure from being included in the election expenses of the candidate was made.
- Free supply of electoral rolls by the government.
- In 2009, restrictions were imposed on conducting exit polls and publishing the results of exit polls.
- In 2009, a provision was made for the disqualification of a person found guilty of corrupt practices which provided for a three month time limit within which the specified authority will have to submit the case of the person found to be guilty.



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- All officials have to be included in corrupt practice.
- Increase in security deposit.
- Appointment of appellate authorities within the district.
- Voting rights to citizens of India living abroad were provided in 2010.
- Ceiling on election expenditure was increased in 2011.

## Anti-Defection Law

The 52nd Amendment Act of 1985 provided for the disqualification of the members of Parliament and the State legislatures on the ground of defection from one political party to another. For this purpose it added the Tenth Schedule to the Constitution. This act is often referred to as "Anti-defection law". Later the 91st Amendment Act of 2003 made one change in the provision i.e., disqualification on ground of defection not to apply in case of split.

## Provisions of the Act

### A. Disqualification:

A member of a house belonging to any political party becomes disqualified if he voluntarily gives up his membership or if he votes or abstains from voting contrary to any direction issued by his political party without obtaining prior permission of the party.

An independent member of the house becomes disqualified to remain a member of the house if he joins any political party after such election.

A nominated member of the house gets disqualified if he joins any political party after the expiry of six months from the date on which he takes his seat in the house.

### B. Exceptions:

Disqualifications on the ground of defection does not apply, if a member goes out of his party as a result of a merger of the party with another party; if a member, after being elected as the Presiding officer of the house, voluntarily gives up the membership of his party or rejoins after he ceases to hold that office.

### C. Deciding Authority:

Any question regarding disqualification arising out of defection is to be decided by the Presiding officer of the house.

### D. Rule making power:

The Presiding officer of a house is empowered to make rules to give effect to the provisions of the tenth schedule. All such rules must be placed before the house for 30 days. The house may approve or disapprove them. Further he may direct that any willful contravention by any member of such rules may be dealt with in the same manner as a breach of privilege of the house.

## Evaluation of the Act

A. The tenth schedule of the constitution is designed to prevent the mischief of political defections motivated by the lure of office or material benefits

B. It is intended to strengthen the fabric of Indian Parliamentary democracy by curbing unprincipled and unethical political defections



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C. It provides for greater stability in the body politic by checking the propensity of the legislators to change parties

D. It facilitates democratic realignment of parties in the legislature by way of merger of parties

E. It gives a clear cut constitutional recognition to the existence of political parties.

## Let us learn about the Rajya Sabha Elections……

Transferable Vote System is followed for Rajya Sabha elections. Every state has a specific quota of seats in the Rajya Sabha. The members are elected by the respective State Legislative assemblies. The voters are the MLAs in that state. Every voter is required to rank candidates according to her or his preference. To be declared winner, a candidate must secure a minimum quota of votes, which is determined by a formula:

$$\left\{\frac{\text{Total votes polled}}{\text{Total number of candidates to be elected} + 1}\right\} + 1$$

For example if 4 Rajya Sabha members have to be elected by the 200 MLAs in Tamilnadu, the winner would require (200/4+1=40+1) 41 votes. When the votes are counted, it is done on the basis of first preference votes secured by each candidate; If after the counting of all first preference votes, required number of candidates fail to fulfill the quota, the candidate who secured the lowest votes of first preference is eliminated and his/her votes are transferred to those who are mentioned as second preference on those ballot papers. This process continues till the required number of candidates are declared elected.

## Why did India adopt the FPTP System?

***The reason for the popularity and success of the FPTP system is its simplicity***. The entire election system is extremely simple to understand even for common voters who may have no specialized knowledge about politics and elections. There is also a clear choice presented to the voters at the time of elections. Voters have to simply endorse a candidate or a party while voting. Depending on the nature of actual politics, voters may either give greater importance to the party or to the candidate or balance the two.

The FPTP system offers voters a choice not simply between parties but specific candidates too. In other electoral systems, especially Proportional Representation Systems, voters are often asked to choose a party and the representatives are elected on the basis of party lists. As a result, there is no one representative who represents and is responsible for one locality. In constituency based system like the FPTP, the voters know who their own representative is and can hold him or her accountable. The FPTP system generally gives the largest party or coalition some extra bonus seats, more than their share of votes would allow.

Thus this system makes it possible for Parliamentary government to function smoothly and effectively by facilitating the formation of a stable government. The FPTP system encourages voters from different social groups to come together to win an election in a locality. The FPTP system has proved to be simple and familiar to ordinary voters.



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DO YOU KNOW?

Open Ballot is a system of choosing the representative by raising one's hands!!

Secret Ballot is a system in which the voter casts his vote without the knowledge of anyone into a Ballot Box or uses an Electronic Voting Machine!!

## 11.6 State Funding of Elections

### What is state funding?

- State funding of elections is a concept designed to reduce corruption by funding elections with government money as opposed to individual campaign contributions

### Indrajit Gupta Committee on state funding of Elections, 1998

The Indrajit Gupta Committee on State Funding of Elections, 1998, backed the idea of state funding of elections on principle, stating that "The committee see full jurisdiction constitutional, legal as well as on the ground of public interest, for grant of state subvention to political parties, so as to establish such conditions where even the parties with modest financial resources may be able to compete with those who have superior financial resources.

### It added two limitations

A. Such funds could not be doled out to independent candidates, and only to national and state parties having granted a symbol and proven the popularity among the electorate

B. In the short –term, state funding may be given only in kind, in the form of certain facilities to the recognized political parties and their candidates.

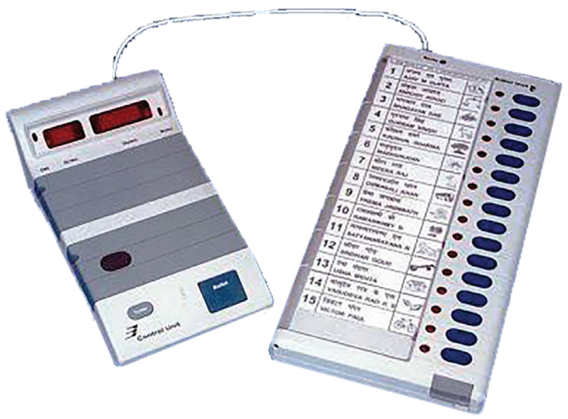
The committee has recommended the creation of a separate Election Fund with an annual contribution of Rs. 600 core by the centre and a matching amount contributed by all state governments together. The committee has suggested that in order to be eligible for state funding, political parties and other candidates should have submitted their income tax returns up to the previous assessment year.

## 11.7 Role of Youth in Politics

### What is NOTA?

None Of The Above - A voter's right to reject a step towards electoral reforms.

In its efforts of cleansing the political system, the Supreme Court of India upheld the right of voters to reject all candidates contesting the elections. The apex court directed the Election Commission to have



an option of "None Of The Above"(NOTA) on the electronic voting machines (EVMs).



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**Quotable Quote**

**NOTA** is the option at the end of the Candidates' List, on the EVMs

**DO YOU KNOW?**

Do you know that there was a similar provision before NOTA?

It was called Negative Voting.

Before the NOTA option was introduced, people who wanted to cast negative votes, had to enter their names in a register and cast their vote on a separate ballot paper. Under Section 49(O) of the conduct of election rules, 1961, a voter could enter his electoral serial number in the form 17A and cast negative vote.



**ACTIVITY**

Find out how 49(O) and NOTA are different?

**DO YOU KNOW?**

**Countries which allow NOTA are…**

Columbia, Ukraine, Brazil, Bangladesh, Finland, Spain, Sweden, Chile, France, Belgium and Greece. USA also allows it in few cases. The state of Texas permits the provision since 1975.

## Glossary

**Election** : A formal and organised choice by vote of a person for a political office or other position.

**Representation** : The action of speaking or acting on behalf of someone.

**Franchise** : The right to vote in public elections.

**Voting** : Go to the polls, mark one`s ballot paper

**Electoral system** : The way in which votes can be translated into elected representatives

**Psephology** : The statistical study of elections and trends in voting.

**Plurality** : Number of votes cast for a candidate who receives more than any other but does not receive an absolute majority

**Panchayat** : A village council in India

**Minority representation** : The number of elected candidates supporting the minority positions.

**Factionalism** : Arguments or disputes between two or more small groups from within a larger group.

**Democracy** : A system of government by the whole population, typically through elected representatives

**Delimitation** : The act or process of fixing limits or boundaries of territorial constituencies in a country or a province having a legislative body.



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**Electoral Roll/ voters`list** : Grouping of candidates for election

**Nomination** : The act of officially suggesting someone or something for a position.

**Election campaign** : A time when a politician or party try to persuade people to vote for them

**Electoral reform** : A change in electoral systems to improve how public desires are expressed in election results

**Anti-defection law** : Law passed in 1985 which disqualifies elected members on the grounds of defection to another party.

**Constituency** : A group of voters in a specified area who elect a representative to a legislative body.

**Secret ballot** : A voting method where voter`s choices are confidential

**Voters` turnout** : Percentage of eligible voters who cast a ballot in an election

## Evaluation

### I Choose the correct answer:

1EVM2

1. The word 'Franchise' is of _____ origin.

   a. Anglo-French  b. Anglo-Indian
   c. Anglo-German  d. Anglo-Italian

2. Part 15 of the Indian Constitution deals with _____.

   a. Elections  b. Citizenship
   c. Fundamental rights  d. DPSP

3. Psephology is the study of _____.

   a. Elections  b. Constitution
   c. State  d. Rights

4. _____ is the simplest form of plurality/majority electoral systems.

   a. FPTP  b. Block vote
   c. Party block vote  d. Limited vote system

5. The first delimitation commission act was passed in the year _____.

   a. 1952  b. 1963
   c. 1973  d. 2002

6. The list of eligible voters is called as _____.

   a. Electoral roll  b. Campaign roll
   c. Polling roll  d. Nomination roll



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7. Which Amendment Act reduced the voting age of Indian citizens from 21 to 18?

a. 61st
b. 42nd
c. 91st
d. 73rd

8. Which Article of the Indian Constitution provides for a single Election Commission in India?

a. Art 324
b. Art 256
c. Art 370
d. Art 360

9. The 52nd Amendment Act of 1985 deals with _____.

a. Anti-Defection Law
b. Election Methods
c. Electoral Reforms
d. Election Campaign

10. Election due to death or resignation of a member is _____.

a. By-Election
b. Re-election
c. Null-Election
d. Ward-Election

11. _____ seats are reserved for women in Panchayat bodies.

a. 1/3rd
b. 1/4th
c. 2/3rd
d. 3/4th

12. The Chief Election Commissioner of India is appointed by the _____.

a. President of India
b. Chief Justice of India
c. Prime Minister of India
d. Chief Secretary of India

13. The Indrajit Gupta Committee 1998 deals with_____.

a. Electoral Reforms
b. Anti-Defection
c. FPTP system
d. Secret ballot

14. First general elections in India took place in the year _____.

a. 1950-51
b. 1951-52
c. 1952-53
d. 1947-48

15. State funding of elections was backed by _____ committee.

a. Indirajit Gupta Committee
b. Tarkunde Committee
c. Vohra Committee
d. Tanka Committee

16. Assertion: Indian Parliament has a bicameral legislature.
Reason: Loksabha is the lower house and Rajya sabha is the upper house.

(a) Both A and R are true and R is the correct explanation of A.
(b) Both A and R are true but R is not the correct explanation of A.
(c) A is true but R is false.
(d) A is false but R is true.



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## II. Answer the following questions very shortly

1 What is Franchise?

2. Define Psephology.

3. Expand the term FPTP.

4. What are electoral constituencies?

5. Explain Voters' List.

6. What is election campaign?

7. What is Anti-Defection Law?

## III Answer the following questions shortly

1. What are the features of a democratic electoral system?

2. Mention the various methods of minority representation?

3. Explain the Delimitation of constituencies.

4. What are the committees related to electoral reforms?

5. Why did India adopt the FPTP system?

6. Explain about open ballot and secret ballot.

## IV Answer the following questions in detail

1. Explain the various types of representation.

2. Explain the need for free and fair elections.

3. Bring out the powers and functions of Election Commission of India.

4. Bring out the various electoral reforms in India.



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## Reference books

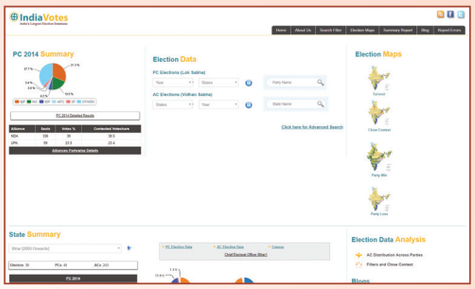

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## ICT CORNER

### Unit-11 Election and Representation

Right age to know who the representatives were so far. Shall we check and learn?




**Steps**

1. Click the URL or scan the QR code to launch the “indiavotes” page.
2. For, Lok Sabha Elections Select “year”, “states” and Click “GO”. For Legislative Assembly elections (State Elections), Select “State” and “Year” to know the details.
3. On having accurate details, Go for “Advanced search” and give in the details to fetch the data.
4. Click “Election Maps” on the home page to check the same with maps by feeding in the required on the left of the window.

**Download Link**

*Pictures are indicative only.

*If browser requires, allow Flash Player or Java Script to load the page.

URL : http://www.indiavotes.com/

YSFKD



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UNIT 12

# Local Governments



## Learning Objectives

- This chapter provides insights in to the local governments in India and as well as in Tamil Nadu state.
- It also provides the significance of local self government today
- This chapter would explain the scope of the Local Self government in the lives of the people today.
- This chapter would throws light on historical development and the major changes that have been made in powers and functions of local government since independence.
- Students would learn the structure, functions, elections, sources of revenue and issues in the rural and urban local governments in India.

## 12.1 Meaning, Nature and Importance of Local Government

Local Government means, the government which manages services and amenities in our villages, towns and cities with focus on local problems. The local governments normally functions within a specified limited territory of a village, a town, a city and also a large metropolitan city. The local governments function as the basic link between the people in a village or town with the government. As and when people have problems such as road repairs, water stagnation in the streets, non functioning of street lights and construction of small water bodies recreation parks, etc. The local governments have the responsibility to attend to any emergency situations, birth or death of persons in the village or town. The local governments are the institutions, which issues certificates of proof of residence, birth, death and incomes etc to the residents in that area. In total, the local governments are the institutions which are responsible for all such local needs of the people. They are the lowest unit of administration in the administrative structure of the government. The local government has council, which is normally elected by the people of the village or town concerned, which is responsible for the representing the problems of the citizens in the council and find solutions to the problems. The council representatives are elected once in five years, or four years, depending upon the law in operation in the country.




The local governments are representative institutions, representating people in the council. There are legally mandated to discuss and give solutions to the problems of the people of that area and also represent the problem to the higher levels of the government such as state. Since the local governments are established on the basis of democratic process, all the problems discussed by the council of the local governments should go through the process of discussion, debate and deliberations and unanimously accepted by the council. The members of



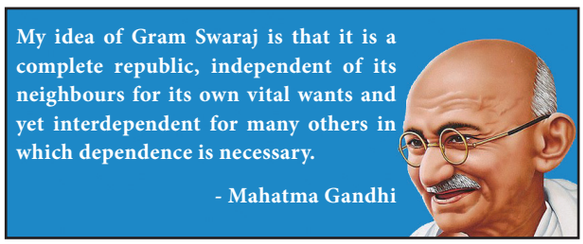
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the council are given freedom to discuss and also to take decisions at same time within the framework of the fundamental law of the land called Constitution.

Therefore, local governments are the institutions created for the purposes of solving the local issues and addressing the local level problems. The local governments normally consist of elected representatives drawn from the local population representing the local people and they represent the local issues in the council and try to find solutions to the problems. The local governments are the important channel of flow of resources and programmes to the people at the lowest levels normally called "grassroots" level. No country today afford to ignore local governments because of the fact that local issues at present becomes global issues. With development of Information and communication Technology (ICT), the whole world have become global village.

### Panchayati Raj: Gandhi Vs Ambedkar:

Gandhi wanted the Central Government to have minimal power, and he wanted the villages to rule themselves traditionally with village chiefs and councilors. According to Ambedkar, village possessed a cruel reality of communalism and caste system; thus it will lead to the cornering of minorities.




Gandhi, through his social and political initiatives, made the country realize that the power of people could be facilitated only through effective local self-government. "I shall work for an India in which the poorest shall feel that it is their country, in whose making they have an effective voice." Gandhi time and again emphasized need for power in the hands of the people in India through the Panchayat Raj model. Gandhi said, "The greater the power of the people, the better for the people."


Ambedkar

For Ambedkar, those villages were nothing "but a sink of localism, a den of ignorance and communalism." The dominant and influential communities would make villages their monopoly and that would render other communities voiceless. The result was that the Constitution that was drafted under his Chairmanship did not mention a word about Panchayati Raj.

Many Gandhians persuaded the committee to have a provision for the village panchayats in Part IV of the Indian Constitution titled Directive Principle of State Policy vesting the responsibility in State legislatures. Article 40 states that the State shall take steps to organize village panchayat and endow them with such powers and authority as may be necessary to enable them to function as units of self-government.

## 12.2 Classification of local government institutions

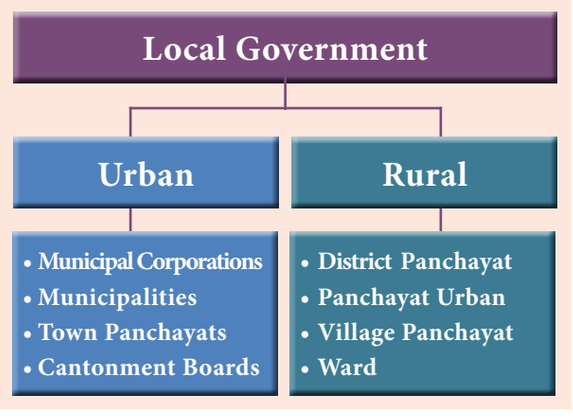
Local governments are classified as Rural and Urban based local governments. The Rural and Urban divide is made based on the nature of the occupation of the residents



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viz; agriculture based or non-agriculture based occupations. The agriculture based occupation means that almost or most of the residents of an area are engaged in agriculture related occupation and the nature of the functions normally would be farming, dairying, poultry, and other similar types of activities. Whereas, in urban areas the citizens would engaged in industrial, trade and business and other activities.

The urban areas are the places where the people's livelihood is based on occupations in industry, trade, commercial institutions and administration like government offices and private company offices. The urban areas are the link between the outside world to the local villages. The local governments formed in rural and urban areas are called rural local governments and urban local governments respectively.




In India, the rural local governments have given general name "Panchayati Raj" which means the system of Panchayat institutions, that is, the institutions which does the panchayat, (deliberate, discuss, and deliberate). The Urban local governments in India are classified in to various types depending upon the political and economic basis of the formation of the urban local governments such as, Municipal Corporations, Townships, Area Planning Committees and Cantonment Boards. For example, in India the urban local governments are classified into various types such, Municipal Corporations in metropolitan cities, Municipalities in small towns, Townships in industrial towns, Cantonment Boards in military establishments.

The Municipal Corporations are established in metropolitan cities with population with 1 million plus cities. The increase in the number of the population in metropolitan cities due to migration of people from rural and other small and medium towns and other metropolitan areas over the years make these cities mega polis.

The Municipalities are established in small and medium cities and town with population of less that 1 million. The Municipalities too are reclassified as Class I, Class –II etc., depending upon the number of the population and also range of the revenue collection. The grades of the Municipalities are reviewed periodically by the higher levels of the governments to facilitate the classification of the municipalities.

The Townships and the Notified Area Committees are emerging urban areas, where the new industries are established, the changing occupations of the residents of that area from farm employment to non-farm employment.

The Cantonment Boards are established in military establishments, where the defense establishments such as Training institutes for defense personnel, defense industry etc. Both the Rural and Urban local governments are lowest tier in the government hierarchy.



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In various countries of the world, rural and urban local governments are organized differently. However, the basis and principles of which local governments are being established are almost same. Local governments are being established for the local people with revenue predominantly derived from local resources. The upper layer of the governments normally does the function of supervision and monitoring the local bodies

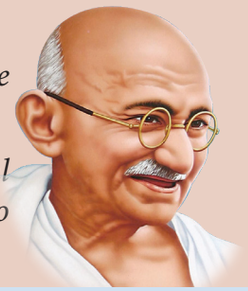
**ACTIVITY**

Find out the various kinds of taxes (property tax, water tax, drainage tax etc.,) people pay to the government by talking to a salaried person, a person running own factory or business and a shopkeeper. Share your findings in the classroom.

**ACTIVITY**

*"Corporate cleanliness can only be ensured if there is a corporate conscience and a corporate insistence on cleanliness in public places"*

*Today on 2nd October, we pay homage to the father of our National and work towards his vision of providing basic sanitation facilities to the poor.*



## Towards Total Sanitation

- Revised Guidelines of Integrated Low Cost Sanitation (ILCS) Scheme with the goal of eradication of manual scavenging by 2010 and increased subsidy for urban proof for conversation of dry latrines to water sealed systems.
- Basic servces (Water, Sanitation, Sewerage, Electricity, Health, Social Security, Affordable House) in all slums under Jawaharlal nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (Basic Services to the urban Poor and integrated Housing and Slum Development Programme) and Proposed Rajiv Awas Yojana (RAY) 2011 with individual water sealed toilets in each home.
- Emphasis on upgrading sewage, sanitation and soild waste management under JNNURM (Urban Infrastrcture & Governance and Urban Infrastructure Development Scheme for Small & Medium Towns).
- Total Sanitation Policy announced by Government.

### 12.3 Local Government around the world

Local Governments are as old as that of human civilization and in many countries around the world local governments are the foundation upon which the modern state is established. A preliminary reading about the Local Governments in various countries of the world show us that large or small, developed or under developed, some form of Local governments exist to deliver amenities and services at local level.

