LOVELY PROFESSIONAL UNIVERSITY

COMPARATIVE POLITICS II

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Unit 1 : State and Theories of State

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Objectives

After studying this unit, students will be able to:

- Understand the Theory of Social Contract.
- Explain the Historical or Originary Theory.
- Describe the Marxist Theory.
- Discuss the role of State and Historical Development of State.

Introduction

By nature man is curious and because of this curiosity of his he tried to find the history of origin of state, but appropriate knowledge about the origin of state could not be obtained through history, and because of history being unsuccessful in this relation, the support of imagination has been taken by political thinkers. Whatever is the perspective of these thinkers on why do humans live in political organisation, why do they adhere to dominance, what are the limitations of dominance, etc., on their basis only these theories have been established. Main theories established in relation to the origin of state are as follows:

1. Theory of Divine origin 2. Theory of Power 3. Theory of Social Contract

4. Paternal or Maternal Theory 5. Marxist Theory

Notes "We could have known very little or nothing through history in relation to, when did human develop political conscious and in what atmosphere. Where history fails, we take the support of imagination." **—Gilchrist**

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1.1 Theory of Social Contract

In relation to the origin of state, theory of social contract is very important. In political ideology of 17th and 18th centuries, this theory had complete dominance. According to this theory, state instead of being divine is a human institution, which has been built on the basis of mutual contract by the people. Promoters of this theory divide the human history in two parts:1. Era of natural state 2. Era after the start of citizen life. All promoters of this theory reject the existence of any such natural state under which, for keeping the life organised, there was no need for state or any other institution like state. There are sufficient differences among the various promoters of the theory in relation to this natural state, some call it **Pre-Social** and some call it **Pre-Political** state. Under this natural state each person spent his her life according to his her will or on the basis of natural rules. Despite of difference in opinion in relation to natural state, all accept that for some reasons humans were compelled to give up natural state and they established a political society through contract.

As a result of this, contract natural freedom of each person was partially or completely lost and in exchange for freedom he received the assurance of security from state and law. In the place of natural rights, people obtained social rights. In this way, in words of **Licock,** 'state was a result of such an exchange driven by people's greed by which in exchange of responsibilities people obtained special rights. '

Evolution of Theory: Contract theory is old like political philosophy only and it has support from both, East and West nations. In ***'Shanti Parva'*** of Mahabharata, description of this is found that earlier state was not there and in its place lawlessness was there. Fed by such situation, human made a mutual contract and accepted Manu as their ruler. Kautilya has also adapted this opinion in his **'Arthshashtra'** that subjects chose their king and king promised security of the subjects.

In Greece, firstly Sophist Class promoted this thought. Their opinion was that state is the fruit of an artificial institution and a contract. Class with Epiquirean ideology, supported it and Roman thinkers also laid emphasis on this that 'Public is the last source of Political power'. This thought was very powerful in medieval period also and was supported by **Mangold** and **Thomas Aquinas.**

This opinion became excessively popular in 16th and 17th century and almost all thinkers started believing it. Firstly, **Richard Hooker** did a logical interpretation of contract in scientific form and Dutch Judge **Gracious, Poofendorf, Spinoza** nurtured it, this theory was promoted in scientific and duly manner by **Hobbs, Lock and Ruso,** who are called '**Samvidaavaadi Thinkers**'.

Thomas Hobbs was a resident of England and because of contact with the royal family his ideology was monarchy. At the time of Hobbs, in England there was a tense dispute going on between the supporters of monarchy and democracy. In relation to this dispute, Hobbs belief was that without a powerful Monarchy, peace and order cannot establish in the state. For promoting this thought of his he took support of contract theory in his book **'Leviathan'** published in 1651. Hobbs has interpreted social contract in the following manner:

Human nature: Civil War going on in England at the time of Hobbs has put forward before him despicable aspect of human nature only. He experienced that man is a selfish, egoistic and overweening being. He always loves power and is endeavouring to attain power.

Natural State: The natural result of no control of any kind on the life of this selfish, egoistic and overweening man was, each human being started looking at every other human being with the view of an enemy and all started moving like hungry wolves to swallow each other. Man had no knowledge of justice and injustice and natural state was based on the concept of **'Power is the truth'.** In the words of Hobbs himself, 'There, there was no business, no culture, no knowledge, not architecture and no society. Human life was helpless, oppressed, filthy, Animalistic and short-termed.'

Causes of contract: This insecurity of life and assets and this fear of death and slaughter motivated people that they, with an objective of ending this unbearable natural state, build a political system.

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Contract: For building a new society all people jointly made a contract. According to Hobbs, this contract was done by each person with rest people and group, in which each person says to the other person that, 'I surrender my rights and powers to this person or council so that he may rule upon us, but only on the condition that you all surrender your rights and powers in the same form and obey their orders.'

In this manner, all people made a complete surrender of their rights towards one person or all and this power became the highest power of that area. This was the starting of state. Under this contract no side is ruler and it is a social contract and not political. That power is a result of this contract and in this way its position is much higher than the contract. Political power is complete, absolute, irrevocable and indivisible.

Form of the New State: Through Hobbs's contract one such absolute monarchic state is established, whose ruler is completely powerful and who has no duties towards the subjects. Ruled class had not rights to revolt against the ruler group.

John Lock (1632–1674)

John Lock was another philosopher of England itself, who promoted his theory in book, 'Two Treatise on Government published in 1690. Two years prior to publishing of this book, glorious revolution had taken place through which the final power of parliament was accepted against the king. Lock, welcoming these circumstances in his book, promoted limited or legislative monarchy. John Lock has interpreted his contract theory in this manner:

Human nature and natural state: According to Lock, man is a social animal and he had feelings of love, compassion, support and mercy. Because of this sociality of human nature, natural state could not be the state of struggle instead it was the state of goodwill, support and security. According to lock, natural state was not devoid of rules, instead under it this rule was popular 'do unto others, as you want others to do unto you'. In natural state man had natural rights and each person respected the rights of other people. Of these, main rights were that of life, freedom and assets.

Causes of Contract: In this ideal natural state, with time people experienced such inconveniences that for doing away these inconveniences, people considered giving up natural state appropriate. According to Lock, these inconveniences were as follows:

(a) There was no clear system of natural rules (b) there was no eligible power for interpreting these rules (c) there was no power for getting these rules followed.

Contract: Under the theory of Hobbs only one contract was made for building the state but from Lock's description it seems that two contracts were made. Through first contract, new state was established by ending the natural state. The objective of this contract is the protection of life, freedom and assets of people. After the first contract, one more contract took place between the ruler and the ruled class, in which by the ruled class ruler was given the right to make law, interpret them, and apply them, but this restriction is imposed on the power of the ruler that laws made by him will necessarily be according to and favourable to natural laws and will be in the benefit of public.

Form of new a state: Under the social contract theory of Lock, the contract that took place between ruler and the ruled, it is clear from it that government in itself is not a target by merely a source for attaining a target, and that target is establishing peace and order and public welfare. Lock promotes this thought and if government is unsuccessful in its objectives then society has complete right to establish another government in place of such government. Like this, such ruling system was supported by Lock, in which actual and last power is vested in the public and existence and form of government depend on public.

Jean Jacks Russo (1712–1767) : Russo has promoted his social contract theory in book 'the social contract', published in 1762 and like Hobbs and Lock, promotion of this book by Russo was not done

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with any special objective, but the way in which Russo promoted his theory, he became the precursor of democracy. Interpretation of his theory was done by Russo in the following manner:

Conscious, nature and natural state: Russo has written in his book **'Social contract',** "man is born free, but he is tied in chains everywhere. " Through this statement, Russo promotes this fact that 'Man is originally good and social evils only become hurdle in human goods'. For a person of natural state Russo uses the term "Noble Savage". This noble savage was so satisfied in himself that neither he needed a companion nor he had a desire of any harm to anyone. In this way in natural state a person spent the life of a simplicity and bliss like a gullible, ignorant child. In this way natural state is the state of complete freedom and equality and pious and duplicity free life

Causes of Contract: Natural state was an ideal state, but after some time such reasons occurred which polluted this state. Because of invention of agriculture, permanent right on land and as a result of it, assets and feeling of your-mine was developed. When each person started desiring to have right on more and more land, naturally peaceful life was destroyed and almost the same state of the society happened which was there in the natural state of Hobbs. Holding property responsible for the establishment of society, russo writes, "That first person was the real originator of society who, by surrounding a terrain with a large enclosure said that this is my land and who got people to trust this statement of his." In this way by destruction of ideal form of natural state, war, struggle and destruction occurred. For ending the atmosphere of war and struggle people decided to establish society through mutual contract.

Contract: For getting rid of this unbearable situation all people gathered at a place and surrender of their complete rights was done by them, but this complete surrender of rights was done not for any specific person but for the complete society. As a result of contract, a general desire for complete society occurs and all people work inside this general desire**.** In the words of **Russo** himself, under contract, "each person for general use of his personality and power, surrenders under the supreme director of general desire and in the form of a group finds his personality and his complete powers". All parties have benefited by such a kind of transfer.

In this way through Russo's contract that democratic society is established under which sovereignty is vested in the entire society and if government rules against the general desire then public has the right to dismiss such a government.