However they differ widely in their structure, powers, functional domain, fiscal resources etc. In many of



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the European countries there has been efforts on the part of the government to decentralize the powers and functions, which were otherwise centralized. The question of devolution of finances, the jurisdictional issues in policing, transport and inter-state commerce are some of the pending and irritants in the case of the developed countries. Whereas in the developing countries, there is more and more attempt on the part of the central or federal governments to centralize the powers and financial resources. In India the constant pressure is being exerted on the central government for more devolution of administrative and financial powers to state as well as local governments.

## 12.4 Origin and development of Local Governments in India

In tracing the origin and development of local governments in India, one finds the evidences of the existence of local governments even before the times of Christ (BCE). The period between 600 BCE to C.E. 600 witnessed the rise and fall of republics. During this period, there emerged Mahavira (founder of Jainism) and Buddha (founder of Buddhism). Villages were classified according to size and mode of habitation in Jain and Buddhists literature.

The religious orders founded by Buddha and Mahavira observed highly democratic procedures in arriving at decisions. Kautilya's Arthshastra (Treatise)gives a comprehensive account of the system of village administration prevailing in his time In the days of Maurya the village and the district were units of administration.

In the South Indian peninsula, the existence of the local self governing institutions could be traced well before the period of the Christian calender. The historical period can be grouped in to early Chola period, Kalabira period, and the later Chola period, the emergence of Vijayanagara empire, entry of Muslims and Moghuls and the British. There were very little evidence available about the system of local governance in the early Chola Period(which dates back to Before Christ) and the Kalabira Period.

But there were some account of existence of local governments during the times of Pandyas (rulers of deep south India) and the Pallavas (rulers of mid South india). But Cholas (rulers who ruled Mid Tamil country) period witnessed a well developed local self governments. The inscriptions of Paranthaka Chola–I (919.ADCCE – 922ADCCE) from Utthiramerur in Kanchipuram district of Tamilnadu state, give detailed account of local self government. They inform that each village had an assembly consisting of all adult males and their involvement in general matters. These assemblies are of two types, the "Ur" and the Mahasabha". The third kind was the nagaram (town) confined to mercantile towns(trading centers) and the fourth was the "nadu". Hence two types of institutions were mentioned one nadu (village and other areas) and nagaram (urban centers).

In general there is little information on the functioning of any village assemblies prior to the 9th century. Both "nadu" and "Nagaram" were concerned about the control and regulation of land holdings, management of irrigation works,



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temples, collection and remission of taxes, floating of loans for capital works and the management of charitable institutions. The "ur" and the "mahasabha" were the two institutions that assisted the officers in executing the orders of the king.

It has been found that Raja Raja Chola, the First, ordered the "mahasabha" of the Viranarayana Chaturvedi Mangalam to confiscate the property of traitors. Many historians such as Sir Charles Metcalfe, Sir George Bird wood and Eliphinstone opined that a strong system of local government existed in Ancient and medieval South India. But doubts are expressed by some of the historians about the elaborate existence of the local self government in ancient and medieval South India. The Mahasabhas and Kudavolai were confined to Brahmin settlements

During the Moghul period A.D (C.E.)1500 to A.D (C.E.)1777), the fundamental principles of central local relationships hardly changed with change of kingdoms. When the Mughal Empire was at its zenith of glory, it was divided into provinces (Subhas), and Provinces into sub divisions (Sarkars), and Sakars into union of villages (Paraganas). At each level the government is organized and the officials were appointed by the Emperor. In the Twilight of the Mughul Empire, the self governing institutions in rural areas had been severely damaged at vital points, but they had withstood the onslaughts with remarkable tactics.

After the Battle of Plassey in A.D (C.E.) 1757, the British East India Company derived land taxing rights (Diwani rights) from Bengal ruler (Nawab), which was the first step in the ascendency of the British rule in India. The rural and the other urban trading centers during the British East India company rule, was not under any control or supervision, except the three Presidency towns of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. The District administration under the charge of the district collector was the king pin in the British control over vast rural areas.

The important mile stone during the company rule was the establishment of the Municipal Corporations , as mentioned earlier at Calcutta (Kolkata), Bombay (Mumbai) and Madras (Chennai). Viceroy Lord Rippon in 1882 brought out a resolution, proposing a smaller unit for constituting rural local boards, a sub division, tehsil (taluk) and district boards to supervise.

Lord Ripon's resolution emphasized that the institutions he proposed should have a majority of non-officials who should be elected wherever it was feasible. Nearly 500 rural boards were created with a two third majority of non officials who depended upon the district magistrate (district collector) for the favour of nomination. The main activities of the district boards till 1909 were police, public works, education and village sanitation.

The rural local government introduced by Lord Ripon faced many criticisms and in the A.D (C.E.) 1907, the British government appointed a commission to enquire into the question of administrative and financial relations between the Government of India, Provincial governments and subordinate authorities under them so as to simplify



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and improve the prevalent system through devolution or otherwise. With the passing of Government of India Act, 1919, the local governments were entrusted with the elected elements of the provincial government under the diarchy system of government.

The number of the village bodies in Tamilnadu increased from 1417 in 1926 to 6250 in 1937. There are three tier system of rural local bodies viz; District Boards, Taluk Boards, and Village Boards. The District and Taluk boards have undergone changes by 1923, the non-official chairman in all provinces replaced official chairman. In Tamilnadu, most of the District Boards came to be dominated by Justice Party members, which stood at 545 in 1927. From 1937 upto 1947, the rural local authorities faced many challenges including the national freedom movement.

After Indian Independence in 1947, an attempt was made to revive local governments in India. Mahatma Gandhi argued for the decentralized administrative system in India entrusting responsibility of governance with the village panchayats (self sufficient Gram Swaraj). Shriman Narayan with blessings of Gandhiji published a blue print of the Gandhian Constitution for Free India wherein panchayats are the basic institutions for organizing social, economic and political activities of the citizens. In addition to the civic, political and administrative roles, the Panchayat was to play the economic role of organizing production and distributing resources in such a way that the village communities became self sufficient for meeting most of their basic needs.

Thus Article 40 came to be incorporated in the Constitution, as part of the Directive Principles of the State policy (Part –IV) of the Constitution of India adopted on Nov. 26th 1949. The Art. 40. States 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"

In compliance with the provisions of the Directive Principles of the State Policy, an ambitious rural sector initiative, the Community Development Programme was launched in 1952 with main focus of securing social- economic transformations of village through people's own democratic and cooperative organizations with the government providing technical services, supply and credit. This programme was extended to most of the blocks as National Extensions Service aimed at transferring scientific and technical knowledge to agricultural, animal husbandry and rural craft sectors. In 1956, under the Second Five Year Plan, (1956-1961), it was recommended that village panchayats should organically link with popular organizations at higher levels and in stages, the popular body should take over the whole administration. In 1957, Government of India appointed a Committee on Plan Projects under the Chairmanship of Balwant Rai Mehta. The Mehta Committee recommended two points namely, the administration should be decentralized and the administration should be placed under the control of local bodies.

Secondly, the community development blocks should be designed as administrative democratic units with an elected Panchayat Union to operate



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as a fulcrum of developmental activity in the area. It also recommended for the formation of District Development Councils (Zila Parishad) at the district level consisting of all the Presidents of the Panchayat Unions (Samities), Member of legislative assemblies and Members of Parliament with district level officers of the public health, agriculture, veterinary and education departments as members and the collector as the chairman. The district body is only an advisory body. The recommendation of the Mehta Committee were generally welcomed and Panchayati Raj legislations were enacted and by 1960s about 90 per cent of the population were covered by the Panchayati Raj bodies.

In 1977, the Government of India formed a committee under the chairmanship of Ashoka Mehta to go in to the working of the Panchayati Raj bodies and suggest measures to strengthen it. It recommended that Panchayati Raj should emerge as the system of democratic local government, discharging developmental, municipal and ultimate regulatory functions. Hence the first recommendation was to set up district Panchayat (Zilla Parishad) as the directly elected body. As a temporary arrangement, the committee recommended continuation of the Panchayat union at the block level. Not as a unit of local self government but as a nominated middle level support arm for the District Development Council. The Ashoka Mehta Committee submitted it's report in 1978, which was well received and led many states to introduce appropriate amendments in their Panchayat Acts such Karnataka, Maharastra Andhra Pradesh, West Bengal and Gujarat.

A number of committees were formed between 1978 and 1986, to look into various aspects of strengthening the local self government institutions, such as, C.H.Hanumantha Rao Committee, G.V.K Rao Committee and L.M.Singhvi Committee. Only minor changes were suggested by these committees from the Ashok Mehta committee, The next land mark was the introduction of 64$^{th}$ and 65$^{th}$ Constitutional Amendment Bills, in July 1989 by Rajiv Gandhi government, which could not be passed in the Council of States (Rajya Sabha).

After many attempts, in 1992, incorporating important features of earlier exercises on this subject, government drafted and introduced the 73$^{rd}$ and 74$^{th}$ Constitutional Amendment bills in Parliament in 1992 which was passed by the Indian Parliament in 1993. The 73$^{rd}$ and 74$^{th}$ Constitutional Amendments introduced new parts IX and IXA in the Indian Constitution containing Articles 243to 243 ZG.

## 12.5 73$^{rd}$ Constitutional Amendment – implementation and implications. (Panchayat Raj Act)

Article 243 B of the Constitution which was inserted into the Constitution under the 73$^{rd}$ Constitutional Amendment, envisages that states and union territories except those with population not exceeding 20 lakhs, will have to constitute a three tier system of Panchayat ie, village, intermediate and district levels. While the district has been defined as a normal district in state, the jurisdiction of village and intermediate levels have not been specifically defined in the Act.



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The territorial area of a village Panchayat can be specified by a public notification by the Governor of the state, and may consist of more than one village. Similarly, the intermediate level which can be a Taluk or Block is also to be specified by the Governor through a public notification in this regard. This provides a certain amount of flexibility to the States in constituting Panchayats at the lower and middle levels.

A new schedule, Eleventh Schedule was inserted in to the Constitution of India, which provided for obligatory and discretionary functions of the Panchayats at three levels,

(a) The Village Level

(b) The District Panchayat at the district level

(c) The Intermediate Panchayat which stands between the village and district Panchayats in the states where the population is above 20 lakhs

All the seats in a Panchayat shall be filled by persons by direct election from territorial constituencies in the Panchayat area. The electorate is named as "Gram sabha" consisting of persons registered in the electoral rolls relating to a village comprised within the area of a Panchayat.

**Eleventh Schedule (Article 243 G)**

- Agriculture, including agricultural extension
- Land improvement, implementation of land reforms, land consolidation and soil conservation
- Minor irrigation water management and watershed development
- Animal Husbandry, dairying and poultry
- Fisheries
- Social forestry and farm forestry
- Minor forest produce
- Small scale industries, including food processing industries
- Khadi, village and cottage industries
- Rural housing
- Drinking water
- Fuel and fodder
- Roads, culverts, bridges, ferries, waterways and other means of communication
- Rural electrification, including distribution of electricity
- Non-conventional energy sources
- Poverty alleviation programme
- Education including primary and secondary schools
- Technical training and vocational education
- Adult and non – formal education
- Libraries
- Cultural activities
- Market and fairs
- Health and sanitation including hospitals, primary health centres and dispensaries
- Family welfare
- Women and child development
- Social welfare including welfare of the handicapped and mentally retarded
- Welfare of the weaker sections and in particular of the scheduled castes and the scheduled tribes.
- Public distribution system
- Maintenance of community assets.



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The Chairperson of each Panchayat shall be elected according to the law passed by a State and such State law shall also provide for the representation of Chairpersons of Village and Intermediate Panchayats in the District Panchayat, as well as members of the Union and State legislature in the Panchayats above the village level.

Hence, the new Amendment Act provided for participation of Members of Parliament and Members of Legislative Assemblies in the Panchayat Union Councils and also in the District Panchayats. The Amendment Act also provided reservation of seats in the three tiers for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and not less than one third of the total seats for women. The tenure of the Panchayats shall be five years.

The law provides that any person who is eligible to be elected to the state legislature shall be qualified to be chosen as a member of a Panchayat. The responsibilities of the Panchayats are clearly laid down in the Eleventh Schedule. (Box.1). Like the National Finance commission, the Constitution Amendment Act also provided for the State Finance commission for recommending the formula for transfer of the financial aid to local governments from the states.

DO YOU KNOW?

There are around 2,50,000 village panchayats in India as per 2011Census

Consequent to the 73rd Constitutional Amendment as well as the Supreme court's rulings which effectively mandate that local authorities are also to be treated as "Government or state", The Panchayats that have acquired substantial legitimacy are recognized as an instrument of the Government and have created participatory structure of grass roots democracy for the rural people. Creation of constitutional bodies like the State Election Commissions and the State Finance Commissions have also given permanency and stability to these institutions. However, most Panchayats continue to be treated as agencies of the state for implementation of prescribed schemes, even though essential services such as provision of drinking water, rural sanitation, preventive health and primary education are accepted as their legitimate core functions. The structure of district administration under the control of the Collector, characteristically by a command structure and lack of horizontal coordination at the grass roots level, has become somewhat anachronistic in the modern democratic framework of out polity. In order to make local administration more responsive transparent and accountable to citizens there is a need to have a representative government not only in the Union and States but also at the District and Village levels with an equitable division of functions among them.

DO YOU KNOW?

**Panchayati Raj (1959 – 2009)**

Golden Jubilee Year – on 2nd October 1959, Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru laid the foundation of Panchayati Raj in Nagaur, Rajasthan; the most revolutionary step in the context of governance of rural India. The journey which commenced with the commitment of comprehensive development of villages and to put power in the hands of people.



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**Three tier Panchayati Raj system under 73rd Constitutional Amendment(1993)**

- District Panchayats (Elected and nominated)
- Panchayat Union Councils (Elected)
- Village Panchayats (Elected)
- Gram Sabha (All Voters in a village) (Advisory Body)

**DO YOU KNOW?**

The Grama Sabha meetings are held six times in a year ie. January 26, (Republic Day), March 22, (World Water Day) May, 01 (May Day) August, 15 (Independence Day) October, 02 (Gandhi Jayanthi) and November 01 (Local Governance Day or Ullatchi Nall

## 12.6 74th Constitutional Amendment Implementation and Implications (Nagarpalika Bill)

Under the 74th Constitutional Amendment, the urban areas comprise different types of municipal bodies constituted with reference to character, size and importance of different towns and cities. Municipal Corporations, Municipal Committees, Notified Area Committees, Town Area Committees, and Cantonment Boards are the usual types of municipal bodies and while the first four types were created under the state municipal laws, the Cantonment Boards owed their origin to the Central Act called the Cantonments Act, 1924.

In most of the states, all these types of urban local bodies existed except the Town Area Committees, which had since been abolished and converted into class – III Municipal Committees. Town Area Committees were semi municipal committees constituted for small towns by a separate act of the state legislative assembly.

After passing the Constitution (74th Amendment) Act, 1992, the Government of India notified the Amendment in June 1993. The Act of 1992 provided for a period of one year from the date of its commencement, the states were required to change amend or modify there legislations in order to incorporate the Central Amendment. Various states and union territories have enacted legislations for the governance of the urban local bodies in their respective jurisdictions. For example, the Punjab government enacted the Punjab Municipal Bill, 1998 to replace the Punjab Municipal Act, 1911.

A three tier structure of urban local bodies were proposed in the 74th Constitutional Amendment act namely, Nagar Panchayat or Town Panchayat, Municipalities and Municipal Corporations. We shall discuss briefly the details of the above three urban local bodies established under the 74th Constitutional Amendment Act.

### Nagar Panchayat or Town Panchayat

A Nagar Panchayat or Town Panchayat is constituted for a transitional area, ie. , an area in transition from a rural area to an urban area. The population of such an area is 5000 or more but less than 15,000 and the revenue generated from tax and sources exceeds such amount per capita per annum as many be specified by the government



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from time to time. Every Nagar Panchayat is a body corporate and has a perpetual succession and a common seal with power to acquire and hold, or dispose of properties and may sue and sued.

A Town panchayat shall consist of such number of elected members not less than 9 or not more than 15, as the state government may determine by rules. The members of the legislative assembly representing the constituencies comprising transitional area or any part of thereof, and two members nominated by the state government from amongst persons having special knowledge or experience in municipal administration. The nominated members shall not have the right to vote in the Town panchayat meetings. The term of a Town Panchayat shall be 5 years.

The government shall divide a transitional area (town panchayat area) in to a number of territorial constituencies known as wards and each ward shall elect only one member. Out of the total number of seats in Town Panchayat to be filled by direct election, seats are reserved for Scheduled Castes (SC) and Scheduled Tribes (ST) in the same proportion of the population of SCs and STs to the total population of that town panchayat area. In addition, one third of the total number of seats of that area are reserved for women, including the seats reserved for SCs and STs. The town panchayat members shall be elected from amongst its members, One President and one Vice President in a meeting convened by the Deputy commissioner. Every Town Panchayat shall perform obligatory functions such as water supply, drainage, clearing the streets etc. Every town panchayat shall have an executive officer appointed by the state government

## Municipal Council

A Municipal Council or municipality is constituted for a small urban area with a population of 15,000 or more but is less than 3 lakhs and the revenue generated from the tax and other sources exceeds such amount per capita per annum as may be specified by state government from time to time.

| Municipality Grade | Population |
|---|---|
| **Class A** | 1 Lakh or more |
| **Class –B** | 50,000 – less than one lakh |
| **Class – C** | Less than 50,000 |

A Municipal Council or Municipality for example in Class-A, not less than 20 and not more that 50 elected members; Class-B 15-30, and Class-C, 10-15. The members of State Legislative Assembly representing the constituencies lying within the municipal area are "Ex-Officio" members of the Municipal Council. Not more than 3 members are nominated by the state government. The nominated members do not have the right to vote in the elections of the chairpersons and vice chairpersons. The members are elected through secret ballot.

The whole municipal area is divided into wards, as per the number of councilors to be elected , say 15 or 30 or 10 . The electoral rolls of the legislative assembly in relation to municipal area



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are generally taken as the voters list. The candidates contesting in the elections are allotted symbols. The symbols of the recognized political parties are allotted only to the candidates sponsored or adopted by the them.

The Deputy Commissioner has to call the meeting of the elected members within 14 days of the notification of the election results to administer the Oath of office and to hold the election of the President and Vice-President. As that of Town Panchayats, seats are reserved for the SCs and STs according to the proportion of the population of SCs and STs to the total population of the municipal area. In addition, 30 per cent of total seats are reserved for women including the SCs and STs seats.

The 74th Amendment provide the constitution of ward committees consisting of one or more wards within the territorial area of a Municipality, having a population of 3 lakhs or more. A member of a Municipality representing a ward with in the territorial area of the ward committee shall be a member of the ward committee. The Standing Committees shall be constituted for each Municipality consisting of the President, senior Vice-President, and Vice president and 4 other members in the case of Class- A, 2 in the case of Class-B from among the elected members for a period of 2 and half years. The term of office of Municipality is five years. The elected municipality can be dissolved if it is not performing as per the provisions of law.

The Municipal Council meets at least once in a month, presided over by the President or in his/her absence Vice- President. The Municipal Council with the increasing load of work, elects subcommittees comprising councillors from amongst itself to study a problem in depth and make recommendation for its solution. The sub committees are of two types statutory committees and, non-statutory committees. Municipal bodies also appoint special sub committees for certain specific purposes and follow the same procedure for their election as it adopts the constitution of standing sub committees.

A Municipal Council elects its President from amongst members within one month of the constitution of Municipal Council. The Municipal Council is constituted after elections are held. The President is elected for a period of 5 years. The Municipal Council also elects one or two Vice- Presidents. The Presidents of the municipalities in various states draw monthly salary in addition to travelling allowance . The President convenes and presides over the meeting of the Municipal Council. He / She is empowered to take disciplinary action against offending councilors. The President is the chief spokesperson of the Municipal Council and represents it at official functions and also with regard to correspondence with the government.

The state government in every municipality appoints an Executive Officer. The Executive Officer is the principal executive authority and all municipal staff is sub-ordinate to him/ her. He/ She is the important officer to execute, supervise monitor and report the activities of the Municipalities to



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**Twelfth Schedule of the constitution: Powers and Responsibilities of Municipalities**

- Urban Planning including town planning
- Regulation of land use and construction of buildings
- Planning for economic and social development
- Roads and Bridges
- Water supply for domestic purposes,
- Public Health, sanitation conservancy, and solid waste management
- Fire services
- Urban forestry, protection of the environment, and promotion of ecological aspects
- Safeguarding the interests of weaker sections of society, including the handicapped and mentally retarded
- Slum improvement and up gradation
- Urban poverty alleviation
- Provision of urban amenities and facilities such as parks, gardens and play grounds
- Promotion of cultural, educational and aesthetic aspects
- Burials and burial grounds, cremations, cremation grounds and electric crematoriums
- Cattle ponds, prevention of cruelty to animals
- Vital statistics including registration of births and deaths
- Public amenities including street lighting , parking, bus stops and public conveniences
- Regulation of slaughter houses and tanneries

the council. The Municipal Council is the governing body of the Municipality, responsible for Municipal Administration. It makes by laws the governing place and time of council meetings, the manner of giving notices, the conduct of meetings.

The councilors are expected to keep themselves in touch with the citizens and enquire about their grievances against municipal staff, and bringing to the notice of the appropriate administrative head or to raise the matter in the council meetings. The powers and responsibilities of municipalities are enshrined in the Twelfth Schedule of the Constitution. (See Box-2)

The 74$^{th}$ Constitutional Amendment provided the constitution of committee for district planning, to prepare a draft development plan for the district as a whole. The Committee shall consolidate the plans prepared by the panchayats and municipalities in the district. The composition of the District Planning Committee as provided in the Act of 1992, consists of that not less than 4/5$^{th}$ of the total members of the committee. They shall be elected by and from amongst the elected members of the Panchayats at the district level and of the municipalities in the district, in proportion to the ratio between the population of the rural areas and of the urban areas in the district.

The Municipalities have been provided with the power to raise revenue for discharging its duties and performing its functions such as the taxes, duties and



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fees which could be levied and collected by the Municipalities (For example: tax on lands and buildings, scavenging tax on octroi, a tax on advertisements, a fire tax, toll on roads and bridges etc) the 74th Amendment Act made it obligatory for the state governments to Constitute State Finance Commission within one year from the commencement of Act.

The State Finance Commission shall make recommendations regarding:

(i) Distribution between the state government and municipalities of the net proceeds of taxes, duties, tolls and fees to be assigned or appropriated by the state;

(ii) Allocation of share of such proceeds between the municipalities at all levels in the states;

(iii) Determination of taxes, duties tolls and fees to be assigned or appropriated by the municipalities;

(iv) Grants-in-aid to fund the state;

(v) Measures needed to improve the financial position of the municipalities.

However in practice, the Municipalities in our country undertake only such functions which have been specifically assigned to them by respective state legislative enactments. This restrictive approach to municipal functions no longer and holds good in the changed political context and needs of the country. There has been increasing tendency on the part of the state government to take over more and more local functions either directly or by creating special purpose agencies.

## Municipal Corporations

The Municipal Corporations constitute the highest or the top most form of urban local government in India. They are created for big cities by the enactments of the State Legislatures or of the Parliament in the case of Union Territory. The various categories of the cities are determined by its population, area or revenues. Municipal Corporations in the early period were established in three Presidency towns viz; Bombay, Madras and Calcutta. A Municipal Corporation is based on the democratic principle of management of local affairs by the representatives of the people of the city concerned, who are to be elected periodically on the basis of universal adult franchise with reservation of seats for SCs and STs in proportion to their population and also for women. The Municipal Corporation is marked by statutory separation of deliberative and executive wings.

The Corporation Council and the Standing Committees Constituted the deliberative wing and the executive wing. The Council, consisting of elected representatives and a few nominated members, is responsible for the exercise of legislative powers. The Standing Committees function as an auxiliary of the Corporations. All the matters to be passed by the council pass through it after it considers the proposals and recommendation made by the Municipal Commissioner. The Municipal Commissioner is the chief executive and implementing the decisions taken by the council.



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Municipal Corporations in India are generally structured on the pattern of Bombay Municipal Corporation. The tenure of the Municipal Corporation is 5 years. The 74th Amendment provides wards committees, which shall be considered for one or more wards within the territorial areas of the Corporation. The chairperson shall be elected for one year and shall be eligible for re - election. A ward committee supervises provision of water supply, pipes and sewage, drainage connections to premises removal of accumulated water on streets or public places due to rain or other, collection and removal of solid waste, provision of health immunization, services for the civic services in slum and lighting, repair of roads, maintenance parks drains and etc.,.

A Municipal Corporation shall have a Standing Committee constituted by it, consisting of Mayor, the senior deputy Mayor and other councilors elected by the councilors of the Corporation from amongst the members. The Mayor shall be the chairperson of the Standing Committee. The Municipal Corporation also constitutes committees to deal with subject matters such as water supply, sewage etc.,. Each subject committee shall consist of not less than three and not more than five members.

The term of the subject committees is one year. The Municipal Corporations have been provided with financial resources to carry out its duties assigned to it by the 74th Amendment. A list of 18 functions to be performed by Municipal Corporations has been given in the 12th Schedule of the Constitution. Like the 73rd Amendment Act, the 74th Amendment Act also provided for a committee planning metropolitan area.

The Committee consists of not less than 2/3rd of the members who shall be elected by and from the elected members of the Municipalities and chairpersons of the panchayats in the metropolitan area in proportion to the ratio between the population of Municipalities and of the Panchayats in that area.

All Municipal Corporations are provided with the office of the Mayor and Deputy Mayor. Mayor in some states are directly elected by all the voters with in the metro city. In some states, Mayor is elected from amongst the elected councilors. The Mayor presides over council meetings, guide its deliberations to maintain decorum and exclude any objectionable portion from the record of the proceedings of the council. He/She is also empowered to expel and even suspend members for gross misconduct or disorderly behaviour. In case of a tie he/she exercises his /her casting vote.

The Municipal Commissioner is the chief executive officer of the Corporation. Normally the commissioner is being appointed from officers in I.A.S (Indian Administrative Service) cadre. The commissioner's appointment vested in the state government, has been a subject of great controversy. The term of the commissioner is three years, which can be extended by the state government. He/she is one of the statutory municipal authorities to carry out the provisions of the Corporation Act.



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ACTIVITY

**Cities Face Five Systemic Challenges**

A. Lack of modern contemporary framework of spatial planning of Cities and design standards for public utilities such as roads, footpaths, bus stops and other underground utilities.

B. Weak finances, both in terms of financial sustainability and Financial accountability of cities.

C. Poor Human Resource Management, in terms of number of staff, Skills and competencies of staff, organization design among others.

D. Powerless mayors and city councils and severe fragmentation of Governance across municipalities, parastatal agencies and state departments.

E. Total absence of platforms for systematic citizen participation and lack of transparency in finances and operations of cities.

***Source : Annual Survey of India's City Systems (ASICS)***

***Courtesy : The New Indian Express, 15.3.2018.***

## 12.7 The case of Tamilnadu

The Tamilnadu State Election Commission established under the 73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendments, gives a brief account of the status of local government in the state of Tamilnadu.

As stated by the Tamilnadu State Election Commission, under the 73rd Constitutional Amendment Act (Rural Local Bodies) the government of Tamilnadu as a constitutional obligation has taken into account important points including: formation of Gram Sabha in every village with powers of general supervision over the elected village Panchayat and the power to grant approval to the annual plans of the Panchayats; formation of three tier Panchayats i.e., District Panchayats, Panchayat Unions and Village Panchayats made obligatory; reservation of seats for weaker sections of society like SCs, STs and Women; powers to impose taxes and provision for grants , assignments etc., from government funds through constitution of a State Finance Commission.

Under the 74th Constitutional Amendment Act, devolution of more functions and taxing powers; revenue sharing with state governments; regular conduct of elections; reservation of seats for SCs and STs and for women; uniform composition of the urban bodies throughout the country were provided.

Following 73rd constitutional amendment the Tamilnadu Panchayats Act was passed in 1994, which replaced the earlier Tamilnadu Panchayats Act, 1958. The Tamilnadu Panchayats Act, 1994 was amended in 1996. The Act of 1996 provided as far as Panchayats are concerned : to plan for their developmental needs, constitution of District Planning Committee; constitution of State Election Commission and constitution of State Finance Commission. In the first elections under the 1994 Act, 1,17,000 representatives were elected for the three different tiers of local government across Tamilnadu.



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DO YOU KNOW? The State of Tamilnadu has 12,620 village panchayats, 385 panchayat unions and 38 district panchayats.

## Urban Local Governments

As far as urban local bodies are concerned, the 74th Constitutional Amendment Act, paved the way for setting up urban local bodies in various states. Elections were held to the rural and urban local bodies in Tamilnadu in 1996, 2001, 2006 and 2011.

## 12.8 Contemporary Issues

There are many issues which are highlighted by the experts in the field of local governance from time to time. The main issues brought out by the experts are provided in the following section. First there is considerable expansion in responsibilities of local governments, which were previously state government responsibilities.

DO YOU KNOW?

### Panchayati Raj (1959 – 2009)

The Tamilnadu Municipal Laws (Fourth Amendment) Bill, 2018 and the Tamilnadu Panchayats (Second Amendment) Bill, 2018 – for extending the tenure of the special officers of the urban and rural local bodies for a period of six more months.

Taking into account the capacities of the levels of government and the line of control, throughout government apparatus should be considered and reclassification of list is needed. Second, maintenance of village courts is also an important issue, where the policing is state wise centralized, which can not entrusted practically to the local governments.

Third, urban local bodies are entrusted with many functions out of which many of them are connection with the state government departments.

In sum, the 73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendment Acts brought reforms in local government in India. The rural and urban local bodies prior to the reforms were the creation of the British. Many new and innovative changes were brought in the amendments. So far only 18 states in India have ratified or approved the amendments in their legislative assemblies, which is required as per the law. In addition, many state government even after enacting the amendments and ratified them, have not put in to operation many provisions, because of the issues mentioned above. Unless these issues are resolved, the objectives for which the 73rd and 74th amendments were made, could not realized.

DO YOU KNOW? There are 21 Municipal Corporations, 152 Municipalities and 561 Town Panchayats in Tamilnadu as urban local bodies.

### Glossary

Municipal Corporation: Municipal Corporation is the legal term for a local governing body. A Municipal Corporation or city corporation is a local government in India that administers urban areas with a population of more than one million.

Municipality: A Municipality is usually a single urban or administrative division having corporate status and powers of self-government or jurisdiction as granted by national and state laws to which it is subordinate.



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Cantonment Board: A Cantonment Board is a civic administration body in India under the control of the Ministry of Defence. The Board comprises elected members besides ex-officio and nominated members as per the Cantonments Act, 2006.

Town Panchayat: A town panchayat is a small town of approximately 20,000 to 25,000 inhabitants. It is formed under the panchayati raj administrative system.

Panchayati Raj: Panchayati Raj generally refers to the system of local self-government in India introduced by a Constitutional Amendment in 1992,

Gram Sabha: Gram Sabha is a body consisting of all persons whose names are included in the electoral rolls for the Panchayat at the village level.

Mayor: Mayor is a person who is elected or chosen to lead the group who governs a town or city

Ward: A ward is a local authority area, typically used for electoral purposes.

Nagar Palika: In India, Nagar Palika, is an urban local body that administers a city of population 100,000 or more

Councillor: A member of a council

Dyarchy: Government by two independent authorities (especially in India 1919–35).

## Evaluation

### I Choose the correct answer:

1. When was the Madras (Chennai) Municipal Corporation established ?

(a)1870 (b)1882
(c)1687 (d)1992

2. When was the Lord Rippon's Resolution adopted ?

(a)1992 (b)1858
(c) 1882 (d) 1870

3. The dyarchy system was established for the first time under

(a) Government of India Act, 1909 (b) Government of India Act, 1919
(c) Government of India Act, 1935 (d) Government of India Act, 1958

4. The Nagarpalika Bill was passed in the year

(a) 1989 (b) 1990
(c) 1991 (d) 1992

5. What is the percentage of reservation of seats in local bodies for women under 73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendment Acts?

(a) 45 (b) 50
(c) Proportionate to the percentage of population of women in the constituencies (d) 20



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6. State Finance Commission is the organ responsible for

(a) Recommend to the state government about sharing of taxes between state and the local bodies
(b) Recommend to the state governor on the issue of elections
(c) Recommend to the President of India on issues connected with financial emergencies
(d) Recommend to the chief Minister about the law and financial situations in the state

7. District Planning Committee is provided under

(a) 93rd Constitutional Amendment Act
(b) 73rd Constitutional Amendment Act
(c) 89th Constitutional Amendment Act
(d) 94th Constitutional Amendment Act

8. Jawahar Rozgar Yojana is a programme

(a) To provide employment guarantee
(b) To get loan from Public sector banks
(c) To construct housing units
(d) To get employment abroad

9. Which of the following election has no place for political parties?

(a) Municipal Corporation Mayor Election
(b) Municipal Council Election
(c) Panchayat President and Panchayat Ward Member Election
(d) District Councillor Election

10. who is considered as the father of Local self Government in India ?

(a) Lord Mayo
(b) Robert Clive
(c) Warren Hastings
(d) Lord Rippon

11. Who conducts Local body elections in states?

(a) State Election commission
(b) Election commission of India
(c) Chief election commissioner
(d) The State Government

12.which are the Articles in the Constitution of India that deals with Local Government?

(a) Art. 40, Art. 243 to 243 O , Art. 243 p to 243 ZG
(b) Art. 300, Art. 300A
(c) Art. 3A , Art. 43 A
(d) Art. 31 , Art. 117 (1)



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13. Arrange the Three tier Panchayati Raj System as per the Constitutional Provisions

(a) Village Panchayat – Intermediate Panchayat – District Panchayat
(b) Panchayat Union – District Panchayat – Village Panchayat
(c) District Panchayat – village Panchayat – Intermediate Pachayat
(d) Village Panchayat – Town Panchayat – District Pachayat – Intermediate Panchayat

14. Assertion: 73rd Amendment Act brought rural local bodies

Reason: Democracy reached grass root level through local governments

Directions: Given below are two statements labelled as Assertion (A) and Reason (R) in the context of the two statements, which of the following is correct?

(a) Both A and R are true and R is the correct explanation of A.
(b) Both A and R are true but R is not the correct explanation of A.
(c) A is true but R is false.
(d) A is false but R is true.

## II Answer the following questions very shortly

1. What is the lowest unit of the Panchayati Raj system in Tamilnadu?
2. What are the days the Gram Sabha meets in a year?
3. What is the term of office of a Mayor of Municipal Corporation.
4. Describe the powers and functions of the State Finance Commission.
5. Which committee recommended the establishment of Panchayati Raj Institutions?
6. What are the sources of revenue of a village Panchayats?
7. Give at least two reasons for the need for the PRI institutions in India?
8. How many municipal corporations are there in the state of TamilNadu?
9. Who is levying and collecting Entertainment Tax?

## III Answer the following questions shortly

1. Give at least three salient features of the Panchayati Raj Institutions.
2. Define an urban area
3. Explain the concept of local self government
4. What are the main problems of big cities in India ?
5. Explain the organization of Mahasabhas.
6. What were the major changes brought by the British in local administration?

## IV Answer the following questions in detail

1. Explain the system of Panchayati Raj in India .
2. Describe the functions and powers of the Mayor of a Municipal corporation



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3. Trace the developments in Local governments in India after passing of the 73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendments.
4. Trace the origin of the local self government in India

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2. Pardeep Sachdeva. 2011. Local Government in India. Delhi: Pearson.
3. Burton Stein. 1994. Peasant State and society in medieval south India. Oxford and New York : Oxford University Press.
4. Nirvikar Singh . 1997. Issues in local government in India. Department of Economics, University of California.
5. TamilNadu social development Report 2000.


## ICT CORNER

### Unit-12 Local Government

Let us learn about the villages in Tamil Nadu.




**Local Government**

### Steps

1. Click the URL or scan the QR code to launch the "Village maps" page and learn the name of the districts and number of villages in the district.
2. "Click any "district" (For Example: Cuddalore) to know the sub districts of the district and number of villages in it and click the "Map" on the right side to have satellite view.
3. Click any "Sub-District" (For Example:Virudhachalam) to know the number of villages pertaining to the sub district and click the "Map" on the right side to have satellite view.
4. Click any "village" (For Example:Nallur) to know the map of the village.

### Download Link

*Pictures are indicative only.
*If browser requires, allow Flash Player or Java Script to load the page.

URL: http://villagemap.in/tamil-nadu.html



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UNIT 13

# Social Justice



**Learning Objectives**

**This Social Justice chapter – Provides insights into**

- Several dimensions of the concept of Social Justice
- Significance of Social Justice
- The meaning and importance of distributive justice. -Impact of Social hierarchy
- John Rawls perspective of fair and just society
- Social Justice Movements in Tamil Nadu.
- The concept/political principle of Affirmative Action/Positive Discrimination.
- Caste discrimination and its consequences
- Egalitarian society
- Reservation policy and its essentiality
- Government's role in upliftment
- Privileges and its impact

## 13. 1 What do you mean by Social Justice?

The negative values which are made by the society results in inequality and cleavation among people. Social power is the dominant phenomenon which leads to cut-throat competition and ends in absolute control of the subjects. It is in order to protect the social identity, the dominant communities endeavor to capture the power sector. Among different communities in a plural society, dominance of a single group is considered as unfair and unjust. The dominant groups activate racial, religious, caste, lingual and cultural feelings and intend to misuse the social rights of other groups that may end in permanent hostility between different groups. The struggle that is undertaken by the weaker groups in order to react for establishing equal society is known to be Social Justice.




### Background of Social Hierarchy




The ancient Indian civilization had evolved with the "Varnashrama Dharma" which kick-started the principle of hierarchy i.e. Upper and Lower strata. The Varna system is also called as "Four Varna System" by which people were divided as *Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vysyas and Shudras.*

Those sections who have been beyond these Varna classification were categories as scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. During the colonial period these depressed communities were classified as panchamas who were victims of untouchability. This division on the basis of birth has been inculcated and socialized along different phases of civilization from which inequalities surfaced in the society.

### Article 15 (4) of Indian Constitution

Article 29 (2) may not act as an obstacle in making special policy decisions for socially and educationally backward communities or SC/ST people.



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## Article 16 (4) of Indian Constitution

This will not prevent any sort of appointment or reservation among backward communities, if sufficient representation is not provided. India is a sub-tropical, sub-continent with varied geographical atmosphere. People speak different languages and follow unique hereditary values. Albeit of these factors, inequality is existing due to the Varna System. It is in order to advance and develop the socio-economic conditions of the downtrodden communities; Indian Constitution is having its ideal guidelines with strong structural foundation.

According to Indian Constitution, States which are having low technological development or inadequate natural resources can make their own special policies for holistic advancement. In accordance with the existing constitutional provisions, the downtrodden and underprivileged communities were provided with special laws and privileges in all the states.

Ideas like all inclusive development and self-sufficient societal growth highly hinges upon social justice along with special arrangements for the marginalized sections. Equal opportunity is the process and social arrangement by which social democracy can sustain and pluralism will be strengthened. In such a society different groups of religion, race and other factors can live with their social identity, tolerance and shared power.

Economic condition and status is one among the reason for the wedge created in the European society. Whereas in India, the division is on the basis of purusasvktha of Rigveda and particularly Four Varna System. This Varna System prevents individuals from their exercise of rights and values. Indian Constitution in this regard is implementing all its supervisory mechanisms and also is delivering distributive justice which is the motto of the largest democracy. This justice intended to weed out the caste distinction (Varna System) and to establish equal society in India. The democratic values in Indian Constitution protects and delegate power to all the people equally to develop themselves in the socio-economic sectors. Sticking on with this constitutional provisions may lead to social development

**Race, religion and lingual minorities UN proclamation – December 18, 1992.**

**Salient Features**

1. All minorities are having equal right without any discrimination and intervention to exercise their freedom in following hereditary values, to cling with religion, to propagate and to use their language.
2. All minorities can make their own organization and are having every right to maintain it.
3. Minorities should have right to upgrade their knowledge related with their history, conventions, language and other hereditary values. They should also be provided with opportunity to learn about entire society to which they belong to.
4. This declaration may not affect the basic freedom which is stipulated in the existing rights declaration.



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and further give place for social freedom and justice. Hence, vibrant social justice in India protects National Integration from which distributive justice and democratic values are concretized.

## I3.2 Equality is essential for Social Justice

People accept equality as an essential phenomenon but still inequality and discrimination are serving as distributing factors. Inequality prevails in almost all spheres like opportunities, comforts and working atmosphere. This kind of inequality and discrimination are permanent and unavoidable in our life, is it so? What we are going to do for the people, who do not have opportunities to work for the development of our nation? How far cultural values are responsible for this kind of inequality.

This is not only happening in India, but also at global level which creates stir in the minds of the people. It is for this reason, social equality stood in primary place in the Socio-political principles. Equality as a principle indicates what? What do you mean by "equal society". How do we assure equality? With that assurance, what we are going to achieve? Do we try to resolve inequality only in our income? What type of equality has to be established? To whom we have to provide equality?

### Need of special privileges

We give our voice for justice. We have to understand the reasons. If opportunity is denied along with social identity, that is absolute injustice in a society. This creates inequality among the people. Regardless of caste, gender, religion and other differences, people should be provided with appropriate opportunities to prove their talent and capacities in the individual life. In socio- political theories, the distinction between the difference among individual and socio-cultural differences exiting among them is considered as an important aspect. Individuals should receive respect and reputation on the basis of their achievements and talents. It should not be on the basis of social identities. Inequalities and discriminatory practices which prevail in the society are artificial and are known as prejudices.

## 13.3 Just Distribution

Governments can and will enact laws to facilitate the just distribution of resources to individuals with in a society. Laws simply pave the way for the fair distribution of resources. Law enforcing agencies may have to monitor the process of the distribution itself.



A country like ours where socio-cultural inequalities are well entrenched, a law for fair distribution will not automatically ensure just distribution of resources. Governments will have to ensure a level playing field in order to establish Justice. In other words, before the law brings us together, people should enjoy some basic equality of life conditions



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and opportunities. This attempt to create a level playing field must be seen as a necessary condition for each person to pursue his/her objectives in life. Since our constitution has abolished untouchability and other caste based discriminatory practices, both the State and the legislature would have to ensure the creation of such a level playing field. Thus, the government which swears in the name of protecting our constitution has the obligation of ensuring one of the finest promises of our constitution itself – bringing in equality to our society. Therefore, it is legal, constitutional and moral on the part of the government to create a level playing ground for all its citizens especially those who have been historically denied basic rights.

This level playing field or what we popularly call 'equal opportunity' must not be treated either as charity or as philanthropic gesture of the government. It is the obligation on the part of the government to treat people differently in order to ensure Justice; more importantly it is a fundamental right enshrined in the constitution for disadvantaged people to seek legal, constitutional remedy. Similarly, level playing ground is aimed at creating equal opportunity only in education and employment opportunities for the disadvantaged communities. In many realms of our everyday lives, there is virtually no demand from the marginalized sections to provide a level playing ground.

This clearly conveys the meaning of what is the aim of providing equal opportunity. When modern education becomes the most significant resource and employment in government sector remains a major source of livelihood, the concept of level playing ground or equal opportunity was advocated and subsequently this idea became an integral part of our constitutional apparatus.

There are several opinions in this regard. How should we distribute the resources and ensure equal opportunity/ fair access to education and jobs to all especially to the disadvantaged groups. Many especially people from the so called upper echelon of the society tend to think of treating people differently in order to ensure just distribution effectively amounts to discrimination. This opinion slowly and steadily invokes strong passion and at times results in violence too. The fear of losing educational and employment opportunities among the privileged communities was steadily growing as the government planned to 'reserve' seats for people from marginalized and underprivileged communities as part of its equal opportunity plan.