Criticism of Social Contract Theory

In 17th and 18th century, contract theory was very popular. **Hooker, Milton, Gracious, Wulf, Cant, Blackstone, Spinoza** supported this ideology but political thinkers of the end of 18th century and 19th century strongly criticised this theory. English Philosopher **Hoom** declared that 'in the foundation of relation of ruled and the ruler contract is incompatible and there is no historical proof of it.' **Sir Hennery Men** has said that, "what can be more waste than this description of the origin of society and government" **Bluntshali** has told this theory to be 'extremely horrific', **Green** has said to be a "tender imagination" and **Woolze** has called it 'sheer lie'. This theory was extremely criticised by scholars such as **Benthom, Sir Fredrick Polak, Vaahan, Admond Burk,** etc. According to **Vaahan**, "Social contract theory is neither an appropriate source of understanding history and nor is an example of any solid political philosophy ". This theory is criticised on historical, philosophical, logical and legislative basis.

Self Assessment

Fill in the Blanks:

1. In relation to origin of state, theory of ..... is very important.
2. For building a new ..... all people jointly made a contract.

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3. According to history, ... has evolved, not built.
4. According to social contract, state is the result of natural, social tendency of ..... .

1.2 Historical or Evolutionary Theory

Till now, in relation to origin of state whatever theories were promoted, of those divine doctrine, power theory, social contract theory, paternal theory and maternal theory were main, but none of these theories can be accepted in the form of interpretation of the origin of state. In divine doctrine, power theory and contract theory one thing is found common that state was built at a specific time, but in reality state was not built, it is a result of continuous evolution. Along with this, this thing of paternal and maternal theory can also not be accepted that state is a mere extension of family because there is a fundamental difference in the nature of family and state. Dr. Garner has truly said that "state is neither a creation of God nor is it the result of physical power of supreme category, neither a copy of any proposal or contract and nor is an extended form of family. It is a historical institution emerged from gradual development"

State is a result of evolution and correct interpretation of origin of state may be done only through historical and evolutionary theory. According to this theory, the evolution of state has been going on since a long time and by doing a gradual development from ancient society it has taken the form of current national state. **Burges** has rightly said, "State is continuous evolution of human society whose start was expressed in incomplete and distorted progressive form towards a holistic and global organisation of humans." Like language has emerged from meaningless babbling of man, exactly in the same way the origin of state has been done from very ancient and uncivilized society beyond history.

Telling this that when and which type of state came in existence is extremely difficult. In this relation, famous sociologist **Sumner and Keller** has said in their book 'The Science if Society', "saying this that when was state first seen is as impossible as is saying that when were ethical laws and rules made or when was child become young and when did a youth become old." Just like other social institutions only it has evolved taking support from various conditions and being influenced by many facts. Series of evolution of state has also not been even. Because of the differences of nature, circumstances, and attitude, series of evolution of state has also been different at various times, conditions and places. Like language and political conscious the evolution of state has also taken place slowly.

These are the elements helpful in evolution of state:- 1. Kinship 2. Natural social instincts of man 3. Religion 4. Force 5. Economic activities 6. Political consciousness.

1. **Kinship**: It is a widely accepted truth that the most ancient form of social organisation was based on kinship and kinship has been the first and strongest tie of unity. Angla saying **'Blood is thicker than water'** is based on this fact only. In beginning days what brought them closer and motivated them to organise in form of a group, it was only the trust in similar origin and family was the unit of oldest and closest kinship. Though this question is disputed that out of tribe, clan and family, which came first in existence, it cannot be denied that state would have been established only on the basis of control by family, in this relation, **Sir Hennery Men** has written, "Modern researches of oldest histories of societies point towards the inference that first relation tying a group in the chord of unity was kinship only." Going ahead when due to increase in population size of family increased and tribes and clans were made, then societies were born. In this relation Machiever says, "Kinship gives birth to society and with time, society gives birth to state."
2. **Natural Social Instinct of Men**: By nature itself, man is a social and political being and man's instinct to stay in group itself has given birth to state. Staying together in the society when because of nature of various people and nature based differences various kind of disputes arise, then to do away these disputes need for sovereign political institutions was felt and

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state emerged. In this way to a large extent state may be called the result of social instinct of man. In this relation, **John Marley** has said, Actual base of development of state has been the inborn instinct in human'.

3. **Religion:** Like kinship, religion also had an important contribution in the establishment of state. In evolution task of state kinship and religion had been related in mutually closed form. Apparently, in earlier society, kinship and religion were two aspects of the same thing and both together did the job of mutually joining families and tribes. According to **Wilson,** in earlier society, "religion was an expression of similar blood, its unity, sanctity and responsibility. " Gatel has even written, "kinship and religion were two forms of the same thing and unity of the group and their responsibilities had religious recognition."

In early society two forms of religion were popular—**ancestor worship and worship of natural powers**. People had a lot of respect towards the old people of their family even after their death they believed that even after the destruction of body, soul remains. Hence for pleasing this soul they started ancestor worship. This extremely popular form of religion (ancestor worship) tied the families in the chord of unity. Those who were related to the same clan or blood their totems were also same who mainly used to be their ancestors.

Another popular form of religion at that time was the worship of natural powers. In wild state, when brain had not developed much, man was incapable in understanding natural changes. They experienced the power of God in the growling of clouds, lightening, the sound of air and change in things, and each power of nature became God for them.

Example

People started worshiping the earth, sun, fire, rain and air and deep friendship feeling aroused among the worshippers of similar powers, it became the basis of state.

In early society, various natural powers were considered God or devils and whenever a person proved that he can keep the natural powers under control, he obtained extra-ordinary power and respect in the society and many a times these people who were called tantric, became the king. In this way contribution towards the development of state has been made by religion in more than one way.

4. **Force:** In the development of state institution, the place of force or war has also been especially important. First there was a social arrangement, the task of converting which into a political arrangement was done through war only. Jainks has said even, "the change of public society into a political society did not happen through peaceful measures, this change has happened through war only."

Establishing rule on other people and the tendency of attacking is also one of the basic tendencies of people. In the initial era of human evolution, these tendencies were very active. Along with the development of agriculture and business, when people settled at definite places, then concept of personal property arose. In such a situation wars started happening for the protection of residence and property and war brought forward the importance of leadership before the people. People started accepting the leadership of powerful personality that provided them security. Under the submission of this leader one tribe tried to establish dominance on another tribe and soldier chief of the winner tribe in this process of struggle became the king. Forcefully, power took the form of authority and the feeling of devotion and fidelity towards the ruler was born. Like this state was born from war. It is said even that **"War begets the king"**.

5. **Economic activities:** In origin and development of state, economic activities also have a big hand. **Plato, Machiavelli, Hobbs, Lock, Adam Smith** and **Montesquieu** have also accepted the sum of economic elements in origin and development of state, but going much ahead of them **Karl Marx** has expressed this thought that, "**State is an expression of economic situation only".**

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Since ancient era till now man has passed through four economic states according to which it has contemporary social and political organization. **First,** in hunters' stage, the source of human life was hunting and because of this man's life was instable, unorganized and nomadic. **Second,** in Animal Husbandry stage man earned his living by rearing animals. In this stage also their life was nomadic but the touch of groupism and organization had come. **Third**, in agriculture stage, the basis of life being agriculture man started living permanently at a definite place. Personal property arose through it, classes were born in the society and struggles increased. In such, situation, law, courts and political powers were established. **Fourth**, is today's industrial state in which complex and an huge structure of economic life gave birth to national state. Like this we may see that along with economic development, there also have been changes in political organisations of man and it is a clear proof of effect of economic activities on the development of state.

6. **Political Consciousness:** By political consciousness we mean consciousness for achieving those objectives for which state is established. According to many scholars, political consciousness has worked in the form of most important element the in evolution of state.

   When people settled at any definite state and they obtained permanent source of their living, he naturally desired and worried that may others not take away his resources. As a result, need for rules started to be felt and thus was the origin of political consciousness. Initially, this political consciousness was in unreleased and latent form, along with the development of civilisation, it was released and expressed. The need of political organisation of ruling, discipline, war etc., now became even more explicit. Apart from this, desire for power also increased in some people and through military actions they state acquiring more and more power. Leaders who won the battle, became kings and their dominance was established. Like this rule and law was born and state came forward in tangible form. Even in current time, political consciousness is active in the development of state and due to this consciousnes, human species started thinking in the direction of establishment of world state.

Conclusion: In relation to the origin of state, historical or evolutionary theory is most acceptable according to which, not through any one element but through all, original social instinct, kinship, religion, force, economic activities and political consciousness, state has been developed. Family based on kinship was the most ancient form of state, religion provided unity to these families and economic activities motivated people to unite. Along with this power and political consciousness provided clarity and comprehensiveness to the form of state. Like this state originated and it achieved its current form while evolving.