The idea of 'merit' would be invoked by the privileged sections of our country to argue that any attempt to 'reserve' seats for the underprivileged people would strongly damage merit based output of our education system; thus it would subsequently affect the professional abilities of the candidates. But as students of political theory, we must be able to dispassionately examine the issues involved in our quest to understand Justice. Do you first of all agree that some interventions are required to help the marginalized, underprivileged people? What would be the outcome if the



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privileged section retains all the resources including education and employment opportunities with themselves even after we become an independent country and a republic? Should we opt for an inclusive nation or an exclusive mob? What kind of social Justice we would eventually emulate?

**DEBATE**



- Do people ask the Government to provide a level playing field in sports?
- Does anyone seek similar intervention from the government in Private sectors, Armed forces?
- Does anyone demand that people must be treated differently in our criminal procedural system?

## 13.4 Distributive Justice and Retributive Justice

The substantial point of debate while studying the concept of Justice would be how the resources would be distributed to all section of the society. In order to understand this point more clearly let us dwell upon a few important perspectives on the issue of Justice. Equality of Resources, Common Ownership theories and Entitlements are often referred while discussing Justice.

### A. Equality of Resources

This perspective defines distribution of resources to be just; that is to say, if every individual has the same effective resources that amounts to Justice. If, for some given work, each person obtains the same amount of wage or reward, that is how we must realize Justice.

### B. Common Ownership Theories

These theorists argue that a fair distribution means each person in the initial stages must have the same amount of land or other valuable resources. It clearly means there are no major differences in terms of an individual's preferences and abilities. All individuals are endowed with equal amount of abilities.

### C. Entitlements Theory

It defines just distribution when land or any other resources disbursed must be historically justified. Individuals who have never had the ownership of land or other resources can appropriate it by voluntary transfer between and among themselves. Transfer of resources, for them, must be absolutely voluntary.

All these perspectives as it is evident from the brief description do focus on both resources and human ability. Resources could be for example, land as well as knowledge; human ability also plays a vital role for some theorists. There is a grand consensus that Justice in a society is possible only when it becomes distributive rather than retributive. How do we define retributive justice?

### D. Retributive Justice

The concept of retributive justice Can be understand the framework of this form of justice by following certain principles.

i). Those who have committed wrongful acts, serious crimes do deserve harsh punishment quite proportionate to their crime.



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ii). It is morally good; when the legitimate punisher gives the culprit a stern punishment what that person deserves; no matter whether the punitive action against wrong doers is compared with others or not, the punishment is necessary as moral good.

iii). It does not encourage punishing the innocent intentionally and also disapproves inflicting large punishments on wrongdoers disproportionately.

Even though, the idea of retributive justice played vital role in theorizing punishment and Justice for some time, some of its pivotal features such as proportionality, normative status of suffering and the ultimate justification for retribution become highly contentious.

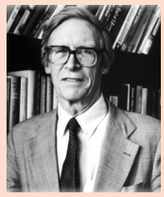
Retributive justice as a modes operandi to establish justice was firmly rejected in our constitution itself. The architects of our constitution firmly believed that violent methods will not bring in peaceful and enduring solutions to our problems nor does it establish sustainable Justice in our society.

## 13.5 John Rawls Theory of Justice

John Rawls is considered as one of the finest political philosophers of 20th century. He developed the theory of Justice based on the paradigm called Justice as Fairness. His framework treats all personal attributes as being morally arbitrary; therefore Justice for him demands equality. For him 'all social values including liberty, opportunity, income, wealth, self-respect are to be distributed equally. In other words, injustice is 'simply inequalities that not to the benefit of all'. If/when any action/attribute of an individual that does not benefit all actually signifies inequality and unfair/unjust character of a society. This perspective compels us to have a more comprehensive understanding of Justice itself.

### Impotant works of John Rawls

- Theory of Justice - 1971
- Die Idee Des Politischen liberalismus - 1993
- Justice as fairness - 1985
- The law of People - 1993



The ethics of reason will create, for Rawls, a new political structure in which people will think of polices not to optimize their self interests but rather envisage society as a whole. This comprehensive and holistic perspective embedded in Rawls' framework makes it highly pertinent while debating on Justice. That is to say, it would be in the interest of all sections of the society as a whole must benefit from the policies and rules; not for an exclusive section of a society. Such fairness would be the outcome of rational action not benevolence or generosity. John Rawls theory premises upon the arrival of quintessential modern, rational beings to realize the spirit of Justice in our society; a society like ours wherein non-rational identities and sentiments play a major role in organizing the society, may have to toil to truly understand the spirit of Justice as emulated by John Rawls.

**DO YOU KNOW?**

Migrated people are also having certain rights in the alien nations. Refugees, migrated and exiled are also exercising vital rights. The member nations of UN recognized those vital rights.



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## 13.6 Socio-Cultural Equality

In the diversified society, people from different groups may practice their cultural values, habitual factors and improve individual talents. For this to happen, equality in society is an essential criterion. Every individual should be assured of fair opportunity in the society. To a large extent, unequal atmosphere should be wiped out for attaining liberal society.

To put it in a nutshell, actions must be taken at least to reduce the unequal circumstances. For instance, a good healthcare, education, nutritious food stuffs, minimum emoluments are the basic needs to be provided to all without discrimination. Without these basic facilities, we may not call a society as egalitarian one.

### What are the main issues of our Nation?

Beliefs and practices on the basis of caste and religion are dastardly obstacles to the development of our country. In many parts of India, the status of women is at lower level - education, employment, right to property are refused to women. If this situation extends and established as our culture, a major catastrophe may not be averted in India. If inequality and discrimination is stamped as our cultural value, the path of equality may not be at cross roads and cannot be attained at all.

### Economic Equality

Economic equality can be identified by individual's income and the value of property, he possess in a society. Otherwise, the gap between rich people community and poor may indicate the status of economic equality. Further, by calculating number of people under poverty line, we may draw strong inferences and resolutions. This kind of identification is widespread among all the nations. But certain discriminations on the basis of culture and historical cum habitual practices, may create precarious issues in the concerned society. Radical reformers during different phases of history, has made wide awareness about these untoward and unethical happenings to the people.

"Humans respected on the basis of caste which he belongs to, is barbarian and anti-human thinking", exclaimed E.V.Ramaswamy alias Periyar in Tamilnadu. He out- rightly condemned the cultural practices, habitual follow-ups and other so called values which refutes equality in all its aspects. Periyar also was against "Patriarchal Chauvinism" which subjugated women all along the history.

That society is best which got rid of caste, religion, gender and suppressive habitual practices", lamented Periyar. Modern society cannot be sanctified by the people who cling towards the language and discriminatory cultural practices. Apart from Periyar, various saints, seers and philosophers took strenuous efforts to have egalitarian society. People who enjoyed all kind of privileges on the basis of dynasty, birth and descent so far has to come to end. Determining an individual's capacity on accordance with the birth is the primary and precarious feature of the unequal society.

All are equal and individual's capacity, if decided on the basis of merit, is the first step towards equal society. So far, number of modern nations refused to



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provide voting rights for the poor people. There are nations which restricts women education and public offices in the 21st century.

In India, lower strata people are permitted to work only in the clerical and other benefit-less offices. They were not permitted to occupy higher positions, because of their caste identity. Individuals and organization for the past centuries made onerous efforts to curb out in equal menace from the society.

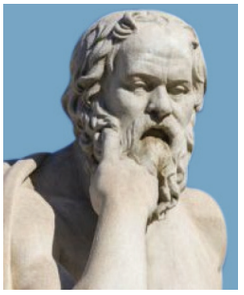
There some human communities which needs special attention, since they were totally ignored and exploited by the upper strata people. Truthful equality can be identified only in those rare occasions. Injustices unleashed in the past must be identified to know about what real or fair equality is.

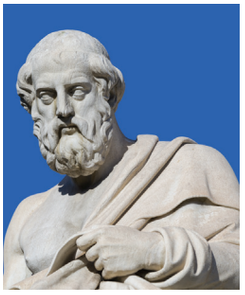
Reservation policy is a good initiative from the part of government in delivering equal justice. People, who were denied of education and employment opportunities so far, were provided with reservation for uplifting the condition and status.

Discriminatory practices which were followed for long time in the historical phases may not be curbed out in a short span. Expecting the change within one or two generations is an utopian faith, stated researchers. If reforms happened in short time, it will be a good sign for the development of the entire nation.

## Social Justice and Equality

All civilizations were equipped with the awareness of their practices. The accepted practices are "Dharma" and the negative is "Adharma". Those people who breach these practices will be punished by the king. Mistakes and related punishments are quite natural in all the countries.





Greek philosopher Plato and his disciples often debate and discuss about justice and its practices. Discourses and teachings of Socrates consists of anti-justice people and their impact in the society. Justice and fairness may do only good things in a society.

If justice do favour for certain individuals, that may not be considered and called as justice. Justice is all about the entire development and advancement of a society. Fair justice is applicable to all the people in a society, claimed Socrates. We may infer from the above said arguments that reservation is the fair justice provided to the people, who were hitherto discriminated and exploited.

## Proportional Justice

The social justice provided by our Indian Constitution to the depressed and downtrodden communities is a helping hand for their development and advancement. But how much and to whom are the major questions?

Caste hierarchy is the primary reason for inequality in our nation. Hence on the basis of the caste hierarchy, social justice has to be maintained/must be maintained. In categorization, we are having backward



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caste, most backward caste, scheduled caste and scheduled tribe for whom, government's policies are distributed accordingly.

DO YOU KNOW?

First Commission for backward community was established on 1953. Kaka Kalelkar was the first head of this Commission in Independent India.

## 13.7 Discrimination-Social Basis Theory

As socio – psychologists describes, Human beings identify themselves as part of their group. They felt prestigious and energetic only when they are recognized as a part of their own group. What discrimination means is that out grouping their own members from the membership of their group or ban their members from accessing natural resources. Indeed, wealth is an important matter. Someone of the group's eligibility and self – respect indirectly defends of someone getting wealth.

Empirical studies confirm that persons with a low sense of social recognition display more out-group devaluation and group-focused enmity based on an ideology of human inequality. Negative attitudes toward different out-groups (ethnic and religious minorities, women, and people who are disabled or homeless) are strongly correlated with each other, indicating the unspecific nature of discrimination.

## 13.8 Affirmative Action

The principle of affirmative action is to promote societal equality through the preferential treatment of socially and economically disadvantaged people. Often, these people are disadvantaged for historical reasons, such as oppression or slavery. Support for affirmative action has sought to achieve a range of goals, bridging inequalities in employment and pay, increasing access to education, enriching state, institutional, and professional leadership with the full spectrum of society, redressing apparent past wrongs, harms, or hindrances and in particular addressing the apparent social imbalance left in the wake of slavery and slave laws.

For example, a 2017 study found that affirmative action in the United States of America "there is an increase in the share of black employees over time, in 5 years after an establishment is first regulated."

### United States of America

Though there were developments in Liberty, Economy and Technology in United States of America, still there were sustained discrimination on the basis of colour till the later period of Twentieth century. This raised Civil Rights agitations there. Following this Affirmation Action was introduced by John F.Kennedy in 1960s in the United States of America. This was called as Executive Order 10925. Through this order, Govt requested the employers not to discriminate their employees or candidates on the basis of race, creed, colour, or national origin.

This order was replaced by another order 11246 in the year 1965. By this the Federal Government commit "to promote the full realization of equal employment opportunity through a positive, continuing program in each executive department



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and agency". In the U.S., affirmative action's basic purpose was to pressurize institutions into compliance with the nondiscrimination mandate of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Affirmation Action was extended to women in 1967.

### United Nations

The International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination stipulates that affirmative action programs may be required for all countries that ratified the convention, in order to rectify systematic discrimination. It states, however, that such programs "shall in no case entail as a consequence of unequal or separate rights for different racial groups after the objectives are achieved."

The United Nations Human Rights Committee states that "the principle of equality sometimes requires State parties to take affirmative action in order to diminish or eliminate conditions which cause or help to perpetuate discrimination prohibited by the Covenant.

### Social Justice laws in South Africa

Following the transition to democracy in 1994, South Africa chose to implement affirmative action through legislations to correct previous imbalances. As such, all employers were compelled by law to employ previously disenfranchised groups (blacks, Indians, and Coloured). By this the companies employing more than 50 people have to design and implement plans to improve the workforce demographics, and report them to the Department of Labour. Employment Equity also forms part of a company's Black Economic Empowerment scorecard. Moreover, the Supreme Court has ruled that in principle blacks may be favoured.

### China

China followed some sort of affirmative action in education for minority nationalities.

### Russia

Quota systems existed in the USSR for various social groups including ethnic minorities, women and factory workers for access to university education, offices in the former Soviet union.

### New Education – New Requisites

The educational system which we had in Ancient India was discriminatory. People were permitted to undergo education on the basis of their own caste. After the introduction of new education system in modern India, the marginalized communities are not allowed in the main stream.

In south India, new or modern education was introduced by Christian missionaries of European nations. In the initial part of 19th century, British established more number of Christian missionaries in many parts of India. Many communities, who were denied educational opportunities, utilized the choice for their development.

## 13.9 Status in Madras Presidency

During the same period, Chennai presidency came under the direct rule of British Empire. Laws like 'Ryotwari' were made. Moreover, tax collecting system was introduced. Further, military forces were also instigated. In 1835, English was declared as official and administrative language in India. Indians were appointed in the British Indian military forces. Majority of the people who joined in military were non-Brahmins and deprived communities.



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Although colonial British regime appointed Indians in military forces, it hesitated to permit Indian languages in the educational institutions. This untoward situation remained same until the end of the 19th century. People who are fluent in English were appointed in these services. Apart from the Europeans, Anglo- Indians and Brahmins were appointed in all government services.

Due to the establishment of 'Jamindari' and 'Ryotwari' system in the initial part of 19th century, 'Landlords', 'Zamindars' and other dominant groups spearheaded in entire India. All the above said are "Caste Hindus". "Caste Hindus" domination in all villages greatly affected the villages and particularly, the downtrodden communities were kept aside from the lands in all villages of India.





In this connection, a British officer 'Francis Ellis' was appointed to submit the status report regarding 'Ryotwari System'. In similar way, another officer, 'Thomas Munro' also submitted a report related to the 'Ryotwari System'. According to the reports, 'Lands which were tilled by lower strata people, were illegally occupied and acquired by 'Zamindars' and 'Landlords' and thus caused quality-less farming and low level of yields. It is also reported that Land Income Tax was also affected due to this acquisition. Moreover, the deprived and downtrodden communities were checked-out of their lands and also their children denied admissions in the schools and other educational institutions.

### Preferential Rights for the Downtrodden

In 1885, Madras Presidency Government declared financial assistance policies for the downtrodden communities and also the government oriented new schools for the lower caste people.

In the meantime, Tremancre, collector of Chengalpet district submitted a report on the downtrodden communities of Chengalpet. Those excerpts are: People of downtrodden community were at low level in all aspects, particularly social-economic, educational spheres. Lands are denied for them. They were not permitted to build houses for their own. Educational opportunities were rejected. They are sold as slaves. Lots of lands are kept barren. Due to this, income for the government has been diminished. To increase the income of the government, lands can be distributed to the people.

There were so many recommendations present in the officers' report. In 1892, this report was considered and accepted by the government. Accordingly 12 lakh acres were distributed to the lower caste groups. These lands are called as "Panchami." Schools for lower caste groups are called as "Panchamer School".

"Panchamer" means people who are out of Varna System or excluded communities. 'Ayothidasa' and 'Singaravela' opined that "Panchamer Schools" can be called as "Adidravidar" schools. Since it is the traditional name carved to the category.



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In 1854, court delivered direction that there may not be any restriction to admit children who belongs to lower caste groups. The Caste Hindus and other dominant communities, however, didn't obey the judgment of the court proceedings. In 1865, Secretary of state for India in British Parliament ordered for admission of children who belong to lower caste groups but the condition remains unchanged.

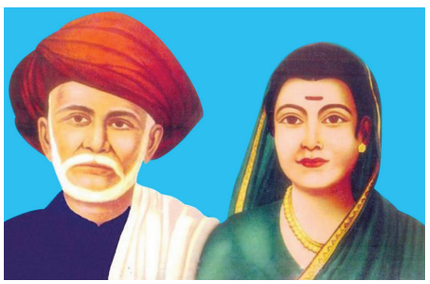
British India in the end part of 19th century supported Brahmin development in all spheres, whereas minorities were denied opportunities in education, society, power and employment sectors. The Non-Brahmins, and minorities (lower caste) who studied in the modern educational institutions were dissatisfied with the government's biased stand. They demanded representation for lower caste groups in government services.



In 1891 the natives Travancore Kingdom submitted the Malayalee Memorial demanding adequate opportunities for native in employment. In 1896, 'Ezhava Memorial' demanded adequate opportunity for 'Averna' (backward communities, in employment and education. Narayana Guru took intense efforts to organize victims of caste system and instated educational institution for them. Even before such movements arose in extreme son. In 1902, Kolhapur Raja Chatrapati Sahu for the first time introduced reservation in governments jobs for Non-Brahmins. Almost simultaneously in the Mysore kingdom the 'Miller Committee' recommended communal distribution of jobs.

Those people who demanded for appropriate representation are Ayothidasa, Singaravelar, Rettamalai Srinivasan, Pitti Theagarayar, Raja of Panagal and many others. Demands put forth by these people were accepted in 1922. Community based representation order was issued in all departments of Madras Presidency. This order is called 128(2). The order has to be implemented in all parts of Chennai Presidency, declared the government.

The efforts taken towards "education to all" in Tamilnadu also spread over to other states of India. Leaders like Jyotirao Phule, Savithribai Phule took onerous efforts in Maharastra for educating the depressed and downtrodden communities.



## Justice Party



There were more applications forwarded in 1913 to Royal Commission which was headed by Alexander Cardow. Apart from Madras Presidency, Rangoon Thravi Association and others also submitted their application with demands to the commission. All applications emphasized for appropriate



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representation in employment for backward, downtrodden and religious minorities. Dr. Natesan, Pitti. Theagarayar, T. M. Nair tried to submit and a report on the burning issue of the minorities and low caste groups. P. Theagarayar has written and published it as "Non-Brahmin Manifesto" in December, 1916.




In 1916, Pitti. Theagarayar, T. M.Nair and others started South Indian Liberal Federation for the welfare of the Non-Brahmin communities. A magazine “Justice” was also published by this Federation to express their thoughts and ideas. Later on, this Federation was popularly known as “Justice Party”.

This movement spread out “communal representation for Non-Brahmin in education, and employment sectors. In 1915, Justice Party submitted a petition in which it condemned the domination of English and Sanskrit in higher education. Further they demanded to include Tamil and other languages in higher education.

In 1917, 54 Associations met the representative members of British empire and demanded “Fair Representation” for Non-Brahmin communities and other minorities. Moreover, “Communal Representation” was demanded during multiple conferences.

## First Communal Representation Order

During the rule of Justice Party in Chennai Presidency, the demand for communal representation reflected in vigorous manner. The prolonged struggle for communal representation by Justice Party and wide support from the people propelled the central government to make resolution in this regard in 1921. This resolution, later on was called as Communal Representation Decree.

It is the red lettered day in Indian history, lower caste groups, who were suppressed and deprived of Social and Economical condition for many centuries had fullest confidence to lead their life with self-respect and dignity by this decree.

A resolution was submitted by Munusamy the member of legislative assembly in Chennai. The Resolution reads; "Non-Brahmins with minimum educational qualification should be provided with employment opportunity. Non-Brahmins specifically, Christians, Muslims and lower caste groups to be appointed in all government services. For this, a permanent order should be legalized. If salary is above Rs.100, this order should be implemented for 7years until it reaches 75% of the population". With regard to this resolution, R.K.Shanmugam stated that “If this historical and land mark resolution is implemented, the future generation may really appreciate our truthful efforts towards emancipation”. In supporting this view, Dr.C.Natesan voiced that “If fair representation is not provided for our people, we will not pay taxes”.

Periyar, EV.Ramaswamy, a staunch supporter of congress party also eulogized the ideas of Justice Party, he expressed the

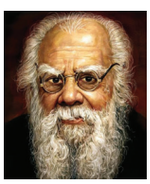


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same demand in Congress Party. In 1925, during the Kanchipuram Congress Party Conference, Periyar passed a resolution regarding communal representation in education and employment. Periyar came out of congress party, since his resolution was rejected by the high command. In 1928, during the leadership of R.Muthiah, (Justice Party), Communal representation was passed and implemented in all the government departments.

## First Amendment

In the aftermath of the effective implementation of Indian Constitution, in 1951, Mr. Senbagarajan filed a suit in the High Court; related to the denial of Medical Seats. He also mentioned that, communal representation is the reason for the denial of his seat. The High Court gave its Verdict that Communal representation decree is against the constitution and to be abandoned. In addition to that, Supreme Court also sided with the same Verdict. Reservation Policy on the basis of caste was abandoned due to the Verdict.



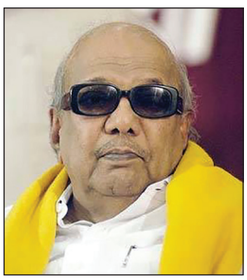



State wide protests erupted in Tamilnadu against the Verdict. E. V. Ramasamy, demanded for an amendment in the constitution. It is due to efforts of Periyar, Tamilnadu congress committee President Kamaraj, Prime Minister Jawarharlal Nehru and Ambedkar, an amendment was made related with the extension of Reservation Policy. This was the first Amendment in the Indian Constitution. Due to this, backward and other communities retained the opportunity of reservation.

According to articles 15 and 16 of Indian Constitution, "Socially and economically backward people can be provided with special privileges". This provision made Nehru to come with First Amendment in the Indian Constitution.

Accordingly, sub-sections 15 (4) and 16 (4) were included in the constitution. After the Amendment, from 1951 onwards Backward Communities receive 25% and Lower Caste 16% respectively due to reservation policy.