1.3 Marxist Theory

The political ideology that has been mainly promoted by Karl Marx and Angels in their books '**Communist Manifesto**' and '**capital**', is called Marxist Theory. Main theories of Marxist concept are as follows:

1. Dialectic Materialism
2. Economic interpretation of history or economic determinism
3. Theory of class struggle
4. Theory of extra price
5. Analysis of capitalist system and notion in relation to its future.
6. State and governance related conceptions.
7. Conception related to democracy, religion and nationalism

Notes

Marxist Theory in Relation To Origin of State

Marxism considers state to be an institution based on unnatural, temporary and class exploitation. In this relation, he has rendered his ideology in detail and it may be studied in the following forms:

1. **Class Distinction base of origin of state:** State related concept of Marx, is associated with another concept of 'class struggle' rendered by him. **Marx** has written in communist manifesto'- **"history of struggle of human life till now is history of class struggle itself"**. The origin of state has happened on the basis of tendency of this class struggle itself and because of this it is an unnatural institution.

   In Marxist ideology, quite contrary to the general opinion, state has been recognised as a class agency. In primitive communist state because of no struggle of interest between the members of the society there was no state, but situation changed in the era of slave tradition. In this era, masters had land, property and all sources of production in their hands and they exploited the slaves. The number of members of masters' class was very less and for maintaining their position against the majority of community they had taken the support of force. They arranged army, police, court and jail, etc., those people had right on these institutions, who were supporters of the exploiter class and from here only state institution commenced.

2. **State and instruments of governance exploitation:** State originated because of class discrimination and state institution has always been working in form of supporter of exploiter class. During the feudalistic era, baron and capitalists, with the aid of state, have been exploiting farmers and labourers respectively. According to **Marx**, like the autocratic states of the ancient time, it is true in relation to the so called democratic states of the present time also. In these states, democracy is just a matter of show off and actual power of the state is in the hands of capitalist class and their supporters. The construction of law in these democratic states is also done for protecting the property related and other interests of capitalists. Like this according to **Marx** and **Angels**, state is an unbiased institution and the objective of which is to protect the interest of exploitation class and move it towards more and more exploitation of exploited class. In words of Marx himself, "State is such an instrument with the help of which one class exploits another class". Angels has also said that, "state in all its forms has been an institution of only ruler class and in each stage it has done the job of keeping the downtrodden or exploited class suppressed."

3. **Dictatorship of the proletariat class in the interim period:** Marx, calling state to be unnatural and unnecessary, speaks of its dissolve, but along with it he also accepts that in the first step itself of communist revolution the end of state is not possible or appropriate. Even after the end of capitalism, state will exist for some time and in this era "Dictatorship of Proletariat class" will establish. In the era, the use of powers of the state will be done by the proletariat class in crushing the opposition by capitalist and in ending the remaining elements of capitalism.

   Marx has said in **"Communist Manifesto" that** in the interim era strong steps such as ending of personal property and paternal rights, nationalisation of means of transportation and communication-vehicle and ending the deposited capital of capitalists must be taken by the proletariat class. Marx considered "Dictatorship of proletariat class" only to be actual democracy, which is awakening and independent system of overwhelming majority and it is for the interest of overwhelming majority.

4. **Ideal of stateless and classless society:** Marx considers the existence of state because of class- struggle and according to him, state is not a permanent institution. Hence, his thought is that after the dictatorship of proletariat class when opposing classes will end then power of state will also end and after the establishment of stateless and classless society only actual communist society will start. In ideal stateless and classless society no discrimination will be done on the basis of religion, caste, colour and money and each will get more and more

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justice. In such a society, each person will necessarily have to work for some definite time and production will be subject to social requirements. Each person will receive goods and remuneration according to his needs and according to his abilities and those people who are not able to work, for them arrangement will be made for social help and social insurance.

5. **Opposition of Nationalism and support of internationalism**: In the context of notion related to the nations, Marx's ideology in relation to nationalism may be interpreted because at present time base of national state is nationalism only. Marx rejects this nationalism also and his thought is that **"there is no state of labourers".** That is why on Marxist conception slogan was made that "workers of the world. Unite!" Marx's belief was that when exploitation of a person by another person will end then the exploitation of a nation by another nation will also end. On the reduction of class struggle and class enmity, there will be no cause of mutual enmity of nations also, wars will end forever and permanent peace will be established.

1.4 Role of State

The study of role of state under Marxist conception may be done in two forms: - 1) The role of state in capitalist era and stages prior to it and 2) the role of state in dictatorship of proletariat class. In this relation, it is worth remembering that after the dictatorship of proletariat class the communist society that will be established, it will be a stateless or classless society. When in that stage state will not be remain, the question of role of state will not arise.

Marx says that state is a class institution, which has originated in the form of supporting institution of exploiter class and exploiter class has always exploited the downtrodden with the help of the state. Whether it is slave era, feudalistic era or communist era, the role of state has always been in the form of supporting institution of exploiter class.

Role of state in dictatorship of proletariat class: Marx saying state to be unnecessary and unnatural, speaks of its mergence, but along with it he is realistic and accepts this fact that in the first step of communist revolution itself, the end of state is not desirable and possible. Even after the end of capitalism, state will remain for some time and in this era "Dictatorship of proletariat class" will establish. Marx has interpreted the role of state in this "dictatorship of proletariat class" in detail. Marx calls this dictatorship to be "**awakening and independent system of overwhelming majority**" and he says that this is **actual democracy.** In the era, the use of powers of the state will be done by the proletariat class in crushing the opposition by capitalist and in ending the remaining elements of capitalism.

According to Marx, in the dictatorship of proletariat class following programme must be adopted by the state:

1. The arrangement of property in the form of land must be ended and the use of entire revenue of land must be done for public works.
2. Income tax is levied in such a way that along with income it also increases in much amount.
3. The tradition of succession should be ended completely.
4. The entire work of business transaction should be centralised in the hands of state by opening a national bank with the capital of the state. State must have monopoly on the banks.
5. The property of deserters and rebels must be expropriated.
6. The complete monopoly of state is established on post, telegraph and all means of transportation.
7. The expansion of industrial businesses and means of production should be done by making a big plan, all land lying fallow should be populated and land should be made more fertile.
8. It should be compulsory for each person to work. People should be organised for industrial businesses, especially for farming.

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9. The relation of farming should be established with industrial business, by dividing the population of the country appropriately among cities and villages, difference between cities and towns should be slowly done.
10. Arrange should be made for free education of all children in public schools. The present tradition of employing children in factories should be ended absolutely. The relation of studies should be associated with industrial production.

Through dictatorship of proletariat class maintaining peace and system and other works of the same category will definitely be done, like this in dictatorship of proletariat class work field of state is very expansive. Under behavior, till now in any Marxist or communist state final ideal state communism (classless and stateless society) has not been attained. Like this, it may be said that no matter whatever is the theoretical state, among arrangements adopting Marxist conception under behavior role of state is very expansive and very important.

Criticism: Main criticisms of Marxist conception in relation to state are as follows:

1. **State is not a class institution but an ethical institution**: According to Marxist conception, state is such a class institution which has been used by capitalist class for exploiting the labour class, but according to the critics, state is not a class organization but an ethical institution, objective of which is the development of human personality. The basis of state is not power but desire. Some states may though work as supporters of the exploiter class but such things cannot be said about all states. In the words of **Sabine,** "state of this principle is just an agent of exploitationa and is mere a propaganda of a revolutionary minority. It is not such a theory on which any government may work." Hence critics' view is that moving by assuming state to be a class organisation is a prejudicial idea.
2. **Present state instead of being the enemy, is the friend of the proletariat class:** In Marxist conception, state has been told to be the enemy of proletariat class but later history does not prove this concept. For the almost last 50 years, Then thought of welfare state has been accepted by all the states of the entire world and in all countries of America and Western Europe many laws have been built in the benefit of labourers. In these states hours of working and holiday of workers have been determined, the arrangement of minimum wages has been made for them, and plans have been made for helping them in stages of unemployment, illness and old age. In this way, state is working not in the form of a source of exploitation of workers but in the form of a main source of their up-liftment and welfare.
3. **State is not temporary but permanent:** In Marxist conception assuming state to be a temporary institution the **concept of its mergence** in definite form has been expressed, but in reality, state being based on original permanent tendencies of human behaviour, is a perpetual institution and there is no possibility of its destruction. Communist obtained power on USSR in 1917 and in some time that ended the so called bourgeois group, but in this communist arrangement state, instead of ending is become more and more powerful. It is a widely accepted fact that there is some such attraction in power that after attaining it once, giving it up is very difficult. In words of **Lwaski,** the ill effect of the toxin of power is known to all and assuming this is difficult that communist will be saved of its effect.
4. **Notion of mergence of state is a tender imagination:** Though theories of thinkers such as **saint Symonds, Forier** and **Prodha** have been mocked at by being called imaginative by Marx, but his own notion of stateless and class society is not any less imaginative and worth mockery. Marx has not made any attempt to tell that how a classless society is a natural and necessary result of evolution and apart from this no matter whatever is the type of classless society, it cannot be kept stable without the power of the state.
5. **Faulty notion in relation to democracy:** Marxist theory in relation to democratic state and governance is faulty and it cannot be accepted. Democracy may have its own faults, but in

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comparison to arrangements established till now in human history, democracy is undoubtedly a superior governance system. On the basis of dictatorship, some benefits may be obtained for some time but these benefits will be stable and possibility of this is very less.

6. **Nationalism is a great power of present life: no matter how natural and desirable is the** notion of internationality for the time to come, this fact may not be denied that the great power of the current time is nationalism only. The feeling of nationalism is stronger than that of classism, this may be seen in all crisis conditions. That is why there is no need for appeal such as "**workers of the world, Unite!**"

Like this Marxist conception in relation to origin, nature and work-field of state may not be accepted. Proof of falseness of Marxist notion in this relation is that other things of Marxism proved true, but last ideal of Marxism ideal of ideal stateless and class society could not be achieved. This ideal will ever be achieved; this is a subject of doubt.

Self Assessment

Multiple Choice Questions:

5. Marx considers origin of state because of ..... .

   (a) class discrimination (b) caste Discrimination

   (c) religion discrimination (d) society Discrimination

6. In ..... conception, slogan of "workers of the world, unite!" was made.

   (a) leninism (b) marxist

   (c) imperialist (d) syncretic

7. Base of state is not power but ..... .

   (a) desire (b) value

   (c) society (d) person

8. Family was first ..... of the state.

   (a) arrangement (b) tribe

   (c) unit (d) organisation

1.5 Historical Development of the State

At present time historical theory is accepted in relation to the origin of the state, according to which state is the result of historical development. The origin of state during the initial days of human civilization happened in a very crude manner and along with development of civilization, its form kept changing. Since ancient time to till today, state for attaining its present form, national state, had to go through many stages and forms. Telling this is very difficult that these stages of the state were, because of relation to this there are many differences of opinions among the scholars of political science. Still on the basis of analysis of development of all states of the world, some stages of development of state have been determined. These stages are as follows:

1. The tribal state 2. The Oriental Empire 3. The Greek City State 4. The Roman Empire 5. The Feudal State 6. The Modern National State 7. Future Development of the state- World Federation

1. Tribal State: Family was the first social unit and clan was first political unit. In clan on we first find symptoms of government or state, because the biggest symptom of state is that some

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people order and rest follow their orders. The chief of the clan ordered rest of the people of the clan and all followed his orders. Those violating the orders were punished also. Though in these primitive communities or clans population or land area was less in comparison to modern state but elements of power and organization were present in them. Important point is that in these clans there was no written law but their traditions were considered to be their law. There were continuous wars among these clans, when chief of a powerful clan won over the weaker clan of the nearby area, he became the king and people living in the clan, became his subjects. Like this in different areas of the world many small-small states were established.

2. The Oriental Empire: Slowly clans started to settle at places where they could easily subsist. Organised and political life emerged in areas with natural resources such as climate, fertile land and abundance of water etc. like this in the valleys of rivers such as, Nile, Euphrates, Sindh, Ganges, Yellow and Yangtze etc. huge states of Egypt, Babylon, Syria, India and China were established.

Need for land for fast increasing population gave birth to wars and these wars also became the cause of establishment of these states. As a result of wars, the number of slaves increased, commerce and trade developed, on the basis of jobs of the people castes developed and because of the religious feelings of the people a priest class also originated. Increasing money, feeling of protection of the society, everyday wars and desire to attain power gave birth to such classes of high authority, by which, going ahead, emperor was originated. The place of temporary soldiers was taken by permanent army and priest, politician and soldier class, by becoming complementary to each other, started making way towards organising the society. In such a situation path opened for aspirational leaders to move ahead. Slowly, states developed and some states by absorbing other states in them, took form of empires.

Like this Empire of **Sumarai, Assyria, India, empires of Egypt and China** were developed. In such a kind of empire except Persian Empire regional management and organisation of other empires were very poor. Except Persian job of other empires was only to collect revenue and make army appointments. They neither had any general objective nor a general loyalty. On ruling dynasty getting weak, powerful competitors started fighting among themselves for reign and power. In this there was no scope for personal independence and political progress. Like this initial empires were instable.

These empires of the east have been called extremely incomplete from the point of view of political organisation by western writers **Soltow**, in relation to these states have said even this that, "from the point of view of the student of political science, the importance of these states is very less. Among them very few such institutions originated which were worth study and speciality of all those was economically unhealthy and crippled."

From present perspective, the criticism of these empires may be appropriate but from the perspective of their existence era, such a type of criticism is not correct. Eastern empires have a very important place in evolution of state. Goodness of these empires of east has been accepted by critics **Gating** and **Soltow**. In words of **Gatil**, "These great empires have made an important contribution in keeping the foundation stone of culture, in breaking a compact and local base and in familiarising human tribe with wide governance. " Agriculture, industry, business, art, science and literature, undoubtedly developed a lot in these empires. Pyramids of Egypt made in this era are considered to be the best samples of art even today.

3. The Greek City State: The third important stage of development of state is found in Greece. Though the development of civilisation in Greece happened a little late as compared to east, but once it started, its speed was very fast. Geographical circumstances of Greece city were very appropriate for political rights and their uses. Apart from this, the perspective of the Greeks in relation to religion and life was very natural and because of this there was no obstacle in the way of progress.

Greeks developed many political organisations in their self supporting and self governing states. In all these societies, the elements of development were hidden, only Sparta remained same conservative. General sequence of political development in other political cities was from monarchy to oligarchy, from oligarchy to autocratic system and now democracy. Greek citizens were very loyal towards their

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state and participating in public life of the city was one of their important objectives. Citizenship was in the form of a duty and profession. Greeks considered city to be an ethical institution and city fulfilled almost all needs of social life. The perspective of Greeks was social from the beginning till the end and their faith was that no person could develop his life by staying out from the city. Like this though city states of Greece were on the highest peak of personal independence and political development, but they had many serious shortcomings also. **First**, these city states were based on slave tradition, which in itself was the origin of many evils. **Second**, full of local love in these city states there was a complete lack of national feeling. For this reason any political consciousness never developed in them, which could tie them in single chord from political view. City states made a weak and loose organisation, but beyond this they could do nothing. Because of being tied to the boundaries of state, people had an attitude of bitter exclusiveness towards other cities and rest of the world, wars originated as a result of which one by one destroyed the powers of all city states. The power of Greece kept declining and one day it easily became the prey of Macedonia and then Rome.

Vedic-era republic: The days when there were city states in Greece, in the same days small republics were found in India also. Though there is no detailed description in relation to these republics like city states, still it may be said that the system of these states was not same throughout. These republics were of two types. In first type of republic, all citizens of the republic mainly took part in governance system of the state. They conducted the state work and elected the chief of the republic. Second type of republics was those in which chiefs of main families collectively conducted the state work. The main shortcoming of these republics was their weakness and because of this just like Greek city states merged in the universal empire of Rome, similarly, Vedic-era republic merged in universal empire of Patliputra.

4. Roman Empire: As the states of Greece the start of political life of Rome also happened in the form of a city state. Initially, city had no special importance but because of its central situation and being located on the only river qualified for shipping, this city state soon became a major state. Among various clans living in this area, because of a general religious worshipping feeling of unity became strong. Making it powerful in its home itself, this city empire of Rome moved towards expansion. First, it merged city states of Italy in itself and then not only did it establish it empire in European countries like France, Spain, England, Germany etc., but it included in itself far off states such as Greece, Egypt, Asia Minor, etc. by winning them over. Like this Rome became the owner of a huge empire and governance management of this entire empire started being done from Rome itself.

For such type of huge empire Rome invented a completely new governance method from the view of that time. For keeping the empire tied in a chord arrangement was made for an effective central governance and control. Won over land portions were divided in states and in each state a Roman officer, who was called **Proncosul**, was provided complete rights in relation to political and citizen rights. In Rome itself place of republic was taken by dictatorial military regime and the empire became the most powerful. Public council had a dominant place, but it also had control of the empire. Empire only determined the dignity and importance of Senate and at the end orders of the emperor were considered to be law.

By the end of second century, residents of various states also got the citizenship of Rome. At the same time this old theory "ruler gets his rights from the subjects only" was replaced by divine origin theory. The power of emperor was considered to be conferred by God an on accepting Christian religion as state religion emperor was started to be known as representative of God on earth. Like this ancient democratic city state became autocratic world empire. Value of independence, democracy and local freedom decreased and in its place dignity of roman values of unity, management, world- law, global brotherhood increased.

Lasting glory of providing streamlined and graceful state to the world is with Rome only. Rule of Rome in west continued till 5000 years and in east till 1500 years. On the basis of structure of Roman Empire, catholic religion association founded its organisation and looking at the management of Rome

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only, the feeling of worldwide empire kept moving in the mind of people in the entire medieval era. Roman laws, its colonies and management system of its municipalities have been inherited by the modern era from Roman Empire. Sovereignty and norms of citizenship and methods of establishing political unity in various states are some important giving of Roman Empire.

Shortcomings of Roman Empire: Despite of so much, there were some foundational defects of Roman Empire. Most important defect was that the power of Roman Empire was unorganised. Roman army being powerful, was uncontrolled also. As a result of this shortcoming, democratic council (Senate) of Rome had to surrender before first Miriam, then Sulla and at the end before Julius Caesar. The result of this unorganised power was that democracy of Rome changed into dictatorship and nephew of Julius Caesar, Octavian Caesar started the tradition of inheritance there.