## Expansion of Reservation



Under the Chief Ministership of M.Karunanidhi, a commission was constituted under the Chairmanship of Sattanathan to take into account on the welfare of backward community. It is on the basis of the recommendations of Sattanathan commission, backward community got 31% and SC/ST received 18% as reservation in 1971.

In 1979, Social Welfare Department of Tamilnadu Government issued an order (MS No.1156, Dated 02.02.1979). According to this order, annual family income of backward community was fixed as Rs.9,000/-. Later on, that order was repealed. A new order was issued, in which reservation for backward community was increased from 31% to 50% and for SC/ST it is 18%. To sum-up, 68% reservation came into effect in Tamilnadu.



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In continuum with this, in 1989, another suit filed in Supreme Court with regard to allotment of separate reservation for Scheduled tribe (ST) community. In this case, Supreme Court of India delivered the verdict by which, backward community, most backward, scheduled caste and scheduled tribes received 30%, 20%, 18% and 1% respectively. The entire reservation was changed combinedly and 69% came into effect in Tamilnadu.

## Reservation in Central Government: Mandal Commission

The central government under the Prime Ministership of V.P.Singh consented with the recommendations of Mandal Commission. The Government issued an order which confirmed 27% reservation for Backward Community in Central Government Services.



In opposing this order, Indira Sawhney, filed a suit stating the order breaches the constitutional provisions. She also added that reservation policy overrides the principle "All are equal before Law". Supreme Court delivered a clear verdict that 27% for backward community in Central government services can be legalized. Further it states, "the reservation should not reach beyond 50%".

The Supreme court of India fixed 50% as ceiling for reservation policy, whereas it was not mentioned in the constitution. Moreover, the highest ceiling of 50% can also be discharged.

## Thus the Judgment says

"Although 50% is the ceiling fixed for the reservation in central government services, it may be changed, taking into account the diversified communities and abnormal situations of this nation".

"People who are distant, those who could not mingle with the mainstream society or without opportunity, unique in culture may be exempted from this ceiling fixed by the Supreme Court. 50% of the ceiling may be exempted, said the same judges who delivered the famous verdict in this sensitive case.

That said, a member of consumer trust, K.N. Vijayan from Tamilnadu filed a suit stating, 69% reservation in Tamilnadu is given against the Supreme Court Verdict. Supreme Court, however, in its Verdict mentioned that Engineering and Medical Colleges should not be provided reservation more than 50%. It also issued Interim prohibition for the reservation.

It was similar with the untoward happenings during 1951, which prompted



the state government under J.Jayalalitha who passed a bill in the state assembly by citing the reference from directive principles of state policy (Article 31(c)).

The bill on 30.12.1993 was given consent by the President of India on 19.07.1994 by which 69% reservation received fullest legal protection. To avert further filing of suit against Tamilnadu



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Government, it endeavored to incorporate reservation policy in IXth schedule of the Indian Constitution.

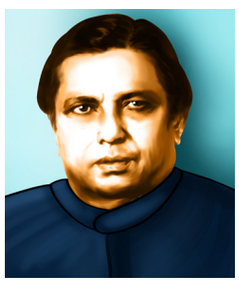
Parliament passed the 76th Amendment in which reservation policy of Tamilnadu Government was incorporated in IXth schedule of Indian Constitution. Further it came into retrospective effect from November 16, 1992.

Reservation for different communities is a temporary effort to get place in power sector. To attain social change and social ideals, caste hierarchy has to be demolished and eternal equality to be established. One among the means to attain permanent equality is "Inter-Caste Marriages". Marriages happening within caste may further strengthen caste system and serve as an obstacle for the equal society. Casteless marriages and lateral cum ideal thinking are the best contrivances for making radical social change.

## Backward classes Commission

According to article 340 of Indian Constitution, President of India can appoint backward classes commission to identify socially and educationally backward groups and also to submit recommendation related to their standards and states.





Hitherto, the Indian government has constituted the backward classes commission.

### 1. Kaka Kalelkar Commission

Kaka Kalelkar Commission was the first one constituted in 29.01.1953. There were 11 members including the Chairman Jawaharlal Nehru who tabled the report submitted by this commission in the Parliament. But the report was not adopted.

### 2. Mandal Commission

Central Government under the Prime Minister-ship of Morarji Desai constituted Subindeswari Prasad Mandal Commission on 20.12.1978. This is the second such Commission established for the backward community. S.S.Gill was appointed as the Secretary of this Commission.

It is in order to identify the condition of backward community; a group was constituted under the leadership of B.B.Mandal in 1978. The group travelled all over the nation. This Commission on the basis of 11 basic reasons identified 3743 castes which comes under backward community. Castes were identified on the ground of peoples' status in education and society.

Mandal has written in the preface of the report which reads, "Madras is a pioneer state in communal representation. It has given representation for backward classes". We may infer that Tamilnadu is the birth place for Social Justice and serve as a great pioneer for all other states.

52% of the backward communities in India has to be provided with 27% reservation, remarked Mandal Report. This reservation was implemented by



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V.P.Singh Government on 13.08.1990 in all Government (Central) Services. Due to this order, backward communities who are backward in social and educational sectors entered into central services.

## Promoting Social Justice

In order to achieve social justice, it is often suggested that reservation policy is an important tool. We must realize that reservation in education and in jobs is one of the methods to achieve 'Social Justice' and not the only method. Social Justice must necessarily premise upon the idea of egalitarian philosophy that no one is inferior or superior to anyone by birth.

Those who have been benefitted extensively by the philosophy of ascriptive status (status based on birth) must realize that such status cannot be part of a modern world; to be a modern person what is more important is to have the consciousness of being equal to everybody around us. Unfortunately 'modern' is being equated with latest electronic items and luxury items we possess. Having latest gadgets will not make us modern. For India to become a modern nation, this radical transformation is required more than anything. That is why the social justice is organically embedded in the idea of modern India.

**DO YOU KNOW?**

The Government of India appointed the 2nd Backward Classes Commission in 1979.It was headed by B.P.Mandal. Hence it was popularly known as Mandal Commission. It was asked to determine the criteria to identify the socially and educationally backward classes in our country and recommend steps to be taken for their advancement. One of the recommendations was that 27 per cent of government jobs be reserved for the socially and economically backward classes.

It was in December 1980 members of Mandal Commission submitted their report to Zail Singh, the then Home Minister. After submitting the report B.P.Mandal said, "I know much labour has gone into the writing of this report. But let me tell you that today we have performed its immersion (visarjan) ceremon."

Next ten years, the report lay in the Home Ministry's office. Report was dusted up by the then National Front Prime Minister Vishwanath Pratap Singh (1931 – 2008) for implementation in 1990. Mandal Commission report became the single-most burning topic of controversy and heated discussion. There was total confusion in the national political arena and V.P. Singh was accused of indulging in the worst form of opportunism. No major political party supported the implementation of Mandal Commission recommendations.

Some section of people and associations opposed to this order filed a number of cases in the court. Eleven judges of the Supreme Court heard arguments of both sides and by a majority, the Supreme Court judges in 1992 declared that this was valid. At the same time the Supreme Court asked the government to modify its original order. It said that well-to-do persons among the backward classes should be excluded from getting the benefit of reservation. Accordingly, the Department of Personnel and Training issued another Office Memorandum on September 8, 1993. The dispute thus came to an end and this policy has been followed since then.



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## Indira Sawhney V. Union of India AIR 1993 SC 477

- Also known as Mandal Commission Case.
- On January, 1979 under the Chairmanship of B.P.Mandal, the second Backward Classes Commission under Article 340 was appointed by the Union Government headed by Prime Minister Morarji Desai.
- One of the major recommendation made by the commission was that, besides the SCs and STs, for other backward classes which constitute nearly 52% of the population, 27% government jobs are be reserved so that total reservation for all, SC,ST and OBCs, amount to 50%.
- No action was taken on the basis of the Mandal Report for long after it was submitted, except that it was discussed in the Houses of Parliament twice, once in 1982and again in 1983.
- On August 13, 1990, the V.P.Singh Government at the Centre issued an office memorandum accepting the Mandal Commission recommendation and announcing 27% reservation for the socially and educationally backward classes in vacancies in civil posts and services under the Government of India.

## Glossary

Fraternity - Universal brotherhood which is stipulated in the Indian constitution

Exploitation – Misusage of resources

Egalitarian society - Society without stratification

Privileges - Special schemes or rights for particular human communities

Injustice - Activities which are against the will of people

Social identity - An indicator which locates the people in a society

Apartheid - Suppression of one race by the other

Varna system - Divisive phenomenon in the society

Minorities - people who belongs to a group at less number in population

Reservation - Policy which helps people for upliftment

Plural society - Varied on the basis of culture

Social change - Change which creates behavioral variation

Civil rights - Rights provided by the government to live in a society

Political rights - Rights of the people in the political sector

Economic equality - Less cleavage between people in terms of economic condition

Dharma - Do's and Don'ts

Landlordism - Exploitation by land owners

Deprived - Economically and socially exploited and exhausted

Panchamer - people who are out of the Varna system

Justice - Fair distribution of authoritative allocation of values



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## Evaluation

### I. Multiple Choice Questions

1. Survival of the fittest theory was coined by
   a) Denim b) Roosevelt
   c) Darwin d) All the above

2. Slave Trade means
   a) Women trafficking b) Child trafficking
   c) Men trafficking d) All

3. Apartheid regime means
   a) One race suppressing other b) Blacks suppressing whites
   c) Torture d) Affluent society

4. Narayana Guru belongs to which state?
   a) Andhra Pradesh b) West Bengal
   c) Maharashtra d) Kerala

5. “Vaikom Movement” was spearheaded by
   a) Periyar b) Rajaji
   c) Nehru d) Gandhi

6. "An inquiry into Wealth of Nations" was written by
   a) Keynes b) Adam smith
   c) Rousseau d) Bodin

7. Reservation policy is to
   a) Upliftment b) Advancement
   c) Justice d) All

8. Caste system is at high level in
   a) Hinduism b) Islam
   c) Christianity d) Zorastrianism

9. Ambedkar at the end phase converted to
   a) Christianity b) Hinduism
   c) Buddhism d)Jain

10. Just society means
   a) No discrimination b) Casteless
   c) Religion less d)All

11. Mandal Commission uplifted
   a) SC b) ST
   c) OBC d)OC



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12 Assertion: Non- brahmins were appointed to government services in British India.
Reason: Communal Representation Decree was passed in the year 1921.

(a) Both A and R are true and R is the correct explanation of A.
(b) Both A and R are true but R is not the correct explanation of A.
(c) A is true but R is false.
(d) A is false but R is true.

## II. Answer the following questions very shortly

1. Society Government and Caste-Define.
2. Casteless Society-Define.
3. What do you mean by caste discrimination?
4. What is equality?
5. What is exploitation?
6. Define about caste violence.

## III. Answer the following questions shortly

1. Write a note on Reservation policy.
2. Write about Equality in Indian constitution.
3. Give a brief account on Caste organizations.
4. Write about caste discriminatory practices in India.
5. Explain the recommendation of Mandal Commission.

## IV. Answer the following questions in detail

1. Discuss the basic tenets of equal society.
2. Give a brief account on political ideas of Periyar.
3. Discuss about various leaders' role in equality.
4. Write a note on leadership of the modern movements.
5. Explain about new social movement.

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UNIT 14

# Political Developments in Tamilnadu



CNKG8

| Diary of Events | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1914 | - | Birth of Dravidian Association |
| 1916 | - | South Indian Liberal Federation was formed |
| 1917 | - | Justice Party |
| 1919 | - | Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms |
| 1925 | - | Periyar founded Self Respect Movement |
| 1937 | - | Congress Ministry formed under the leadership of Rajaji |
| 1937 | - | Anti-Hindi Agitation |
| 1944 | - | At Salem conference the Justice Party was renamed into Dravidar Kazhagam (DK) |
| 1946 | - | T.Prakasam of Congress formed Government in Madras Presidency |
| 1947 | - | O.P.Ramaswamy became the Chief Minister |
| 1949 | - | P.Kumaraswami Raja formed his ministry |
| 1949 | - | Birth of Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK) |
| 1952 | - | First General Elections took place |
| 1956 | - | States Reorganization Act |
| 1965 | - | Anti-Hindi Agitation. |
| 1967 | - | Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam formed government under the leadership of C.N.Annadurai. |
| 1969 | - | Madras State was renamed as "Tamilnadu" |
| 1969 | | C.N.Annadurai passed away. |
| 1969 | - | M.Karunanidhi became the Chief Minister of the State |
| 1972 | - | AIADMK was founded by M.G.Ramachandran (MGR) |
| 1974 | - | State Autonomy Resolution was passed in the Assembly |



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## Learning Objectives

- To understand the nature of political discourses that took place in Madras presidency during the 1900s.
- To unravel the emergence of Non-Brahmin movement and how it had paved the way for the Dravidian parties rule in the state of Tamil Nadu.
- To explore the nature of centre-state relations during the rule of various political parties in the state.
- To study the welfare policies of the Dravidian parties and its significant impact on the society.
- To examine whether any state level political will has any impact on national politics.
- The chief aim of the study is to understand various dimensions of the social welfare policies of successive governments in the state.
- To explore the reasons for the fragmentation in Dravidian politics and in consequences.

## 14.1 Political History of Tamil Nadu

Compared with rest of India, Tamil Nadu has had a healthy administrative and political culture, more or less stable economic life, and continuity of traditions from the hoary past to the present. Madras Presidency of South India came into existence due to the administrative and political needs of the British. The Madras Presidency was formed in A.D (C.E.) 1801. The Presidency, as it existed during the 19th and 20th centuries, comprised of the present states of Andhra Pradesh, Malabar region of Kerala, Southern Karnataka, Southern most part of Odisha and Union Territory of Lakshadweep.

Madras Presidency politics in the early part of 20th century was dominated by the "Brahmin – non – Brahmin conflicts". Scholars and political thinkers believed that understanding the conflicts between these two groups, (the Brahmins and non – Brahmins), is necessary to understand the South Indian Politics and society.

### Madras Presidency

Simultaneously a few members of Non-Brahmin caste groups sought employment in industries, commercial enterprises etc., Significant but a portion of non-Brahmin caste groups migrated from rural areas to urban pockets of the Presidency and wanted to ascertain their identity as 'Dravidian' and 'Tamils' and gradually challenged the monopoly of powers and privileges enjoyed by the Brahmins in politics, administration and society.

The word 'Dravidian' was used by scholars and non – Tamils to identify non-Aryan Tamil speaking people. At the same time Brahmins were identified as "Aryans" and the custodians of Sanskrit civilisation where as non-Brahmins were considered as "Dravidians" and the custodians of Tamil language, culture and civilisation.

## 14.2 Emergence of Dravidian Movement

In order to protect and promote the Tamil identity, culture, socio-political and economic interest of non-Brahmins, a movement called 'Dravidian Movement' was started in Madras Presidency by a group of non – Brahmins.



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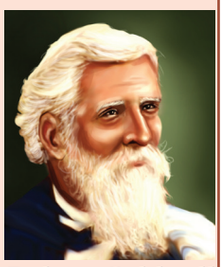
## Dravidian and Non-Brahmin Identity

In 1801 Madras Presidency was formed by the colonial regime as a multilingual province (Tamils, Telegus, Malayalees, Kannadigas and Tulus). India's diversity could be noticed in the political developments of the Madras Presidency. In Bengal and in the rest of North India a Sanskrit and Vedic centered Indian culture was projected, besides an Indo-Aryan or Indo-German group of languages were acknowledged. Non-Vedic, Non-Sanskrit cultures were not recognized. The deciphering of Brahmi script in 1837 by James Principe and researches on south Indian languages (***Ellis in 1816 and Caldwell in 1856***) came to establish that Indian culture was not homogeneous; and there existed a (Non-Aryans) group of languages and countries.



*Francis Whyte Ellis*

**Francis Whyte Ellis (1777-1819)** was an eminent civil servant of East India Company's government at Madras. In 1810 he became the collector of Madras. In 1812 he established the College of Fort St.George to train company's servants in the south Indian languages.Ellis himself became a scholar in Sanskrit and Tamil. He adored Thirukural and translated eighteen chapters of Arathupal into English. In his foreword to Alexander Duncan Campbell's "Telugu Grammar" Ellis had brilliantly elaborated the **"Dravidian Proof"** of the South Indian languages. Thus Ellis was the first to declare that the South Indian languages led by Tamil belonged to a non-Sanskrit non-Aryan Dravidian family of languages. Iyothi Dasar hailed Ellis as the forerunner of the Tamil Renaissance.



*Robert Caldwell*

**Robert Caldwell (1814-1891)** As a Christian missionary he came to Madras Presidency in 1838 and settled at Idaiyankudi in Tirunelveli region. He was an eminent linguist and philologist. His monumental research work **"A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South Indian Family of Languages"** (1856) established that the South Indian languages, Tamil, Telugu, Kannada, Malayalam and Tulu, were basically distinct from the Aryan or Sanskrit group of languages, and these South Indian languages led by Tamil, ought to be classified as **"Dravidian family of languages."** He attributes more ancient antiquity to Tamil. He pointed out that there were Tamil or Dravidian words in the ancient Christian scriptures. The Dravidian theory of South Indian languages ,pronounced first by F.W.Ellis in 1816, was consolidated through Caldwell's "Comparative Grammar" in 1856. He also authored a book on "History of Tirunelveli", His wife Eliza Mault rendered yeoman service in educating the girls of the marginalized sections of society. Caldwell's researches established the uniqueness and antiquity of the Dravidian languages led by Tamil.

Buddhist and Dravidian traditions also existed in India. In the south, especially in the multi-lingual Madras Presidency, theories on Dravidian group of languages and Dravidian cultural heritage led to assertion of Dravidian identity among the Non-Brahmin.

Two factors (1) Brahmins claiming superiority over Non-Brahmins and (2) Brahmins monopolizing educational



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and employment opportunities transformed the Dravidian identity into Non-Brahmin identity. (In Maharashtra too Mahatma **Jyotiba Rao Phule** launched a Non-Brahmin movement on similar lines). in the middle of 19th century Dravidian also indicated the Non-Brahmins in south India.

The Non-Brahmins of the Madras Presidency had a grievance that the emerging nationalist leaders paid no heed to non-brahmin issues. In 1852 Gajulu Lakshmi Narasu Chetty expressed this grievance, seceded from British Indian Association and floated his own organization named Madras Native Association. In the post-mutiny period, the non-brahmin leaders undertook social reforms rather than political reforms. After the introduction of Minto-Morley reforms in 1909 the non-brahmin leaders of Madras Presidency began to protest the inadequate representations to them in education and employment.



**Jyotiba Rao Phule**

Sir **Alexander Gordon Cardew**, a member of Governor's Executive Council submitted statistical details (1913) to prove that the Brahmins who formed only three percent of the population cornered most of the opportunities.

## 14.3 Justice Party

The major political organization of that time, Indian National Congress was dominated by Brahmins had refused to consider the demands of non-brahmin members. Thus the non-brahmin leaders of Madras Presidency began to think of floating a non-brahmin political organization. The prospects of political reforms after the First World War, and the possibilities of representing institutions stimulated their move.







In 1916 Dr.T.M. Nair, Pitti Theagarayar and Dr.C. Natesan founded the South Indian Liberal Federation to promote and safeguard the socio-economic political interests of the non-brahmin. This South Indian Liberal Federation (SILF) came to be popularly known as the "Justice Party" named after the English journal Justice. Through their relentless efforts they secured reservation of seats for the non-brahmin in the elections to the legislative council. Under the 1919 Act

### The main objectives of the Justice Party (JP)

i) To create and promote the Educational, Social, Economic, Political and material progress of all communities other than Brahmins of South India.

ii) To work for Non-Brahmins upliftment through Constitutional government.

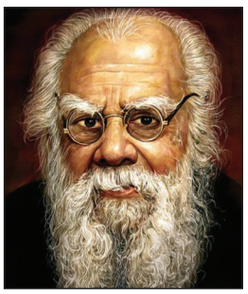
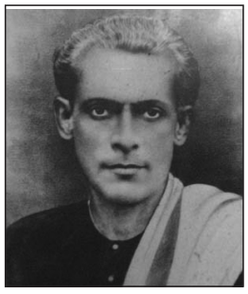
iii) To make the government truly a representative government.

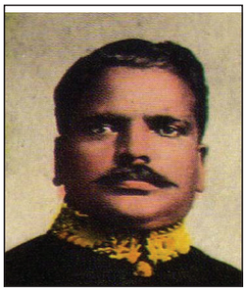
iv) To create public opinion infavour of Non-Brahmins demand.





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Montagu Chelmsford reforms 1919 introduced dyarchy in the presidencies by which a few departments were earmarked for Indian ministers chosen from the elected members. In the first elections under dyarchy in 1920, the Indian National Congress as a part of the Non-Co-operation Movement boycotted the elections, but many congressmen contested the elections under different banners. The Justice Party won majority of the seats and A.Subbarayalu became the First Chief Minister and after his death, Raja of Panagal became the Chief Minister of Madras in 1921.




## 14.4 Contributions of Justice Party

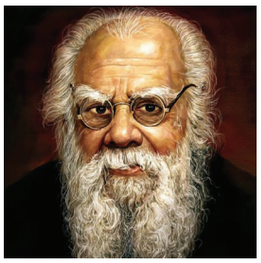
In spite of the fluctuating fortunes in the subsequent elections, the Justice party continued to hold power from 1921 to 1937. They introduced a number of reforms. Through communal Government Order they ensured adequate number of opportunities to every category of non-brahmin communities. They removed discrimination against Sudras and Panchamas in public roads, transports, restaurants and public wells. They regulated the temple affairs through the newly constituted Hindu Religious Endowment Board, earmarked plots of land for the Panchamas (Panchami Land) introduced new township and industrial estates. Special efforts were taken to provide education for the children of depressed classess. For the first time they experimented with "Noon Meal Scheme" in a few schools. Knowledge of Sanskrit as the basic eligibility for medical education was removed which facilitated non-brahmin students gaining entry into medical education. On an initiative from Dr. Muthulakshmi and others, Devadasi system was abolished in Tami nadu and women were enfranchised. Co-operative societies were promoted. Mirasdari system was abolished, and a number of irrigation schemes were introduced in 1923. Annamalai University (1929) and Andhra University (1926) were founded during their regime. It was the Justic Party which provided the most successful government under the Dyarchy though they were assigned only a few departments.