Among other defects, slave tradition was main, which was popular despite of the empire being so developed. Most part of the population of the empire was that of slaves, who had no compassion towards the state and who were always sad. In reality, in Roman Empire, for achieving unity personal freedom and democracy were sacrificed. Discussing the incompleteness of both, Greece and Rome, Gatel has correctly written that, "Greece had developed democracy without unity and Rome attained unity without democracy." Other factors for the downfall of Roman Empire were heartless efficiency of the rule, ethical fall of the higher classes, epidemics, weak economic foundation of the empire, lack of methodology for deciding the inheritance of the emperors, religious mismanagement and attacks of savage races. Though because of these reasons, Rome fell, but after the decline, name and fame of Rome was more than ever.

Magadha Empire: Like the Roman empire of the west, universal empire of Magadha was established in India. The district of Magadh became the great district and by winning other small–small districts of India, established a huge empire. Apart from north India, South India was also included in the empire of Magadh for long time. Many foreign countries also remained under the Magadha Empire.

Detailed description of governance method of Magadha Empire is found in "Arthshashtra" of Kautilya. In this empire, conduct was done on the basis of this policy advocated by Kautilya that local laws be respected and laws of the empire also be made keeping in view these laws. Citizens of this empire were more independent than the citizens of Roman Empire and used the rights of self governance. From the view of governance also, it was more organised. Like this in the empire of Magadha along with centralisation, local self governance also had an appropriate place, though for this reaosn on emperor being weak, few regions or districts became free also.

5. The Feudal State: In the evolution of state, Feudal state comes after universal empire. Roman Empire was scattered, by attacks of savage German Tribe Tuton and many small states of winner chiefs were established on its remains. Those parts of empire that were saved from German attacks, on those parts, offers or local influential people established small-small states. A time came that whosoever had little property, he established his own state and he became the king of general public. Through this process, Feudal states came in existence.

The organisation of Feudalistic states was like a series, the highest link of which was king and lowest link was slaves. When any winner chief established right on any state, he distributed that state among his companions. He himself became the King and his companions receiving those parts of the states were Feudal. These Feudal despite of being the complete owners of their Jagirs, were under the rights of the King and at the time of need, provided military and economic help to the king. Feudal had absolute rights on the Jagirs and in this relation, the tradition of inheritance was popular. History of Feudalism has been exploitation dominant in all countries. Apart from this, these states were very weak. Adam has written to the extent that, **"Feudalist tradition was a stage organised in an ugly manner"** because of these shortcomings only, Feudalism declined and in its place national states were established.

6. Modern National States: conception of Modern sovereign state based on nationalism

(a) Origin of Modern states: Scientific study of history tells that whenever a new production method is born in the society and a new economic class is born then thoughts, theories and politics, ethics,

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social values, religion and many such things also start changing. 16th century was such a century only. Breaking Feudalism, coming to medium class cities, tearing off the ocean in search of business, finding out new ocean routes, searching new counties like the present America, was wandering in search of new life. Feudalistic arrangement was based on the ownership of land and these middle class people were based on another money, "capital", other than land. Initially, for trade and after some time when science progressed then through industries this class accumulated capital which like land was not immovable property but was movable property. From 16th century till 18th century this rising capitalistic class (middle class), moving ahead of small trades, became the owner of huge industries and this was the rise of modern capitalist.

The rise of this new economic class shook each area of the society. Feudal economy faced the new economic order. In feudal economy production was done for a limited consumption. In capitalistic system production was done for the entire nation and the objective of production was profit and just profit. Feudalistic was divided on the basis of rationality. This new economic system demanded for nationalism, states on the basis of huge nations, one law in the entire state, and one justice system, one working and for this it was necessary to kill feudalistic political system and it happened! Its increasing capitalism slowly gave importance to science in place of religion, reason in place of faith, progress in place of sin-virtue, urbanity in place of rurality, similarities from birth in the place of dissimilarities since birth, individualism in the place of social control. Like this in every field—science, art, social values, philosophy, ethics, politics, etc., - rising capitalism played a progressive role. This rising capitalism till approximately at the beginning of 19th century kept playing its progressive role. It was natural also. Till the time capitalism kept fighting feudalism, its nature was revolutionary, but when definite result of capitalistic system, enemy of capitalism, new progressive class—labour class was born, and when it, by challenging capitalism started fight of socialist system in place of capitalistic system then capitalistic revolutionaries became revolutionary opposing by suppressing, exploiting and ill-treating the labour class. Like this revolutionary capitalist of 17th 18th century today became society opposing, labour- opposing, scared enemy of revolution. Along with society the character of economic classes also change. Yesterday's revolutionists became revolutionary opposers of today. Capitalists' own fight for desired National sovereign states—which were based on liberal political philosophy, may be divided in two main parts or history of evolution of modern state may be divided in two main parts:

1. Struggle for sovereign national state against feudalism and religion
2. Struggle for capitalistic democracy against autocratic monarchy.

(b) Struggle for sovereign national state against feudalism and religion: Modern era has not emerged from the womb of middle ages without struggle. The struggle of modern era started from the support of new class, which was centred in the towns of Europe, to monarchy and state, against feudalism and church. 15th, 16th and 17th century are stories of this struggle only. Revolutions such as hundred-year war, battle of the roses, reformation, renaissance, philosophy of Machiavelli, Bodin and Hobbs, search method to make gun powder, fight of kings with feudalism and church in every field for sovereign state on national base, were attributes of struggle before this. This fight went on from various countries of Europe in different methods at different times. In the field of religion reformist revolution of Luther (1483-1546) and Calvin, renaissance revolution of Leonardo the Vinci (1452-1519) and Bacon (1561–1626) in the field of literature and culture; in the field of science, inventions of Copernicus(1473-1543), Galileo(1564-1642) and Newton (1642-1727) etc.; in economic field inventions of trades, new sea routes; in researches, gunpowder, paper, printing press, navigation tools; in political philosophy philosophers like Dante, Machiavelli (1469-1527), Bodin; among kings, Philip, the King of France Fair, Philip II, King of Spain, Hennery VII, King of England rang the bell of modern era. Feudalism and Church were defeated and in Europe strong sovereign national states such as Britain, France, Spain, and Portugal were born which were ruled by autocratic monarchs. Like new economy, by breaking the old social structure of revolution of new class fill in new conceptions and in political field, in place of feudalistic regionalism new nationalism and in place of powerless states sovereign national states were established. These states were established by the kings and rule of autocratic kings

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established on them. Like Queen Elizabeth in England, Luis XIV in France etc. now rising capitalism started the second round of fight that was of capitalist democracy against the autocratic monarchy, sovereignty of public instead of sovereignty of the king.

(c) Struggle for capitalistic democracy against autocratic monarchy: Pushing away the feudalist and church, capitalist class raised autocratic kings but for their political aspirations and economic self-interest accomplishment, monarchy was not the appropriate arrangement. They started the second phase of their struggle for establishment of democracy against monarchy. In politics, it is called struggle for liberalism. First time public was involved in political fight, this fight was started with slogans like 'Public should get sovereignty', 'every person has some natural rights'. When monarchy hurt the church, reactionary supporters of church also challenged the sovereignty of the king. The fight of reactionist conservative supporters of church against the king could not do anything but when the responsibility of this fight was taken by progressive elements then on progressive base they converted it on fight of general public. In England, Great Puritan Revolution (1649) loosened the roots of Monarchy. In this revolution king of England, Charles I was executed and in 1688 again revolution took place and autocratic monarchy ended. In this revolution, James II had to quit England and go in exile. In France, national revolution took place in 1789, Luis XVI was executed. In 1776, America declared freedom against the rule of England in 1776 and in entire Europe monarchy was shaken with the slogan of 'independence', 'equality' and brotherhood. John Lock, Waltayor, Russo, Thomas Pen, Montesquieu etc. gave political philosophy to this fight. **Political rules that arose were, difference between state and government, constitutional and limited government, secular sovereignty, representative government, constitutional power, fairness of courts, rights of people etc. and these were those bases on which theories of individualism and liberalism arose,** then the theory of welfare state arose and in opposition of political philosophy, idealistic writer supporters of theory of powerful states sometimes wrote about idealistic state.

What was the impact of this second phase of the fight? General conception is that public rule was established. Is it true? For knowing this we will have to see that what were the demands of these revolutions, whether it was of 1649 in England or American in 1776? Which class was benefitted by the revolution and the change that came in power after the revolution, what was it? In short, demands of revolution were economic and of economic benefit of capitalist class, like the main demand of the revolution of 1649 was that "government money should not be spent without the permission of the constitution". The demand of American Revolution of 1776 was, "no taxation without representation". When these revolutions were successful, what did the public get the exploitation of capitalist arrangement. At the other side, capitalist class got—freedom to keep property, equality with elites considered great since birth(not with labours), mutual brotherhood of capitalists (not brotherhood with labourers). Representative went to constitution through election, they were not poor labours but capitalists because fighting elections was not the cup of tea of any poor man and then right to vote was not with everyone. It is attained only in 19th century. And constitutional government was capitalist government. Like this modern state arose from arising of capitalist class, capitalist democracy established in them, capitalist rights were attained, capitalist freedom was attained and in place of land property in feudalism person's worth started getting tested by 'Capital property', capitalist ideology spread in ethics, religion, God, social values, culture, literature, art and other fields. That is why modern states are call capitalistic democratic states or liberal democratic states.

Modern States in Asia, Africa, Latin America and Other Eastern Colonies

Before 1947, India was not a state. Pakistan, Myanmar, Egypt, Nigeria, Ghana, Fiji, Vietnam, Indonesia, Brazil, Libya, Syria etc., many states were born in this century. Why? And how? This question is important for residents of India and students of Indian politics. Sovereignty came to these states after independence and independence came after a long struggle. These struggles were fought by the

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public of these states against the imperialism. Today there is economic, social, cultural and political backwardness in these states. Political independence was attained but economic independence could not be attained. Symptoms of imperialism were left in every field of society in the form of backwardness.

The capitalism of Europe established colonialism in countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. European capitalist countries established their political dominance on countries backward from economic point of view in 18th and 19th century for using as a market, for raw material, for their industries and for selling finished goods produced by modern industries and when capitalism arose in these countries then it aroused public and run national freedom revolutions and by attaining freedom established sovereign states. After the Second World War many new countries were seen on the world map. If 15th and 16th centuries in Europe were of renaissance, if 17th and 18th centuries in Europe were century of establishment and strengthening of national sovereign capitalistic democratic states and if 19th century was a century of establishment of colonial rulers in Asia and Africa by the countries of Europe, then definitely, 20th century is the century of shattering of empires and establishment of independent sovereign states. In 1919, colonialism was spread in 72% area of the world and 69% population of the world whereas today only 4% area and 1% population is under colonial rule.

Today these newly constructed countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America are called Third world or Developing countries or areas. In 'First world' comes capitalist democratic countries of Europe and America, in 'second world' comes socialist countries based on Marxist philosophy and in third world, our countries come. Monarchist Capitalist countries of entire Europe have made their health on our blood-sweat and are making it. Still had kept our countries in the 'Third World'. Wow! Strange situation is there! Newly constructed these states keep an important place in the world. Their problem is development—Economic, political, social, cultural-economic freedom, protection from imperialistic countries, strengthening the democracy, consciousness among the citizens, education and development of the feeling of democracy etc. But their problem is that these problems are not getting solved. Reason is that these countries, for economic development, have adopted capitalist route, and governments of these countries in support of capitalism and for maintaining capitalist economy, by giving false slogan of socialism to the public, are crushing rights and movements of public. At the other side for avoiding their economic crisis, newly constructed states are making heavy borrowing from other capitalists or socialist countries. Today these newly constructed states have borrowed almost ₹ 40000 crores ($50000 million) from capitalist and socialist countries while just 10 years earlier this debt was of ₹13000 crores and capitalist imperialistic countries are earning approximately ₹15000 crores profit annually.

The countries of 'third world' have attained political independence, now they have to attain situation of economic development and economic-social justice for the citizens. Only this may be the objective of national-state and this only is.

7. Future Development of the state-World Federation: Undoubtedly, at present time democratic national state is popular but it is not the last step of evolution of state. It is clear from the history of past years that these national states are causes of steep competition and many a time war. At present time, scientific inventions, mutual meetings, transportation, exchange of ideas and international trade and problems have made the world very small and has indicated towards this that national state of the present time cannot solve these problems and in place of these national states a world federation must be established. Only future may tell this that what will be the form of this world federation but in some or the other form a world government seems definite. The thought of great supporter of internationalism Herald Lawski is, "sovereignty of state is slowly ending in international matters and now utility of national states has ended. Today's person does not need imperialistic conception but federalism". At present time the outline of world federation has been depicted by scholars such as Clerence A. Streit and Lionel Curtis etc. it is important to provide functional form to this imagination of world federation. Looking at the progress of state till now easily this may be expected that future form of development of state will be world federation only.

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1.6 Summary

- By nature man is curious and because of this curiosity he tried to find the history of origin of state, main theories established in relation to origin of state are as follows:

  1. Theory of Divine origin 2. Theory of Power 3. Theory of Social Contract 4. Paternal or Maternal Theory 5. Marxist Theory
- In relation to the origin of state, theory of social contract is very important. In political ideology of 17th and 18th century, this theory had complete dominance. According to this theory, state instead of being divine is a human institution, which has been built on the basis of mutual contract by the people.
- In relation to origin of state, historical or evolutionary theory is most acceptable according to which, not through any one element but through all, original social instinct, kinship, religion, force, economic activities and political consciousness, state has been developed.
- The political ideology that has been mainly promoted by Karl Marx and Angels in their books 'Communist Manifesto' and 'capital', is called Marxist Theory.
- Marxism considers state to be an institution based on unnatural, temporary and class exploitation. In this relation he has rendered his ideology in detail
- At present time historical theory is accepted in relation to the origin of the state according to which state is the result of historical development.

1.7 Keywords

- **Republic:** During the Vedic era small states coming under an empire were called Republics
- **Sovereignty:** One who keeps self rights in its political affairs or is supreme

1.8 Review Questions

1. Do a critical interpretation of social contract theory of evolution of state.
2. Interpret social contract theory promoted by Hobbs, Lock and Russo
3. Interpret historical or progressive theory of evolution of state.
4. Interpret Marxist theory of evolution of state.
5. What are various theories of evolution of state? Which theory out of these is most satisfactory and why?
6. Describe the evolution of state from ancient era till today.
7. Describe the rise and evolution of modern national state.

Answers: Self Assessment

1. Social Contract	2. Society	3. State	4. Humans
5. (a)	6. (b)	7. (a)	8. (c)

1.9 Further Readings

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Books

1. **Comparative Politics**—*Prof. Ramanand Gairola.*
2. **Indian Politics: comparative Perspective**—*B. B. Chaudhary, Shree Mahaveer Book Depot.*
3. **Comparative politics and political analysis**—*Dr. D. S. Yadav.*
4. **Comparative Politics**—*C. B. Jena, Vikas Publishing.*

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Unit 2: State in Developing Societies: Asian, African and Latin American Experience

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Objectives

After studying this unit, students will be able to:

- Know South–East Asia.
- Explain the colour discrimination policy of South Africa.
- Understand South Africa and Latin America.

Introduction

The collective name of area from Burma to the Philippines in the east of India and from Vietnam to Indonesia in the south of China is South-East Asia. The civilisation of South-East Asia was developed by the influence of two great neighbour countries. South-East Asia had been the meeting point of different civilizations and religions and this provides a distinct personality to this area. Among developing societies, names of Asia, Africa and Latin America come foremost. In this unit, we will study about these three continents. The description of their civilisation, culture, area and development is done in the unit.

2.1 South-East Asia

South-East Asia is the collective name of area in the south of China from Vietnam to Indonesia and in the east of India from Burma to the Philippines. Many islands and southern terrains of Asia subcontinent are included in this area. From historical view, this area was mostly backward and lived under the shadow of Chinese and Indian civilisations. Hence, the specific personality development of this area could not happen. Even today in this area there is population of people of Chinese, India, Thailand, Burmese, Malay, Muslim, Christian, Buddha, Hindu, etc.

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Notes In Chinese language, South-East Asia is called 'Nan yang' and in Japanese language it is called 'Nampo', which means 'southern collective area'.

Similarity of this area became visible at the time of the Second World War when Japan's Vijayvahini entered this region and in response, supporting allies established 'South East Asia Command'. In this area Burma, Thailand , Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia and many island series are there which are extended till the Philippines. Its area was almost 16 Lakh square miles and population was almost 20 crores, half number of which was only in Indonesia. Till the world war of 1939—45, all these were under the dominance of western countries in some or the other form. At this time mostly all these self governance have been established. The influence and dominance of western countries which is still existent on these countries, it is also slowly ending.

Area and population of these countries of south eastern Asia (1941) were in the following manner:

	Country	Area (Miles Square)	Population	Population per Mile Square
1	Burma	2,61,789	2,23,42,000	85
2	Thailand	1,98,270	2,74,74,000	115
3	Indochina	2,88,100	3,40,21,000	112
4	Malaya	50,690	62,79,000	124
5	Indonesia	7,35,865	9,75,00,000	115
6	British Borneo	81,761	9,51,000	22
7	Timor (under Portuguese)	7,338	4,80,000	66

Apart from these main countries, there are many such small-small islands also there in South-East Asia which were dominated by western countries like Britain, etc. and which were rule discreetly in form of Crown colony.

Indian and Chinese Influence in South-Eastern Asia

The civilisation of South-Eastern Asia was developed by the influence of two great neighbouring countries. The development of India influenced 'wider India' happened in this area itself, sign of which may still be found in many places. Indian extension started in this area in first century itself and development of Vietnamese civilisation happened under the shadow of China. The Philippines were not completely influenced by any of these two countries. Later Muslim religion expanded there and in modern era, the outbreak of Christian religion happened. Like this south eastern Asia had been meeting point of different civilisations and religions and only this provides a distinct personality to this area. In countries such as Cambodia, Thailand, Burma, Malaya, Indonesia, etc., Indian civilisation developed. Chinese culture extended on Tonkin, Annam, Cochin, etc. Initially, European were mainly attracted towards South-Eastern Asia because of spices but now this area has become main producer of Rubber, Tin, Sugar and coffee. 80% of the total rubber of the world, 53% of tin and 20% of tungsten are obtained from this area only. Agriculture is the main occupation of the residents of this area.