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## 14.5 Periyar E.V. Ramasamy:



Peiyar E.V. Ramasamy considered the decision of Rajaji's government to impose Hindi as a compulsory subject as a move to establish 'North Indian imperialism' and destroying the Tamil language and culture. Periyar, further, maintained that the imposition of Hindi was a calculated effort to sub ordinate the Dravidians in order to ascertain the supremacy of the Aryan Brahmins.

Madras Presidency has witnessed massive anti-Hindi agitations and Periyar was imprisoned by the provincial government. It is significant to note that in fifteen years he went to jail twenty- three times and got the nickname as 'jailbird' (Siraiparavai). In 1938, Periyar was imprisoned for his Anti-Hindi agitation and then he was elected as the president of Justice Party. In the same year, the Justice Party passed a resolution that Tamil Nadu should be made as a separate state loyal to British government and it should be under the direct control of the Secretary of State for India.

Periyar E.V.Ramaswamy who played a pioneering role in the Madras Presidency Congress, had tried his best to make the Tamilnadu Congress Committee adopt resolutions in favour of proportional representation for the non-brahmins in political arena. He gave an effective leadership to the Vaikom Sathyagraha and campaigned against caste-discrimination in the Cheranmadevi Gurukula, founded by congress.

When all his efforts failed to make Congress adopt his programme, he left Congress and launched the 'Self-respect Movement' in 1925. He shunned electoral politics, instead campaigned for social reforms, especially for eradication of caste system, removal of indignities and gender based restrictions on women, and rejection of hereditary priesthood. The self-respect movement carried on a vigorous campaign against age old superstitious beliefs and practices in every sphere and questioned the role of religion in justifying and sustaining such irrational traditions and inequalities. The Self Respect Movement campaigned for rationalism, and against denial of dignity and equal status of individuals (including women) under the garb of tradition and religion.

The Self Respect Movement ordained its members to give up caste surname and caste-religious identities; it introduced the self-respect marriages. It fought against not only untouchability but even against the caste-system and the caste based disabilities and indignities imposed on individuals.

The Self Respect Movement propagated not merely better treatment of women, but for equal rights, equal status an equal opportunities for women. Self Respect Movement's role in "Women Liberation" was unparalleled and for that E.V.Ramaswamy was given the title "Periyar" in a women's conference. Periyar's journal 'Kudiarasu' 'Revolt' and later 'Viduthalai' carried on the effective propaganda of self-respect ideals.






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## 14.6 Self Respect Movement

In 1929 the first Self-Respect Conference was held in Chengalpattu. In the crucial elections of 1937 the Congress party, led by C. Rajagopalachari, won majority of seats. The Congress party victory was largely because of the decline of Justice Party. The Congress formed the government and Rajaji became the premier of the Madras province.

Soon after assuming power the Congress government introduced Hindi as a compulsory subject in the schools. Periyar launched anti-Hindi agitation. A large number of students have participated in the agitations organized by Periyar.

During this period, the Communist Party (formally launched in 1925) became active in campaigning for socialist programme and organized labour movements. M.Singaravelu, and his associates were impressed by the social reform programmes of the Self Respect Movement, which in turn extended support to the economic programme of the communists, and these two movements agreed to work on a common programme (Erode Plan).



### Objectives of Self-Respect League

i) Reforming Dravidian society to make it truly rational.

ii) To teach the truth of ancient Tamil civilization to Dravidians.

iii) Save the Dravidian society from the domination of Aryan culture.

iv) Reforming the Hinduism by eliminating Brahmin influence and superstitious practices.

He wanted to do away with indignities on of Dravidians by creating social awareness among the non-Brahmins in general and the youth In particulars. He advocated Self –Respect marriages, a marriage which was conducted in the absence of Brahmin priesthood, discouraged the people from performing irrational religious ceremonies and not to employ the services of the Brahmins in any of the social events.

### Decline of Justice Party

By 1929, the Self-Respect Movement had become a formidable movement in the Madras Presidency. In 1930's the Justice Party began to face decline in the political sphere of the province. There were three major factors responsible for this decline. Firstly, the party lost its support among the Depressed sections of the society and minorities. Secondly the Self-Respect Movement, under Periyar had become more radical. Finally the elitist and pro-British outlook of Justice Party had also contributed significantly for its decline.

## 14.7 Anti Hindi Agitation

The decline of the Justice Party and Periyar's refusal to enter into electoral politics together with the growing popularity of Mahatma Gandhi, enabled Indian National Congress to win elections in the Madras Presidency in 1937 and Rajagopalachari became the premier.

He introduced total prohibition (ban on liquor) and abolished the Zamindari system, and introduced legislations removing restrictions on temple entry for the depressed classes. Yet his measures leading to closure of many schools and introduction of Hindi as compulsory language in schools provoked the admirers



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of self respect and Tamil Nationalists like Mariamalai Adigal to organize the 'Anti Hindi Movement' in 1937. Thousands of agitators including E.V.Ramaswamy courted arrest, and a number of agitators died in prison.



### Salem Conference, 1944

In 1944, at Salem conference under the leadership of Periyar, a historic resolution was moved to change the name of Justice Party to Dravidar Kazhagam (DK). Periyar organised 'Dravida Nadu' conference and demanded an independent homeland for 'Dravidians'. Further, he pronounced his very famous slogan 'Dravida Nadu for Dravidians' at the conference.

Apart from separate 'Dravida Nadu' demand, the Dravidar Kazhagam wanted to establish casteless society, condemned irrational and demeaning religious rituals, traditions and superstitious in Dravidian society. The Dravidar Kazhagam became very popular in many rural and urban masses, especially among the students. Many non-Brahmin leaders and students have changed their name reflecting Tamil Identity.

### Anti-Hindi Agitation 1965

In accordance with the provisions of Article 313 of the Indian Constitution Hindi was made as the official language of the Indian Union on January 26, 1965. In order to protest the decision of the Union Government the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam decided to observe 26th January, 1965 as a 'Day of Mourning'. Many leaders of the party and its cadres were arrested. Tamil Nadu had witnessed a large scale of Anti-Hindi agitations. Because of the agitations the cause secured considerable amount of support among the student community. On the other hand the Congress party lost its base and support in the state of Tamil Nadu. Meanwhile, the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam had withdrawn the demand for 'Dravida Nadu' in favour of prejudicial autonomous and continued to actively participate in the electoral politics of Tamilnadu and became a ruling party in the state.

## 14.8 Dravidian Movement during second World War and after:



In 1939, the congress protested the government's declaration involving India in the Second World War which led to the resignation of congress ministry. In Madras Presidency Rajaji's ministry had resigned but Periyar raised the demand of Dravida Nadu on the ground that independence prior to socio-cultural equality would be injurious to Tamil interests. In 1949, Dravidar Kazhagam split and Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam was formed.

In 1951, the Supreme Court struck down communal reservations in higher education. Immediately Periyar launched a major agitation for the restoration of communal reservation.



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DO YOU KNOW?

| S.NO. | PREMIER CHIEF MINISTER | YEAR |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | A. Subbarayalu Reddiar | 1920 – 1921 |
| 2 | Raja of Panagal | 1921-1926 |
| 3 | P. Subbarayan | 1926 1930 |
| 4 | P. Munusamy Naidu | 1930 1932 |
| 5 | Poppili Raja | 1932 -1937 |
| 6 | P.T. Rajan | 1936 |
| 7 | K.V. Reddy Naidu | 1937 |
| 8 | C. Rajaji | 1937 - 1939 |
| (Note: Tamil Nadu was under Governor's rule from 29 th October 1939 to 30th April 1946) | | |
| 9 | T. Prakasam | 1946 -1947 |
| 10 | O.P. Ramasamy Reddiyar | 1947 – 1949 |
| | **CHIEF MINISTER** | |
| 11 | P.S. Kumarasamy Raja | 1949-1952 |
| 12 | C. Rajaji | 1952 - 1954 |
| 13 | K. Kamaraj | 1954-1957 |
| 14 | K. Kamaraj | 1957-1962 |
| 15 | K. Kamaraj | 1962-1963 |
| 16 | M. Bakthavatsalam | 1963-1967 |
| 17 | C.N. Annadurai | 1967-1969 |
| 18 | M. Karunanidhi | 1969-1971 |
| 19 | M. Karunanidhi | 1971-1976 |
| 20 | M.G. Ramachandran | 1977-1980 |
| 21 | M.G. Ramachandran | 1980-1984 |
| 22 | M.G. Ramachandran | 1985-1987 |
| 23 | Janaki Ramachandran | 1988 |
| 24 | M.Karunanidhi | 1989-1991 |
| 25 | J. Jayalalithaa | 1991-1996 |
| 26 | M.Karunanidhi | 1996-2001 |
| 27 | J. Jayalalithaa | 2001 |
| 28 | O. Panneerselvam | 2001-2002 |
| 29 | J. Jayalalithaa | 2002 -2006 |
| 30 | M. Karunanidhi | 2006 - 2011 |
| 31 | J. Jayalalithaa | 2011 |
| 32 | O. Panneerselvam | 2012 (Interim) |
| 33 | J. Jayalalithaa | May 16, 2016 – Dec .5 2016 |
| 34 | O. Panneerselvam | Dec 2016 – Feb 2017 |
| 35 | K. Palanisamy | 16 Feb 2017 - May 2021 |
| 36 | M.K.Stalin | May 07, 2021 till date |



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Law and rules are only for the people. People are not for the law and the rules
– Kamaraj



Consequently, the first constitutional amendment Act was passed in the Parliament facilitating reservations for socially and educationally backward classes.

## 14.9 Rajaji Regime (1952-54)

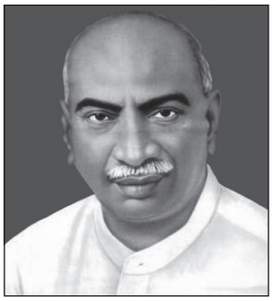


The politics of Madras State in India witnessed the continuation of struggle between statusquoists and reformists. C. Rajagopalachari (Rajaji) who led the first elected ministry in the Madras, under the Republican Constitution, again reduced the number of schools, attempted to impose Hindi in schools and Modified Scheme of Elementary Education which provided for part time learning of hereditary occupations popularly known as kulakalvi.

Dravidian leaders launched a statewide protest against movement. Even a section of Congress leaders resented Rajaji's proposals which led to change in Chief ministership.

## 14.10 Kamaraj Era (1954-1963)

Kamaraj abolished the Modified Scheme of Elementary Education, increased manifold the number of schools, built a number of dams for improving irrigation, provided more industrial estates and ensured astonishing industrial growth in the state. He made education more accessible to poor and rural children. Kamaraj also introduced the noon-meal scheme for school children.





In 1963, Kamaraj resigned (Kamaraj Plan) his chief ministership to become the President of Indian National Congress and M.Bhaktavatchalam took over the reins of the government. The Food shortage and anti-hindi agitation caused the un-popularity of his ministry.

## Dravidian Parties Rule

In the general elections of 1967, the congress party was defeated. The Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam formed the government.








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DO YOU KNOW?

In 1956, through 'states reorganization Act' Madras Presidency gave up malayalam regions to Kerala, Telegu region to Andhra Pradesh and Kannada regions to Mysore. Thus, Madras state became a state of Tamils. Kamaraj provided a stable government.

The provision of affordable universal housing for poor, precursor to food security (Rice scheme) and establishment of Slum Clearance Board have substantially improved and received support among the urban poor people also. Significantly, the government renamed the State from Madras to Tamil Nadu in the year 1969. The other major achievements of the party were:

A. Nationalisation of Bus routes larger than 75 miles.

B. Waiver of Tuition fee for poor students of all castes in pre-University and pre-technical courses.

C. Second World Tamil Conference was organised.

D. Supply of subsidised rice for people of Tamil Nadu.

## 14.11 Dravidian Rule in Post-Independence Tamilnadu

For the past 62 years Dravidian parties have been ruling Tamilnadu. Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam decided to enter electoral politics in 1957 and gave up its "Dravida Nadu" demand consequent to Chinese aggression of Indian territories and to overcome newly amended electoral laws. It won a majority in 1967 elections. Annadurai ruled for a brief period (1967-69), yet he renamed Madras state as Tamilnadu, passed civil marriages act, rejected three language policies of central government and enforced a two languages (English & Tamil) policy in Tamilnadu.






For the first time, he introduced a subsidized rice (one measure one rupee) scheme. His successor M.Karunanidhi continued his legacy. In 1972, M.G.Ramachandran founded his own Dravidian Party (All Indian Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam – AIADMK). He captured power in 1977 and retained the same till his death in 1987. Thereafter, Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam under M.Karunanidhi and Selvi J. Jayalalitha of All Indian Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam led ministries in alternative elections. Besides, these two, there are a few other Dravidian parties like Marumalarchi Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam.



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More than, six decades of Dravidian rule contributed remarkably to the development of Tamil. They steadfastly protected the interest of Tamil language, Tamil people and Tamilnadu. A number of welfare schemes were introduced to alleviate the suffering of common people. They ensured food security through subsidized and later free rice schemes, nutritious meal scheme, free education until under graduate level, free electricity for farming, abolition of cycle rickshaws and manual scavenging , cradle baby scheme for the abandoned children, and welfare boards for various unorganized workers, and even for transgender. As a remedy to ruinous caste conflicts, 'Samathuvapuram' and 'Uzhavarsanthai' were created.





Free electricity was provided to huts, slum clearance board met the housing requirements of slum dwellers. The phenomenal increase in industrial activity increased the opportunities for youth; as a result of these developments Tamilnadu registered a high ranking in HDI (Human Development Index). Today, Tamilnadu is in prominent position in promoting automobile industries, electronics, and in pharmaceutical industries. it's new economic zones are attracting huge investments. Tamilnadu's achievements in infrastructural development are acclaimed by all. Roads, harbours, electrification and availability of skilled labour facilitate industrial development.

There has been a manifold increase in the number of schools of different categories. There is a manifold increase in the number of universities. Tamilnadu has exclusive universities for women, engineering and technology, law, medicine, siddha medicine, sports etc. Promotion of Tamil language, through tamil university, ulaga tamil araichi niruvanam, world tamil conference and ulaga tamil semmozhi conference, and script reforms, led to all-round advancement of tamil language.

The Dravidian parties since the days of Annadurai have been championing the cause of secularism and autonomy of the states. The Dravidian parties have also been contributing substantially to national politics. Dravidian political stream continues to be formidable in Tamilnadu.

## Glossary

**Coalition –** A temporary alliance formed by political parties especially at the time of Elections.

**Dravidian –** The terminology denotes a family of languages spoken in southern Parts of India, especially Tamil Nadu, Karnataka, Kerala, Andhra Pradesh etc., and Sri Lanka.



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**E-Governance** – Electronic Governance is the application of information and communication and technology (ICT) for delivery of public services to people.

**Populism** - Political activities intended to draw the support of the general public by giving them with welfare measures.

**Radicalism** – People who advocate their policies and programme through aggressive means.

**Regionalism** – It is a political ideology that focuses mainly on the interest of the region or a particular state rather than the nation.

**Reservation** – It is also called a policy of affirmative action mainly to empower the marginalized communities in socio-economic and political arenas.

**Social Justice** – It is a political concept which holds that all people should have equal access to wealth, health, well-being, justice and opportunity.

**Social Welfare** - Services that are provided by the government to help poor, needy and marginalized people.

**State Autonomy** – It is a theory which stands for complete autonomy for state government in political and economic arenas.

## Evaluation

1. In which year the Madras State was renamed as Tamilnadu?

a) 1969 b) 1975
c) 1950 d) 1965

2. The Madras Native Association was established in the year.

a) 1947 b) 1849
c) 1852 d) 1860

3. Who introduced the kulakalvi scheme in Tamilnadu?

a) Rajaji b) Ramsamy
c) Kamaraj d) Karunanithi

4. In which year, University of Madras was established?

a) 1885 b) 1947
c) 1857 d) 1965

5. In terms of population, Tamil Nadu is the _____ largest state in India.

a) 5 b) 7
c) 3 d) 4

6. The First Premier of the Justice Party was

a) Subbarayalu Reddiar b) Sir Theagaraya
c) P.T. Rajan d) Bobbili Raja



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7. The leader who was called Vaikom Hero.

a) K. Kamaraj b) Rajaji
c) Varadarajulu Naidu d) Periyar E.V.R.

8. Founder of the Self-Respect Movement in Tamil Nadu is

a) Rajaji b) Thiru-Vi-Ka
c) Kamaraj d) Periyar E.V.R.

9. Matching items

| A | B |
|---|---|
| a) Anti- Hindi Agitation | - 1. 1949 |
| b) Birth of D.M.K | - 2. 1937 |
| c) States Reorganization Act | - 3. 1919 |
| d) Dyarchy | - 4. 1956 |

a) 2,1,3,4 b) 3,1,2,4
c) 4,3,2,1 d) 1,2,3,4

10. Who among the following is not issued the Non-Brahmin Manifesto?

a) C.Natesan b) Pitty Theyagarayar
c) T.M.Nair d) Raja of Panagal

11. The South Indian Liberal Federation was later known as

a) Justice Party b) Dravida Kazhagam
c) Tamil Kazhagam d) Dravidian Party

12. Assertion: Karunanidhi entered the Tamil Nadu assembly by winning the Kulithalai seat in the 1957 election.

Reason : Karunanidhi became the Chief Minister of the State.

Directions: Given below are two statements labelled as Assertion (A) and Reason (R) in the context of the two statements, which of the following is correct?

(a) Both A and R are true and R is the correct explanation of A.
(b) Both A and R are true but R is not the correct explanation of A.
(c) A is true but R is false.
(d) A is false but R is true.

13. Assertion -E.V. Ramasamy started the Self-Respect Movement. Reason-The Self-Respect Movement is a movement with the aim of achieving a society where Non-Brahmin castes have equal human rights



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Directions: Given below are two statements labelled as Assertion (A) and Reason (R) in the context of the two statements, which of the following is correct?

(a) Both A and R are true and R is the correct explanation of A.
(b) Both A and R are true but R is not the correct explanation of A.
(c) A is true but R is false.
(d) A is false but R is true.

## II. Answer the following questions very shortly

1. Define the term "Dravidian"
2. What were the objectives of South Indian Liberal Federation?
3. Write a short note on Self-Respect Movement.
4. Bring out the significance of 'Dravida Nadu' demand.
5. Define the concept of State Autonomy
6. Write a short note on welfare measures for Transgenders .

## III Answer the following questions shortly

1. Give an account on the birth of Justice Party.
2. Examine the importance of 'Non - Brahmin Manifesto'.
3. Discuss the outcomes of the Salem Conference (1944).
4. What do you mean by Triangular Agitations?
5. Describe the social welfare policies of All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam under M.G.R.
6. Write a note on Rajamannar Committee.
7. Explain the populist policies of the All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam government during 1991to1996.

## IV Answer the following questions in detail

1. Find out the reasons for the emergence of Non-Brahmin Movement in Madras Presidency.
2. Write an essay on anti-Hindi agitations.
3. Describe the circumstances that led to the formation of All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam.
4. Bring out the social welfare policies of Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam during 2006 to 2011.



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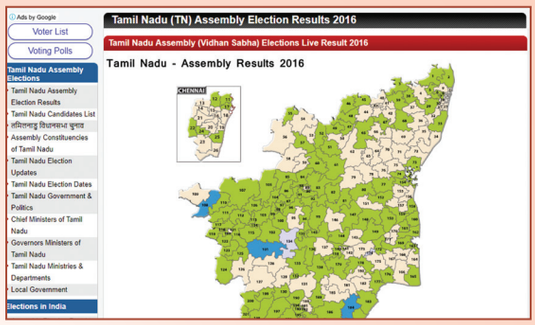

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## ICT CORNER

### Unit-14 Political Developments In Tamilnadu

Let us know the election results in Tamil Nadu.




**Steps**

**Government and Politics of Tamil Nadu**

1. Click the URL or scan the QR code to launch the "Tamilnadu maps elections" page.
2. "Scroll the cursor" on the constituency map to know the representatives of that constituency.
3. On the left window, click "Assembly Constituencies of Tamil Nadu" to know the boundary of any legislative assembly constituency.
4. On the left window of the homepage, Click "Chief Ministers of Tamilnadu" to know CM Time period.

**Download Link**

*Pictures are indicative only.

*If browser requires, allow Flash Player or Java Script to load the page.

https://www.mapsofindia.com/assemblypolls/tamil-nadu/election-results.html

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UNIT 15

# Tamil Nadu Political Thought

## 15.1 Historical Background

The 'Classical Tamil homeland (Tamizhagam) included today's Tamil Nadu besides some parts of Kerala, Andhra and Karnataka; **Strabo** (63 BC(BCE) to c. AD(CE) 24), a famous Greek geographer and historian observed the early diplomatic history of ancient Tamil Kingdom of Pandiyas. Naval expeditions of Cheras, Cholas, Pandiyas and Pallavas inform early maritime power and influence of Tamils. Ports in the coast of Tamil Nadu were important centres of trade between India and the Mediterranean, and India and southeast Asia, in the period. 200 BC(BCE) to 300 AD(CE). The ancient ports of *Korkai*, *Poompuhar*, *Vasavasamudram*, *Perimula*, *Arikamedu*, *Alagankulam*, *Mamallapuram* reveal the active trade, commerce and cultural exchanges with the Southeast Asian countries, Sri Lanka, China, Egypt, Greece and Rome. An established tradition of shipbuilding combined with rich maritime heritage of ancient Tamils are definite indicators of the foundations of influential polity, society, culture, trade and commercial ties with the outside world.

**Sangam** literature dated approximately 300 BC(BCE) to 300 AD(CE) is another valuable literary source(s) that reflects society, economy, culture and politics. The classification of Sangam poetry into **akam** (on love) and **puram** (on war, good and



### Learning Objectives

**The students will be able to**

- Learn about ancient political ideas in Tamil Nadu.
- State clearly the political ideas of Thiruvalluvar.
- Understand about Nationalism through Bharathiyar
- Learn about communist ideas that existed in Tamilnadu through Singaravelar's writings on communism.
- Learn and understand Dravidian Ideology and its impact on the society, polity and economy in Tamil Nadu through the contributions of E.V.R.Periyar on social justice, equality and liberation from oppression of higher caste.
- Describe clearly the core meaning of Tamil Movement and Dravidian movement and its political discourse.



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evil, community, justice and kingdom) is a revelation of the Tamil polity. The Sangam literary works have been grouped into eight anthologies (*Ettuthogai*): (1) *Natrinai*, (2) *Kurunthogai*, (3) *Aingurunooru*, (4) *Paditruppattru*, (5) *Paripadal*, (6) *Kalitthogai*, (7)*Agananooru*, and (8) *Purananooru*; and there is a ninth group of poems called the *Patthupattu* (Ten Idylls).The early part of the first two books of **Tholkappiyam,** a work on Tamil grammar, belongs to the same period.

The famous post-Sangam literature were known as the pathenen *Kilkkanakku*. Besides the two epics *Silappadikaram* also belong to thin period A little later three more epics were return in addition there were five minor epics. and *Eighteen Minor Works* (*Pathinen kilkkanakku*, which includes the *Thirukkural*) were written during this period. *Prabandha* literature consists of poetry of various forms: *kovai*, in which the verses are arranged according to a particular theme (usually about love), and *kalambakam*, in which the end of one stanza/line formed the beginning of the next (usually about kings and bravery) and *parani*. The best illustrations of this tradition are the *Pantikkovai*, *Nandikkalambakam*, and *Kalingattup-parani*.

The ancient Tamil literature of Sangam age, *Thirukkural, Silapathikaram, Manimegalai* etc provide deep insights into the nature of polity, society and culture. Tamil language formed the core and essence of Tamil identity, culture, customs and traditions. Despite the diversity of land, geography, rulers and chieftains spread across the Tamil speaking areas the idea of Tamil country and confederation of Tamil speaking areas did exist. This literary finding(s) is also substantiated by a stone inscription of Kalinga King Kharavela (BC(BCE) 165), who claims to have destroyed a 'Tamil federation' which existed for 113 years. Similarly such a Tamil federation of kings to fight foreign invasion is also mentioned in '*Agananooru*', a Sangam literature. Hence the idea and prevalence of Tamil nationalism is not simply a consequence of colonialism. The roots of Tamil nationalism are linked to the historical role and significance of Tamil language and culture in defining politics that could be traced even in the Sangam age.

The concept of State and the idea king coincided with the territorial emphasis of polity as the Greek city-state. The classical Tamil country known as *Tamizhagam* covered areas south of Tirupati hills up to the tip of the Cape Comorin (Kanyakumari). The land was traditionally classified according to its nature into five geographical regions (*tinai*): the mountainous region (*kurinji*), the forest areas(*mullai*), fertile plains (*marudam*), coastal region (*neidhal*) and arid region (*palai*).

Tamil speaking areas were divided between the principalities of the Cholas (its capital at Uraiyur), the Pandyas (Madurai as capital), the Cheras in most of present Kongunadu and Kerala and the Pallavas (Kanchipuram as capital). Tamil country included several kingdoms ruled by kings (*vendhar*), major and minor chieftains (*vel/ velir*) who was less powerful than the crowned kings. The Sangam poets sang songs of praise about the *velirs*, especially the Seven Patrons, for their generosity towards the poets. Kapilar and Avvaiyar mention chieftains like, Aay, Pari, Ori, Malayan, Elini, Pegan and Nalli..

The virtues of king did include the ideals of *Just Ruler* with qualities of kindness towards the subjects and bravery in the battlefield



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against enemies. The *sabhai* or *mandram* was the highest court of justice presided by the king himself. Every village had its own *mandram* which met at a common public place and was involved in organizing village and community activities. Warriors were respected, and a man who died in battle would have memorial stones erected in his honour and be worshipped in death. Even if a warrior dies in battle field with a wound in his back, it is considered derogatory in 'Sangam' traditions.

Lots of good practices of war find their mention in sangam literature. *Purananooru*, a sangam literature, hails the Pandyan king who announces all the women, children, sick and elderly people, cattles, to move to safety zone before invading a country. The idea of *justice* formed the conscience of State and king. Justice is an essential element in a king's rule. A good king should never sacrifice justice. Just rule and good deeds always will bring everlasting fame to the king. An important political principle that prevailed was that

(Despite the nature of political system being monarchy) the legitimacy of the king rests with the consent of the people and as long as he enjoyed people's support and he would loses legitimacy if he lost their support. Sangam literature (*Pattinappaalai*) speaks about different types of taxations like customs duty, income tax, toll tax etc as specific source of revenue to the State. Tamil kings and chieftains ruled the land with simple administrative structure of council of ministers, subordinates and administrative officers. There were officers to deal with foreign trade and customs revenue which was an important part of the budget. Pandya inscriptions mention about officers for pearl fisheries (*kalatika*) and the chief scribes (*kanatikan*). In flags and coins, the Cholas were represented by the tiger, the Cheras by the bow and arrow the Pandyas by the fish and the Pallavas by the lion.

The institution of 'spy' was considered as a necessary institution and the maintenance of peace and stability in the kingdom depended on the effectiveness of this institution. Though slavery as a form of institution was absent yet capturing of slaves after invasions, and slave trade or exchange for gifts did remain as practice among the rulers to undertake construction and building works.

The practice of caste system or *jati* was unknown among ancient Tamils. The idea and concept of class with differences in status based on professional distinctions did prevail. The caste system was alien and unknown to Sangam society. The division of society based on class has been revealed by the Sangam poets who mention about social categories (*kudi*): *tudiyan*, *panan*, and *kadamban*; or *arasar* (rulers), *vaishyar* (traders), and *velalar* (farmers). Differences in status were accepted as inevitable, yet *varna* in the form of caste or *jati* seems to be little known to Sangam society.

Though social stratification did prevail yet legitimization of *Manusmiriti* or *Aryan-Brahminical* interpretation of caste as divine arrangement was not integral to the cultural universe or worldview of the ancient Tamils. The beginnings and early inroads of the Aryan-Brahminical account of caste could be traced to later period of Sangam era. The ancient religion of Tamils was based on folk traditions. The worship of nature and natural elements were more common. The worship of Murugan Seyon among the tribes of Tamil Nadu and the cult worship of Murugan as the warrior God was based on folk culture. An earthly composition



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of God is rooted in the Tamil – Dravidian traditions. It was only after the sixth century AD(CE), inscriptions were written in Tamil as well as Sanskrit. Sanskritisation gradually spread to public space with the evoking of the doctrines of benevolence to Brahmin(s) and their divine blessings to the king .

The seeking of blessings from the *Brahmin* soon became a source of legitimacy for the Tamil king after this period. Along with the Sanskritisation, Vedic rituals, worship and orientation to social (caste) system as advocated in *Manusmiriti* found their passage to transform the professionally stratified class structure of Dravidian society into a hierarchically classified social (caste) system with Vedic divine sanctions.

The State and king were being seen as one and the same. The hereditary principle and evoking of divine rights with earthly symbols were prevalent among the Tamil kings. The idea of territorial State provided inherent reconciliation to the changing dynasties and geographical changes as boundaries of principalities were drawn and redrawn. The governing principles of power and location of monarchy also moved from culture specific to power centric based on authority. Thus in later period, during the Post-Sangam era, the king gradually became the sole source of authority.

The Pallavas maintained that as they were the descendants of Brahma, the kingship was of divine origin and was hereditary. The Pallava period witnessed the penetration of the Aryan culture of North India into the South as well as the assimilation of some of the patterns, ideas and institutions and rejection or modification of certain other aspects. Tamil devotional culture was one of the results of this interaction as revealed by the themes and dedication of deity at temples.

Women were highly respected and performed a variety of jobs and duties including as bodyguards to the kings, yet power and authority rested with men. Women participated in public assemblies but rulers and administrators were mostly men. Women formed significant part of social rituals and functioned as pivots of the family despite the inheritance rights and formal authority remained with men.

In narrating the role and status of women in Tamil society we need to mention about the tradition of ***Avvaiyar*** (meaning respectable woman). More than a name, this was a title, literary canon, given to distinguished women who made contributions to Tamil literature. There were as many as four to six women who held this Tamil literary canon title at different times based on different sources.

Avvaiyars of Sangam age and Cholas age are best known for their extraordinary influence upon literature, culture, moral universe, nature of polity, war, peace and the art of diplomacy. Sangam age Avvaiyar lived during the 1st and 2nd century AD(CE). King Athiyaman Neduman Anchi of the Velir Dynasty was her chief patron and considered as contemporary of literary legends Thiruvalluvar and Kabilar who made notable contribution of verses in *Natrinai*, *Kuruntogai*, *Akananooru* and *Purananooru*. She is also credited as the most gracious and scholarly diplomat who undertook diplomatic missions for King Adhiyaman Neduman Anchi. **Avvaiyar**, a poetess and friend of King Adhiyaman, ruler of Tagadur, is supposed to have helped in avoiding war between two kingdom states.

King Thondaiman, ruler of Kanchipuram, had sent him a note declaring his intention to attack Thagadur



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Avvaiyar spoke "*Oh Thondiaman, how different indeed are your clean and shiny weapons from those of Adiyaman, always stained with blood and under repair.*" Thondaiman had far less experience in war and was unlikely to win — she was making this clear under the guise of praise. Another famous **Avvaiyar** was from the Cholas age, around 10$^{th}$Century AD(CE), who wrote moral universe for children and advocated ethical principles for all. Whilst her works *Aathichoodi* and *Konraiventhan* were written for young children, *Mooturai* and *Nalvazhi* were written for older children.

### The definite part of thinkers is as follows:

- Being the basis for the social changes and subsequent events including the change in the public minds;
- Having taken political decisions which had an impact on social turning points;
- Serving as best brains behind the major political decisions which has benefitted the diversified communities;
- To convert social ideas into common which assisted people's advancement belonging to various communities

New political ideas are supported by the activities of the political thinkers which kindles interest and rational thinking of the common people. The interaction of those thinkers with the contemporary society makes a new framework for the entire system.New political decisions which intend to create great changes for the emerging generations were undertaken.The day-to-day life of common people may be engulfed with many changes by the political decision of the thinkers.At world level these kind of thinkers made changes in the socio-political systems. Such great thinkers made their extra-ordinary presence throughout the past centuries in India in general and Tamilnadu in particular.

National political thinkers, Tamil political thinkers, Socialist thinkers, Thinkers of social justice are the different parts of modern categorization. In this part we can discuss about different political thinkers of Tamilnadu who made out-standing contribution for the social changes.

Political ideologies in Tamilnadu is rich with ideas, beliefs, opinions and attitudes towards society, polity and economy. This is evident from the ancient political ideas of Thiruvalluvar, whereas Bharathiyar was a nationalist and Singaravelar a communist. According to Periyar, Dravidian ideology focuses on social equality. The political ideologies in Tamil Nadu are a combination of all three left, Right and centre ideologies.

## 15.2 Ancient Political Ideas

### Thiruvalluvar



In Arathupal of Thirukkural, Valluvar was a great enunciator of morals; In Inbathupal, he has become a poet and in Porutpal, he is known to be a political philosopher. The political philosophy of Thiruvalluvar is applicable across times even today.



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## Seven Parts in Porutpal

Porutpal consists of 7 parts, further it has 70 verses / couplets. They are Politics-25, Ministry-10, Defence-2, Wealth-1, Army-2, Friendship-17, and citizens-13 respectively.

**"படை குடி கூழ்அமைச்சு நட்பரண் ஆறும்**
**உடையான் அரசருள் ஏறு" (குறள்: 381)**

*"An army, people, wealth, a minister, friends, fort; six things*
*Who owns them all, a lion lives amid the kings" (381)*

Thus, in porutpal, at the first verse itself valluvar differentiated the six categories essential for a state. Thus, different parts of government are ministry, army, wealth, people, friendship and citizens, which determines the rule of a king. Moreover, these components are categorized for king in a separate way, thus contributing a lot of ideas regarding administration of a state and assets for a king.

## Nature of a king – 25 Chapters

In porutpal, Valluvar mentioned about nature of a king in detailed manner in 25 chapters starting from Qualities of ruler (Iraimatchi – chapter 39) to idukkan azhaiyaamai (Unfazed in the face of trouble – chapter 63) in 25 chapters, in the name of "Arasar", "Vender", "Nilan Aandavar" "Mannavar" he has indicated 46 times about the king.

## Ideas on Democracy

Valluvar lived in the period of monarchy. However, his ideas and ideals are also applicable for the present leaders of democracy. He also indicated the nature of state and government in the king's rule. The words of Valluvar regarding government and state is applicable and suitable to all over the period as well as every organization in the world.

## Welfare state and King

To put it in simple words, Valluvar's political system is based on welfare state. For instance, in Iraimatchi (Qualities of a ruler), he says

**முறைசெய்து காப்பாற்றும் மன்னவன் மக்கட்கு**
**இறையென்று வைக்கப் படும். (குறள்: 388)**

*Who guards the realm and justice strict maintains,*
*That king as god over subject people reigns. (388)*

If a king delivered justice by doing the duties honestly, he may be regarded as a God. Ideal path and welfare – arrived kings can be respected and kept on par with divine. This kind of view is not only applicable to monarchical period but it also applicable to present democratic period.

## Features of State

The characteristics of a state is to maintain ethics, the eradication of wrong doing activity, mandating impartiality of justice and protection of honour.

**அறனிழுக்கா தல்லவை நீக்கி மறனிழுக்கா**
**மானம் உடைய தரசு (குறள்: 384)**

*Kingship, in virtue failing not, all vice restrains,*
*In courage failing not, it honour's grace maintains.*
*(Kural :384)*

King's path is the peoples' path, king should act as a guide for his subjects, if he does harm or evil activities, it may influence all. It is because of his position as a leader, his discipline and private life will spread to all in the kingdom. Moral and ethical life is quite essential for the ruling kings. Indicating "Respect" in a broad manner relating it with nation, Valluvar gave priority for great honour which may be equated with the courage. He stressed that king must be loyal to the nation, it is the honour of nation.



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## Ideal State and Welfare of people

In the monarchical rule, the integrity and ideal governance for all periods were advocated by Valluvar. People of all regions expect rain for their growth; likewise, citizens of a nation expect integrity and ideal rule of the king.

**வானோக்கி வாழும் உலகெல்லாம் மன்னவன்**
**கோல்நோக்கி வாழுங் குடி. (குறள்: 542)**

*All earth looks up to heaven where raindrops fall;*
*All subjects look to king that ruleth all. (542)*

In this couplet Valluvar indicates "Kol" as ideal rule which not only applies for monarchy but also for democracy.

**குடிதழீஇக் கோலோச்சும் மாநில மன்னன்**
**அடிதழீஇ நிற்கும் உலகு. (குறள் 544)**

*Whose heart embraces subjects all, lord over mighty land*
*Who rules, the world his feet embracing stands. (544)*

This means that for a King, who protects his citizens with love and affection, his feet will be embraced by his subjects with love. This is an everlasting phrase propounded by Valluvar related to good governance.

## Against Tyranny

In the chapter "Kodungonmai", (Cruel Scepter) Valluvar explained it in negative words. The suppressive and exploitative rule of evil king may kindle unknown and indefinite agonies among the people. Those tears are most powerful and may annihilate the entire kingdom.

**அல்லற்பட்டு ஆற்றாது அழுதகண் ணீரன்றே**
**செல்வத்தைத் தேய்க்கும் படை (குறள் 555)**

*His people's tears of sorrow past endurance, are not they*
*Sharp instrument to wear the marches wealth away.*
*(Kural: 555)*

Sad tears of suffering citizens may dethrone and destroy the entire government, says Thiruvalluvar. Tears were equated with army, thus Valluvar's visualization stands unique among others.

Autocrats and Dictators like Hitler, Mussolini and Czar were the negative players for whom, Thirukkural served as a funeral sound.

## Government's Budget

A king should be an able handed administrator in increasing the income of government. Further he should be an expert in handling the budget.

In Iraimatchi, he said,

**இயற்றலும் ஈட்டலும் காத்தலும் காத்த**
**வகுத்தலும் வல்ல தரசு. (குறள் 385)**

*A king is be who treasure gains, stores up, defends,*
*And duly for his kingdom's weal expends. (385)*

At first point, a king should search for the different sources of income. For this, he calls it as "Iyatral". Then, the second point is that, all such resources should be put together, which is called as "Ettal". Third, the resources thus collected must be protected with all precautionary measures which is called as "Kaathal"

Fourth one, is most important (i.e) allotting the resources to various sectors for the welfare of the people, this he called it as "Vagutthal". Thus iyatral, eetall, kaathal and vaguthal are the four ways of utilizing the income to be expertise by the king of nation. It is a primary duty of the king.

These innovative and practical ideas were accepted by political and as well as economic exponents as the basic idea of socialistic society.



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### Relevance of Thiruvalluvar

The Educational qualities that are indicated by Valluvar for a king may also apply to the citizens. Thus, he used the words "Idukkan Ariyamai", "Kalvi" for "Vazhum Uyirku", "Maandharkku" which is for all the people.

The political ideas advocated by Valluvar in porutpal highly circumvent around morals and noble principles. "People's-welfare" is the basic foundation of his contribution.

To put it in a different way, Valluvar's contribution to politics is applicable to the present democratic governance for the welfare of all the people.

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The political ideas advocated by Valluvar in porutpal highly circumvent around morals and noble principles. "People's-welfare" is the basic foundation of his contribution.

To put it in a different way Valluvar's contribution to politics is majorly applicable to the present democratic governance for the great welfare of all the people.

DO YOU KNOW?

#### Thirukkural – A truly secular ethical work

The very first observation about the Kural is the fact that it is a secular book. During the days of Valluvar many religion existed in India. There were Buddhists, Jains,Sikhs, Hindus as well as agnostics and atheists. But secularism as a concept was unknown. Valluvar himself was a believer and he has devoted one chapter to praise of God. He must have observed a particular religion. But in his book he advocates no religion, he does not even refer to any religion.

The ancient Indian law-giver Manu and the ancient Greek philosophers Plato and Aristotle maintained with absolute certainty that human begins were not born equal. This popular view is accepted in all civilizations over centuries. Valluvar, the philosopher poet, held a radically different view. He says:

***" All human beings are equal by birth; but differ as regards characteristics because of the different qualities of their actions." (Kural 972)***

## 15.3 Nationalism

### Subramaniya Bharathiyar (1882 – 1921)

C. Subramaniya Bharathiyar was a poet, freedom fighter and social reformer from Tamil Nadu. He was known as Mahakavi Bharathiyar and the laudatory epithet Mahakavi means a great poet. He is considered as one of India's greatest poets. His songs on nationalism and freedom of India helped to rally the masses to support the Indian Independence Movement in Tamil Nadu.



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ஜாதி மதங்களைப் பாரோம் –
உயர் ஜன்மம்இத் தேசத்தில் எய்தின ராயின்
வேதிய ராயினும் ஒன்றே –
அன்றி வேறு குலத்தின ராயினும் ஒன்றே

We shall not look at caste or religion, All human beings in this land, whether they be those who preach the vedas or who belong to other castes are one.

**-Subramaniya Bharati**

## Bharathi: A poet and a Nationalist

**"We may have thousand of sects; that, however, does not justify a foreign invasion."**

Significantly, a new age in Tamil literature began with Subramaniya Bharathi. Most part of his compositions are classifiable as short lyrical outpourings on patriotic, devotional and mystic themes. Bharathi was essentially a lyrical poet. *"Kannan Pattu" "Nilavum Vanminum Katrum" "Panchali Sabatam" "Kuyil Pattu"* are examples of Bharathi's great poetic output.

Bharathi is considered as a national poet due to his number of poems of the patriotic flavour through which he exhorted the people to join the independence struggle and work vigorously for the liberation of the country. Instead of merely being proud of his country he also outlined his vision for a free India. He published the sensational *"Sudesa Geethangal"* in 1908.

**DO YOU KNOW?**

Bharathiyar's "Panchali Sabatham" (The vow of Draupadi) is an iconic work that pictures India as Draupadi, the British, the Kauravas and the freedom fighters as Pandavas. Through Draupadi's struggle, he euphemised the struggle of mother India under British rule.

## Bharathi as a Journalist

Many years of Bharathi's life were spent in the field of journalism, Bharathi, as a young man began his career as a journalist and as a sub-editor in *"Swadesamitran"* in November 1904. *"India"* saw the light of the day in May, 1906. It declared as its motto the three slogans of the French Revolution, Liberty, Equality and Fraternity. It blazed a new trail in Tamil Journalism. In order to proclaim its revolutionary ardour, Bharathi had the weekly printed in red paper. *"India"* was the first paper in Tamil Nadu to publish political cartoons. He also edited and published 'Vijaya', a Tamil daily "Bala Bharatha" an English monthly, and 'Suryothayam' a local weekly of Pondicherry.

It is not surprising therefore that soon a warrant was waiting at the door of the *"India"* office for the arrest of the editor of the magazine. It was because of this worsening situation in 1908 that Bharathi decided to go away to Pondicherry, a French territory at that time, and continue to publish the *"India"* magazine. Bharathi resided in Pondicherry for sometime to escape the wrath of the British imperialists.



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DO YOU KNOW?

In Madras, in 1908, he organised a mammoth public meeting to celebrate 'Swaraj Day'. His poems 'Vanthe Matharam', 'Enthayum Thayum', 'Jaya Bharath' were printed and distributed free to the Tamil People.




DO YOU KNOW?

Subramaniya Bharathiyar was born on 11th December 1882, in a village called Ettayapuram in Tirunelveli District in Tamil Nadu and his childhood name was Subbiah. His father was Chinnaswamy and his mother was Lakshmi Ammal.