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South-East Asia Before the Arrival of the Western People

The arrival of residents of Europe in South-Eastern Europe happened in fifteenth century. Portuguese were front-runner in this. By this time Indian influence in South-Eastern Asia had extinct. Some remains of Hindu religion or Hindu empire were exist here and there. In thirteenth century, in India itself dominance of Turk Afghan had spread. Hence the centre of Hindu power itself has ended and from India only the propaganda of Muslim religion started towards this area, which spread very fast. **Marco polo** in his journey to India in thirteenth century itself saw that great Shrivijay Empire was destroyed and in Sumatra, in place of that great empire, small-small towns had established. Similarly Java situated "Majpahit empire" was almost dead by the end of the fifteenth century and in its name a small state of eastern Java was left. From the beginning of fifteenth Century itself the fire of Islam that was lit in Mallaka was slowly spreading in all islands of South-Eastern Asia. Along with this, 'Ming rulers' (1368—1644) had established their political influence in this area through their expansive policy.

First attempt of extension of political influence of China in South-East Asia was done by Mongol Rulers. The Army of Kublai Khan (1241—1294) attacked the areas of Vietnam, Burma, and Malaya, Thailand etc., in the latter half of the thirteenth centuries and in 1287 they ended the Pagan dynasty in Burma. After that, in the beginning of fifteenth century Ming war fleet attacked this area consequently for seven times and rekindled Chinese dominance. Now state from Adan to Java stated paying tax to China and started sending ambassadors to the councils of Chinese emperors. In this series all rulers of areas of Thailand, Vietnam, Malacca, Java, and Sumatra, etc., were tied. Slowly, Ming power started declining, the shackles of these countries also weakened, but the situation of China in the field of trade remained as earlier.

Entry of European People in South-East Asia

Before the emersion of the modern era contact of Europe with South-East Asia was almost negligible. In thirteenth century, during his famous world tour, Marco polo had travelled Champa, Malaya and Sumatra. After that in fourteenth and fifteenth centuries Many missionaries, priests and travellers came to this area, of which, Odoric, Mairignauli, Niccolo de Conti, etc., are famous. Genet vision of expansionist Europe was on this area also and in this also Portuguese took the first step. **Vasco De Gama** had opened sea route to India in 1498 itself and in 1510 Portuguese fighter Abukir occupied Goa. He moved his step towards South-East Asia also and captured Malacca Island in 1510, important from the strategic and trade point of view. Now Malacca became an important centre in South-East Asia and making it the base, Portuguese tried to expand their influence in the entire area. The attention of Portuguese traders especially went towards the trade of spices, for production of which, many islands of this area are famous. For these Brunei, Johor, Shyam, etc., are famous. In this job they had to bear the opposition of Muslim attackers also. In 1521, the ruler of Tenant gave the sole right of trade of spices from his state to Portuguese.

After Portuguese, Spanish people started taking interest in this area. Though Pope Alexander VI had divided the areas of Spain and Portuguese in two parts till the north pole in 1493 and through a treaty of Tordesillas, 1493, this borderline was determined to the west of cape Bhad, but disputes did not end. Hence in 1521 Spanish sailor Maijailan came and arrival of Spanish ship fleet happened in this area. But in 1529, a treaty (Treaty of Saragossa) took place between both countries and Spain gave the area of spices. They started taking interest in the Philippines Islands. As a result, the dominance of Portugal was re-established in this area.

Britain moved towards South-East Asia after 1580, when famous dreck travelled Tanent. One more British sailor was successful in reaching the islands of Java and Sumatra. But actual effort in this direction happened in 1584 after the appeal of traders of London and in the leadership of George Raymond in 1519 first British campaign took place, but it was unsuccessful. After the establishment of East India Company in 1600 progress happened in this direction and this company got the permission

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to trade for 15 years in area between Cape of Good Hope and straits of Magellan. Under the leadership of Burtalcamstor, a ship fleet reached Sumatra in 1602 and it constructed a factory in Bantam. Till 1682 Bantam remained the head of British trade. In this area Britain had to face Portuguese and Dutch.

Holland also did not remain behind in business competition and first Dutch campaign in this area started in 1599, chief of which was Cornelius De Hootman. Till 1601 fifteen Dutch campaigns took place in this area and Dutch traders reached till Sumatra, Borneo, Siam, Maneela, Canten and Japan. And their factories established in Banda, Amboina, etc., in 1602 many Dutch trading companies were merged in 'united Ditch East India company'. Company was provided permission to trade for 21 years. Company was also provided rights to keep an army do treaties and make forts. Its result was that Dutch company expanded fast and Dutch factories were established on the coasts of Java, Salix, Silone and India. Soon they ended the monopoly of Portuguese in the area of spices. Because of Dutch progress soon English traders also had to face difficulties and struggle took place between the two in 1604 in Amboina and on other islands of spices in 1605 and 1608. Such struggle took place at Jakarta also at Java Island but here also Dutch was successful in 1619 and Dutch governor general Pieterszoon Cohen laid the foundation of Batavia. In this year on 17th July Angla-Dutch treaty took place and equal trade facilities and conditions of partnership in security related expenditure were determined. But these conditions remained on paper only. Dutch assimilated Banda Island group in 1621 and established their dominance on Amboina too. Dutch-British struggle took place in Europe also. Four Dutch- British battles took place in seventeenth century and Dutch monopoly was established.

In South-East Asia, Indonesia and Indo-China were two big prosperous and important nations from view of population and area. Hence here, instead of giving the description of all countries of South-East Asia, we will try to give information about these two countries only.

2.2 South Africa

A distinct feature of 19th century was the attempt of European powers to spread over non-European world. In this era, Africa was divided. This was also no less surprising that European powers divided among themselves such big area without any war. Though Continent Africa was very close to Europe still world had very little knowledge about it and European could occupy very little land portion of Africa till now. In North Africa, France had occupied Algeria. In south England and Dutch Boers had occupied the land portions till river Orange and Vaal. Apart from this countries such as Portuguese, turkey, etc., also had occupied some land portions. Still till now 90% land portion was unknown. By the end of nineteenth century, the result of Europe's cat fight for Africa was that almost entire Africa came under colonialism. In Africa, England and France, two main colonial powers were competitors. Boer people had dominance on South Africa who by subjecting the native residents under them had established their dominance on themselves.

Initial History of South Africa: At the extreme south corner of African continent, there is a cape which is known as Cape of Good Hope. Dutch people first established their right here in 1650 and these people only had settled here. Subsequent to French state revolution Holland came under France and Napoleon become the emperor of France, this country became a part of his empire, because Holland was under Napoleon. That is why Napoleon had right on Dutch colony named Cape colony, situated in this cape. When England started continuous struggle to destroy the power of Napoleon, Napoleon or Holland's right could not remain on this colony situated thousands of miles away from Europe and it came to be occupied by England. Vienna Congress (1814—15) accepted the right of England on cape colony. The time when cape colony came under the control of England then in that area there were 27000 white people, who were all Dutch, 30000 slaves of Negro and Malay caste and 17 lakh people of Hottentots caste, who were natives of that region, lived there. After 1820, British people started continuously settling in place. But among the White class people, a number of people were of Dutch class only. Dutch people were mainly farmers. They did not want to leave their language, tradition and culture under any circumstance. For its protection they were ready to sacrifice themselves.

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After occupying cape colony, British rulers tried that English language, traditions and institutions are brought in use over there. Dutch Farmers who were famous by the name of Boer could not bear this. They did not want that English language is used in their region and court is organised in British manner. In 1833, British government decided that Slave tradition be ended. Boer people mainly did framing job through Slaves only. By banning of slavery they had to suffer huge loss. For freeing the slaves, British government spent ₹ 4 crores 50 lakhs but according to Boers this price was very less. They were not satisfied by this.

The Great Treak of Boers: Fed up by the attitude of British people, Boer people decided to leave forever that Cape Colony, which was settled by them or their ancestors, and settle new settlements in the north. This Great Treak of Boers started in 1836. Loading all the goods and commodities in huge carts thilled by bullocks, ten thousand Boers started moving towards the north. Dangerous forests were there in the north of Cape colony, in which many wild tribes lived. Boers cleared off the forests and made two new settlements. The two new settlements were—Netal and Orange Free State. For some time Boers lived independently in their new settlements. British did not interfere there. But this situation did not last long. Netal was situated on sea-coast; hence British did not want that at such important place of Sea shore, a foreign state be established. Consequently, there was a war between British and Dutch Armies. Dutch army was defeated and Netal was occupied by the British. British wanted to bring under them the independent state of Orange also. They attacked it also in 1848 and merged Orange Free State in British Empire. After this Boers again moved from there and started living towards north in Transvaal. Now England changed its policy. It accepted the freedom of Transvaal. Independent colonies of River Orange were named Orange Free State. Possibly, British would have interfered in it also but in their approval it did not have much importance and it could mainly give the work of cattle grazing. In 1852, there was a treaty between British and Boer people according to which English accepted the independence of Boer people in Transvaal and also gave the faith that Boers will be able to live independently in the region and British people will not interfere in it in any way. Two years later, in 1854, the independence of Orange Free state was also accepted. Not in this way there were total four colonies in South Africa, of which two—Cape colony and Netal were under English, and remaining two were free state of Orange free State and Transvaal, under Boers. But after 1870, once again, Britain changed its decision. At that time in South Africa, the rule of British was spread in the west till the river Orange and in the east till the northern border of Netal. But Boers had increased the state of Shwets (whites) in South Africa till River Limpopo, which was mostly spread till 1000 miles farther from the cape.