At the age of seven, he started writing poems in Tamil. When he was eleven, he wrote in such a way that even learned men praised him for his great knowledge and skill. In the eleventh year, Subbiah felt that he had to establish his credentials. He threw a challenge to the eminent men in the assembly of scholars that they should have a contest with him in a debate on any subject without any previous notice or preparation. The contest was held at a special sitting of the Ettayapuram Durbar at which the Rajah (the ruler) himself was present. The subject chosen was "Education". Subbiah efficiently won the debate. This was a memorable moment in Subbiah's life. The boy who was till then referred to as "Ettayapuram Subbiah" came henceforth to be known as "Bharathi", and later he was respectfully referred to as "Bharathiar" by nationalists and by millions of Tamil lovers all over the globe.

In June 1897, Bharathi was hardly fifteen when his marriage took place, and his bride was Chellammal. Bharathi left for Benaras which was also known as Kashi and Varanasi. He spent there the next two years with his aunt Kuppammal and her husband Krishna Sivan. Speedily gaining a fair knowledge of Sanskrit, Hindi and English, he duly passed with credit the Entrance Examination of the Allahabad University. The Banaras stay brought about a tremendous change in Bharathi's personality. Outwardly, he sported a moustache and a Sikh turban and acquired a bold swing in his walk.

During his exile, Bharathi had the opportunity to mingle with many leaders of the militant wing of the independence movement such as Aurobindo, Lajpat Rai and V.V.Subramaniam who had also sought asylum in the French ruled Pondicherry. The most profitable years of Bharathi's life were the ten years he spent in Pondicherry. From Pondicherry, he guided the Tamil youth of Madras to tread in the path of nationalism. This increased the anger of the British towards Bharathi's writings as they felt that it was his writings that induce and influence the patriotic spirit of the Tamil youth. Bharathi



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met Mahatma Gandhi in 1919 in Rajaji's home at Madras. Bharathi entered British India near Cuddalore in November 1918 and was promptly arrested. Even in prison, he spent his time in writing poems on freedom, nationalism and country's welfare.

In his early days of youth he had good relations with Nationalist Tamil Leaders like V.O.Chidambaram, Subramanya Siva, Mandayam Thirumalachariar and Srinivasachari. Along with these leaders he used to discuss the problems facing the country due to British rule. Bharathi used to attend the Annual sessions of Indian National Congress and discuss national issues with extremist Indian National Leaders like Bipin Chandra Pal, B.G. Tilak and V.V.Subramaniam. His participation and activities in Benaras Session (1905) and Surat Session (1907) of the Indian National Congress impressed many national leaders about his patriotic fervour. Bharathi had maintained good relations with some of the national leaders and shared his thoughts and views on the nation and offered his suggestions to strengthen the nationalist movement. Undoubtedly, his wise suggestions and steadfast support to the cause of nationalism rejuvenated many national leaders. Thus Bharathi played a pivotal role in the freedom of India.

## Bharathiyar as a social reformer

Bharathi was also against caste system. He declared that there were only two castes-men and women and nothing more than that. Above all, he himself had removed his sacred thread. He used to take tea sold in shops run by Muslims. He along with his family members attended church on all festival occasions. He advocated temple entry of Seheduled caste people. For all his reforms, he had to face opposition from his neighbours. But Bharathi was very clear that unless Indians unite as children of Mother India, they could not achieve freedom. He believed in women's rights, gender equality and women emancipation. He opposed child marriage, dowry system and supported widow remarriage. Bharathi had a pre-mature death hence could not transform his ideas into a movement.

**DO YOU KNOW?**

His meeting with Sister Nivedita, Swami Vivekananda's disciple, added women's rights to his already wide repertoire of social issues from caste to Independence to spiritualism. He took up the symbolism of Shakthi as the image of modern women; powerful, strong, independent and equal partners to men.

**"World will prosper in knowledge and intellect, if both men and woman are deemed equal."**

**-Subramaniya Bharathiyar**

## Bharathiyar – A Visionary

Bharathi as a poet, journalist, freedom fighter and social reformer had made a great impact not only on the Tamil society but also on the entire human society. He followed what all he preached and it is here that his greatness is manifested. His prophecy during the colonial period about the independence of India came true after two and half decades after his demise. His vision about a glorious India has been taking a shape in the post-Independence era. Bharathi did not live for himself but for the people and nation. That is why he



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is respectfully called as Bharathiyar. Even today, after many decades, Subramaniya Bharathiyar stands as an undying symbol of Indian freedom and vibrant Tamil nationalism.

DO YOU KNOW?

Bharathiyar passed away on 11th September 1921.It was a travesty that only 14 people attended his funeral, fearing repercussion from the British and caste ostracisation.

## 15.4 Communism

### Singara Velar (1860-1946)



The emergence of Swadeshi and Home rule movement in India in the initial part of 20th century aroused the thirst for freedom. Reforms were made in Hindu religion in accordance with the existing society. These movements played a key role in creating the feeling of Indiannes and Nationalism in the political Scenario.

But these movements are religious in nature. Moreover, those who participated in these movements are from upper social class. Freedom sought by these people are political in nature neglecting the interests and economic upliftment of farmers and labourers. This affected the majority Indians who are poor and belong to farmers community. Further, caste discrimination existed within Congress Party. Particularly, in Tamilnadu there existed a clear difference between brahmins and non-brahmins.

In this context, Singaravelar played a pivotal role in spreading rational ideas and scientific perception in to politics. He also played a key role in connecting welfare of farmers and workers in to freedom struggle and spreading socialist thinking in to politics.

### Impact of Singaravelar's Ideas on Congress Party

The British empire which exported the raw materials in the initial stages started industries later in India as the demand increased. This worsened common people's life standards. They are ready to work even for meagre wages. Hence, those who are employed were treated as slaves. Even a minor protests by the employees were suppressed with iron hands. More labour organizations emerged to protect the rights of working class. These organizations were headed by Thiru.V.Kalyanasundaranar and D.Varadharajalu in the Madras presidency. It was Singaravelar who took major efforts in the emergence of labour organizations in Madras presidency.

Singaravelar wanted to sensitize the workers on politics and wanted to engage them in the freedom struggle. But Congress Party did not accept this idea of Singaravelar. Singaravelar critised it vehemently and send telegraphs to Congress high command, following this, he wrote a letter to Mahatma Gandhi. Further, he also wrote about this issue on the popular dailies Swadesamitran, The Hindu, and magazines like Navasakthi.



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He also propagated this among congress workers. In this juncture, he participated in the Congress Committee (1922) meeting as a representative of Tamilnadu, there also he explained the following demands and sought support from Congress members.

- Indian freedom includes economic freedom of workers and farmers.
- The welfare of farmers and labourers should also be the motto of Congress party.
- Farmers and labourers must be included in the Indian national movement.
- Congress leaders should help to raise masses from different organization.

Consequent of this, in 1922, Indian National Congress, passed a resolution to induct people from various organizations. A six member committee was constituted, in which M. Singaravelar was appointed as a member. In addition to this, he also fought for the protection of labour rights. He emphasized this demand by writing in all popular dailies. As an outcome, labour protective law was passed in 1926, in India. Moreover, he advised for speaking in vernacular languages. Only then, he believed that the ideas will reach all the people. So, that leaders and people can maintain good relations. He is also determined to speak in Tamil, when speaking about the issues of Tamilnadu people. In 1918, a resolution regarding this was passed during Chennai Presidency Association Conference. Singaravelar and Periyar were the dignitaries in this conference.

## Singaravelar's Impact on Self-Respect and Communist Movements:

When Periyar resigned from Congress Party citing the existence of Brahmin and Non-Brahmin divide and discrimination in the party, Singaravelar supported the action of Periyar. After visiting USSR, Periyar was influenced by the Communist ideals. He changed the name of self-respect movement to Self-Respect Social Justice Party. Singaravelar made his contribution in framing the policies and principles of the movement. He also wrote extensively in Periyar's Republic magazine against superstitious beliefs. These writings were simple and can be understood easily.

Singaravelar has a deep faith in the philosophy of Communisim. He urged the Congress party to support labour organizations. In the name of Madras Socialists, he telegraphed Congress High Command. In all the Congress Committee meetings he argued as a Communist representative.

In1923, it was he, who organized the first May Day celebrations in Chennai. In the same day, he announced the formation of labour-farmer political party. The demands of his new political party are

- Eight hours work
- Right to form union
- Right to strike as a last resort to pressure labour demands.
- Three level committees for reviewing the demands.
- Minimum wages
- Shelter with basic amenities
- Medical and life Insurance
- Provident fund facility
- Earned leave
- Free Medical assistance
- Maternity leave
- Put an end to contract basis



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### For Farmers

- Free water for agriculture
- Abolition of Zamindari system

### For People

- Voting rights for all
- Right to contest in elections for poor, labour and farmer communities.

First socialist conference was headed by Singaravelar in 1925, in Kanpur. He spoke about socialism without violence. Also, he resolved for adopting Communism according to Indian circumstances. A socialist should play a role by being in the member of Congress Party, he advised. Eventually, Socialist block was formed inside the Congress Party.

### Life and Services

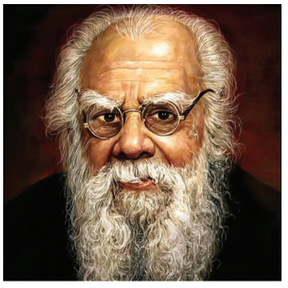
Since his childhood Singaravelar did not believe in the Varna System and superstitious belief. As a result of this, he established Buddhist Association and propagated against Varna System and superstitious beliefs during 1880 itself.

Born in a rich family and well versed with law, he served as a member in Chennai Municipality and also in health sector. Due to the endemic diseases in the down-trodden areas, he gave priority to health and education. He also fought for rights of labourers. Based on this, he played active role in Congress Party. Later, he joined in Periyar's Self – Respect movement.

Though he entered into politics after he crossed the age of 50, he actively propagated and wrote about communist ideas for more than thirty years. He was fondly remembered and called as the first communist of south India.

## 15.5 Dravidian Ideology

### Periyar (1879-1973)



### Introduction

Periyar E.V.Ramasamy is regarded as the best political thinker in Tamilnadu. This is because he is the foremost reformist in our state. Let us see about him in detail in this lesson.

**DO YOU KNOW?**

The original name of Periyar is E.V.Ramasamy. He was born in the year 1879 in an affluent business family in Erode. Even during his youth, Periyar criticized the superstitious beliefs in his family and surroundings. He did not enter politics at the early stages of his career. But still, he occupied posts like chairman of Erode municipality.

Periyar fought against superstitious beliefs, enslavement of women and social backwardness which existed in Tamilnadu from time immemorial based on his wisdom and self-respect throughout his life. It is because of this, he is fondly called as 'Thanthai Periyar'. Various scholars on Social Justice say that the Dravidian ideology enunciated by Periyar on cultural lines shines all around our country.

Periyar was attracted towards Gandhi's entry into politics and hence joined congress and became actively participating in freedom



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movement and social reforms. During that period in 1920's Congress was dominated by upper class people. But Periyar took Congress to the down trodden and successfully organized temple entry movements as a true Congress man. Periyar was very much disgruntled by the practice of Varnashrama in Congress party and left it. He joined Justice party and formed the self respect movement later. After this, the contributions and activities of Periyar became inseparable from the politics of India and Tamilnadu in particular.

In the name of nation, if a group of people exploit other groups that is not the real freedom which a nation fought for, said Periyar alias E.V. Ramasamy. Periyar vociferously criticized against Nation, Race and Nationalism at various levels. All Nation, nationality and nationalism are similarly related concepts. All these differentiations indicate the "Self Respect" of the entire population of a country. If anybody speaks about nationalism in Tamilnadu, I wonder, that will they think about "welfare or botheration about people" questioned Periyar.

### Nationalism as exploitation

There are people who may not bother about Indians, Tamilians and the self-respect of the people. They deceive people to believe in nation and nationalism for their own welfare and betterment. If self-respect is submerged in the name of nation and nationalism that will be the crime against India, stated Periyar.

Nationalism is an unreal feeling. Since National feeling is nothing but a conspiracy framed by rich and power-centered, people who deceive the other people by controlling the negative emotions. It is a false assumption, propagated by these upper rich communities in order to curtail the rights of the poor community.

DO YOU KNOW?

## An iconoclast and rationalist social reformer

### His work and his legacy

For the average Tamil, Periyar today is an ideology. He stands for a politics that foregrounded social equality, self-respect, and linguistic pride. As a social reformer, he focused on social, cultural and gender inequalities, and his reform agenda questioned matters of faith, gender and tradition. He asked people to be rational in their life choices. He argued that women needed to be independent, not mere child-bearers, and insisted that they be allowed a equal share in employment. The Self Respect Movement he led promoted weddings without rituals, and sanctioned property as well as divorce rights for women. He appealed to people to give up the caste suffix in their names, and do not mention caste. He instituted inter-dining with food cooked by Seheduled caste people in public conferences in the 1930s.

Over the years, Periyar has transcended the political divide as well as the faultlines of religion and caste, and come to be revered as Thanthai Periyar, the father figure of modern Tamil Nadu.

**Courtesy ; Arun Janardhanan, The New Indian Express, 13.3.2018.**



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Nationalism has become a buzz word of addictiveness and emotionalist for the people, he exclaimed.

## Global Nationalism – A Denial

Periyar in his speech in Sri-Lanka, opposed strongly against Nation and Nationalism when others used 'Indian Nationalism" as a weapon, Periyar spoke against these factors. He has also shown about other nations, nationalistic feeling apart from Indian Nationalism.

It is to treat people as scapegoat, Capitalist Class along with other similar people, Patriotic feeling was misused, said Periyar.

For instance, if rich communities in U.K have any clash with USA or vice-versa they may give clarion call as "Oh ! Britons, Patriots, our nation is under threat". Such kind of false words is only for their economic advancement and not for the poor communities.

Erstwhile, Russia has many races and cultural groups, but there is no discrimination in that nation. He also supported communist revolution. These nations which are free of nationalism, religion and God may not be affected with luxurious life styles, poverty and exploitation by rich community. Those people may not stick upon with national and godly attachments. Equality and egalitarian society is the only priority of that place. There will not be any discrimination like rich-poor, owner-worker, powerful-powerless in that region. Those people of high value and egalitarian-longing are not equal to the nation which gives priority for God and Nationalism.

By showing other nations as evidences, Periyar also criticized Indian nationalistic feelings and patriotism. Because these feelings are exploited as weapons by certain dominant groups.

## India – A Land of Diversities

Whether "Nation" as a concept is suitable for India? Periyar raised a pertinent question and answer as well.

"Madras is not a separate nation and cannot function separately," says some of our friends. Once 'Madras' was a nation. Also now, "Dravidam" it is. The culture and other practices are different from Bengal and Mumbai. English language is the main base for the familiarly among these different nations in India. If British Empire and its language is relieved from India, Hindi may become the national language. Instead of calling India as a nation, Dravida Nadu, Andhra, Bengal can be separately called as nations respectively. For instance, Dravidian nation had its culture, language, civilization and rule for thousands of years on accordance with historical facts. Undoubtedly it is known to all the people.

"Dravidian Nationalism" proposed by Periyar was to a large extent against religious dominations.

## On Language

Each and everyone have their own rights to protect their languages. These rights can be protected and provided under Dravida, Socialist Republic Rule. No language can be enforced.

Language should not be misused as weapon for separatism. If people are dependent upon Central rule for all kinds of amenities, there is no outcome in it. If languages are officialised at Central level, will the poor people relieve out of hunger?

To put it in clear way, are Tamil labourers exploited only by the Tamil speaking owner class?



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## Casteless Society

Periyar's protests and speeches always centre around, "Tamilnadu for Tamils and Dravidian nation for Dravidians." His ideologies include Common plan, common work plan, Islamic conversion, separate Dravidian nation for which he fought against the dominant communities.

His argument was that the dominant communities misused Tamil, Tamil nationalism, Tamil race for sustaining the power in Tamilnadu. It is with the help of Tamil leaders, they injected Tamil nationalism in the minds of the people for holding the power for a long time he said.

Consequently, Periyar put an end to the demand of separate Tamilnadu and upheld the ideal of casteless society.

Thus, casteless society has become the top most priority for Periyar. Other ideals like separate Dravidian nation, abounding dominant communities, distortion of capitalist class became secondary priorities for Periyar.

This may be the only ambition and goals for Dravida Kazhagam, claimed Periyar. "The caste feeling, thus divided the Dravidian race and Dravidians became slaves for Aryans" stated Periyar in his writings published in the 1950's in Tamilnadu.

## Glossary

Political Movement : It is a social group that operates together to obtain a political goal.

Social Movement : It is a type of group action. Social movements can be defined as organizational structures and strategies that may empower oppressed populations to mount effective challenges and resist the more powerful and advantaged elites.

Dravidian Movement : Dravidian movement developed in Madras Presidency which comprises the four major ethno-linguistic groups in South India.

Self-Respect Movement : The Self-Respect Movement is a movement with the aim of achieving a society where backward castes have equal human rights

Labour Movement : A movement organized for the betterment of labourers

Justice Party : Communal division between Brahmins and non-Brahmins began in the presidency during the late-19th and early-20th century, mainly due to caste prejudices and disproportionate Brahminical representation in government jobs.

Casteless Society : Of a society, an egalitarian society without caste structure

Pure Tamil Movement : Pure-Tamil Movement, a movement aimed at freeing the Tamil language from alien language words, particularly Sanskrit.

Home Rule Movement : Between the years 1916 and 1918, the Indian independence movement was sperarheaded by Dr. Besant's home rule league.

Politics : The activities associated with the governance of a country or area, especially the debate between parties having power.

Discrimination : The unjust or prejudicial treatment of different categories of people, especially on the grounds of race, age, or sex.

Peace : It is the concept of harmony and the absence of hostility. In a behavioral sense,



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peace is a lack of conflict and freedom from fear of violence between individuals and heterogeneous social groups.

National Movement : A national movement is a social and political movement for obtaining and maintaining national identity and autonomy among a group of people that some of its members consider a nation.

Welfare state : a system whereby the state undertakes to protect the health and well-being of its citizens.

## Evaluation

### I Choose the Correct Answer:

1. In Arathupal of Thirukkural, Valluvar says about?

   a) Ideals and morals  b) poet
   c) political philosopher  d) Welfare state

2. How many Parts are in Porutpal?

   (a)5  (b)4  (c)7  (d) 6

3. Bharathiyar was the editor of

   (a) India  (b) Young India
   (c ) Kesari  (d) Dravidan

4. Who wrote 'Panchali Sabatham'?

   (a) Bharathiyar  (b) Thiru. V. Ka
   (c) Kambar  (d) Bharathidasan.

5. Who is regarded as the best political thinker in Tamil Nadu?

   (a) J.C.Kumarappa  (b) Periyar
   (c) Thiruvalluvar  (d) Maraimalai Adigal

6. E.V. Ramasamy was born in the year

   (a) 1879  (b) 1877  (c) 1878  (d) 1876

7. Who wrote “The caste feeling, thus divided the Dravidian race and Dravidians became slaves for Aryans”

   (a) C.N. Annadurai  (b)E.V. Periyar
   (c) Singaravelar  (d) Maraimalai Adigal

8. In1923, First Indian ‘May Day’ meeting was arranged in Chennai by

   (a) Ilangovadigal  (b)E.V.R. Periyar
   (c) Singaravelar  (d) Maraimalai Adigal

9. Periyar passed away in the year

   (a) 1971  (b) 1972  (c) 1973  (d) 1974



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10. Bharathiyar was born in

(a) Ettayapuram (b) Trichy (c) Tirunelveli (d) Chennai

11. Who started the self respect movement in Tamil Nadu?

(a) Annadurai (b)E.V.R. Periyar
(c) Maraimalai Adigal (d) Singaravelar

12. Who said that " Tamilnadu for Tamils and Dravida nation for Dravidians."?

(a) Ilangovadigal (b)E.V.R. Periyar
(c) Singaravelar (d) Maraimalai Adigal

13. In which year a labour protective law was passed in british India?

(a)1914 (b) 1924 (c) 1926 (d) 1928

14. Why did Periyar left Indian National Congress?

a) Ahimsa b) Varnashrama Dharma
c) Personal differences d) None of them

15. Assertion: Bharathiyar went to Pondicherry and hide himself.
Reason: Bharathiyar was the editor of 'India' a Tamil daily spreading Nationalism.

Directions: Given below are two statements labelled as Assertion (A) and Reason (R) in the context of the two statements, which of the following is correct?

(a) Both A and R are true and R is the correct explanation of A.
(b) Both A and R are true but R is not the correct explanation of A.
(c) A is true but R is false.
(d) A is false but R is true.

## II Answer the following questions very shortly

1. What is thirukkural?
2. How many Parts are in Porutpal?
3. Who is the writer of Kuyil Pattu?
4. Explain Bharathiyar's ideas on women empowerment.
5. Discuss Bharathiyar as a Journalist.
6. Describe the views of Periyar on God.
7. Write a short note on Singaravelar's role in Labour Movement
8. What is Singaravelar's ideas on Politics?
9. Describe Singaravelar's Life and Services to Tamil Society.



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## III Answer the following questions shortly

1. What is Thiruvalluvar's ideas on Welfare state and King?
2. Explain Valluvar's views on Tyranny
3. Describe Bharathiyar's views on British rule.
4. Explain Bharathiyar's views on Nationalism.
5. Examine the ideas of Singaravelar on Congress Party.
6. List out the demands submitted by Singaravelar in 1922.
7. Enumerate the ideas of Periyar on Dravidanadu

## VI Answer the following questions in detail

1. Write a short note on the Thiruvalluvar's ideas in the society.
2. Discuss Singaravelar as a labour leader in Tamil Nadu.
3. Elaborate the Socio-Political contributions of Bharathiyar to Tamil Nadu.
4. Explain the life history and contribution of Periyar.
5. Trace the background of Political thought in Tamil Nadu.

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