The discovery of gold and diamond mines in South Africa in 1886 attracted the attention of neo-colonialists and there was a tension in the relation of Boers and English. English were victorious in Boer War (1899—1902). But for satisfying Boer people, English gave the assurance of self rule. On 31st May, 1910, South Africa Union was made by combining Cape colony, Netal, Orange Free State and Transvaal.

Now in South Africa citizens of two elite European nations were residing. Boer people keeping their language (A form of Dutch language which was called Afrians) and tradition protected were as influential as the British. In comparison to white population of the union, which was 12 lakhs 50 thousand in 1909, people of black castes—African, Asian and other mixed ones, were four times. The population of white and black caste kept increasing at an equal pace and white people remained minorities. White people were strongly determined to maintain their power in the government and wanted to keep the black people in low social and economic condition. Later the downtrodden majority strongly opposed it. In 1914, South African union became an autonomous state of British Empire.

Extraordinary minerals have an important place in the economy of South Africa. Among the exports of South Africa are Gold and metallic money, material of Atomic power such as Uranium, Chromium, Manganese, tin and other mineral materials in which Diamonds are also there, are the main part of exports of South Africa. Great Britain and other commonwealth nations take an important part in the foreign trade of the union. But keeping these relations continued and safe also, South Africa has severed its political relations with Britain. In 1961, South Africa became a republic and it severed relations with commonwealth.

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In the government of South Africa which was incorporated under South Africa Act (1909), a governor-general which was the symbol of British power, a senate and a house of assembly were kept. Senate was reconstituted in 1955, out of 90 members of it 19 were appointed by the governor general and rest were elected. In 1957, house of assembly was reconstituted. Four senators and 3 councillors, who represented African Bantu people, were removed. In 1958, voting right was extended and this right was given to all Shwet people above 18 years.

2.3 Colour Discrimination Policy of Shwet Government

Policy adopted by the South African government towards the blacks was the cause of criticism in the union and even outside it. Nationalist Party which came to power in 1946, obtained support of majority of parliament under the programme of Daniel Françoise Malan. For giving a tangible form to this proposed colour discrimination, separate settlements were made for white and black people. India strongly opposed Ill treatment done towards Indian immigrants in South Africa and there was a discussion about it in the United Nations council. Malan refused to hand over South west Africa to united nations, which South Africa had obtained by the orders of commonwealth, on this, general assembly put forward a proposal of condemn and South African group of representatives quits the council. Despite of criticism the majority of Nationalist parties ware increasing day-by-day and maximum voters supported colour discrimination policy. Only Europeans had the right to vote. In 1954, after Malan, Johaneez Streeizdom and after him in 1958 Hendricks F. Warward became the prime minister, they increased the colour discrimination plan and united nations kept expressing sorry and sorrow on it each year, but any active step was not taken.

White minority people were strongly determined to maintain their high position and because of the increasing nationalism and opposition of colonialism in Asia and Africa and because of some colonies getting recently independent and attaining self governance, being their opponent was inevitable. Black people of South Africa were weapon less and unorganised hence could not revolt easily.

People opposing colour-discrimination policy were named 'communist' and under communism eradication act was put in jail for an indefinite period. Despite of this African national congress started a protest movement. In 1952, its leader Albert Luthuli, but shutting the work for some days, had run a satyagrah like movement. African National Congress (ANC) openly thanked Mahatma Gandhi for this motivation. In 1955, ANC made an 'independence Charter' in which this declaration was made that – "South Africa is of all those who live here, whether they are white or Black, and no government may claim of being in power unless it is not based on the desire of the people." In this equality before law, to gather, to do movements, give lectures, freedom of religion and love, right to vote, equal wages for work, unemployment, 40 hours of work in a week along with profits, free medication, and equal education were demanded.

The cycle of protests and revenge increased successively. In outer areas of Johannesburg in Sharpeville, extremely gruesome suppression of government was seen; when in 1960 bullets were rained by the police at the peaceful exhibition of people protesting the abhorrent pass law. 67 people were killed in it and thousands of people were injured. After this gruesome massacre, many leaders believed that non-violent protest exhibition will not serve the purpose. That is why, soon Bomb Attacks were made. After this, exploitation increased further. African National congress was banned and its extremely charismatic leader, Nelson Mandela was arrested and he was given life imprisonment; but African national congress kept opposing the policies of the government.

A main pillar of Indian foreign policy had been brotherhood with African Asian Latin American nations. That is why in the experience of last six centuries that relations of India with Africa and Latin America do not seem to be managed on some well thought policy. This is not limited only till theories or ideologies but seems quiet strange on testing on pure practical criteria and in reference of national welfare also.

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In the after years of Independence a major issue of Indian foreign policy had been opposition of racist-apartheid policy of South Africa. India, following the policy of imperialism and colonialism provided its support also to those independent soldiers of Africa who were fighting such battle. Apart from Kenya, Tanganyika, Uganda in Eastern Africa, India extended its support everywhere to Ghana and Nigeria on western coast. Arab nation situated on the northern end of Africa, Egypt, kept getting not only the diplomatic support of India, but Nehru made a successful adjustment of his diplomacy with its leader Nasir. Detailed analysis of all this has been done elsewhere but here it is important to clarify one thing that India's diplomacy in Africa had been quite imbalanced. Its interest was mainly in those countries or colonialism opposing struggle movements which were a part of British empire or had been and where English was spoken. It had one more reason. In the era of English colonialism, huge number of bonded labours were sent to these places from India and in many countries the number of resident- subjects of Indian origin was not negligible. Despite of being minority, in economic and social life Indians, trader, shopkeepers- brokers, lawyers- doctors, and in form of administrators of lower level, they were influential. Before independence also foreign department of British Indian government appointed its ambassadors in South Africa and eastern Africa. Hence thinking this is logical that India did not take any revolutionary or progressive initiative because of 'Africa love', but had continued the ongoing relations and policies. Yes, an important exception of this was South Africa where India gave its full support to Nelson Mandela, the leader of African National Congress and independence fighter. One reason for this interest in the matters of South Africa had been the association of the name of Father of the nation, Bapu, with that country. (Bapu had done his initial experiments with Satyagrah in South Africa itself)

Self Assessment

Multiple Choice Questions:

1. Hanoi Agreement has great importance in modern ..... of Indo-China.

   (a) History (b) Politics (c) Society (d) Nation

2. From the view of international law, ... always remained independent

   (a) India (b) China (c) Nepal (d) Pakistan

3. In 1998, India did a successful ..... testing.

   (a) Nuclear (b) Atomic (c) Ship (d) None of these

4. All countries criticised the ..... policy of African

   (a) Nuclear (b) Colour discrimination (c) Atomic (d) None of these

2.4 Latin America

Widely, the term Latin America is used for that land situated in the western hemisphere in the south of America, which comes in middle and South America and in Caribbean area.

Mostly, this word is used only for those states of the western hemisphere which are common background of Latin civilisation. In this narrow meaning, there are 20 republics in Latin America—seven in Middle America, 3 in Caribbean and 10 in southern America. We will discuss in reference of these 20 nations only.

After the discovery of America, many European nations came forward to establish their empires in Latin America. Spain was successful in occupying 6 lakhs mile squares of Latin America in which Mexico was the main. After this, only Portugal occupied 1 lakh mile square in which Brazil was the main. Since benefits of Dutch, French and English in other parts of the world had kept them busy that is why they had gain of very few colonies in Latin America. Colonial rule of European powers in Latin America was according to a saying. Fullest exploitation and control over native people. Spain

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had complete control over the settlements of Latin America. Latin American settlements were only considered to be the producer of raw material. They were compelled to purchase things made in Spain. Keeping in mind the benefits of special traders of their nation and king on Commerce, complete control was maintained on the trade of those countries. Illegal trade was very profitable. Uncontrolled and banned trade tendency was indirectly motivated. Laxity in trade restriction by Spain encouraged this tendency. Spanish believed that colonialists should give wealth to Spain. Latin American Colonies did not have self governance, not even independence of thought. Relation of Portuguese with Brazilians was also similar. Conditions in Brazil were also different. No high civilisation was available to winners there. Land there was richer in natural resources. Brazil was a country larger than the present United States of America. Major part of the country was of dense forests. Portuguese started farming at the side of the banks.

Freedom of Latin America: On the independence of Latin America, there was an influence of the American and French revolutions and the emergence of a new class of wealthy educated people who had though accepted Spanish contacts, but also considered the ideals of freedom and justice. Like this people of Latin America started their journey to attain independence. By the end of the wars of Napoleon, Spanish settlements in Latin America were absolutely ready for attaining self governance. Napoleon opposing organisation of American people indirectly proved a boom for rule in the name of Ferdinand VII, because this experiment filled the desire for self governance among the people and motivated it. In 1814, after Ferdinand again sitting on the throne, these American Groups (Juntas) motivated them and lead them so that feeling of independence may be made stronger in the settlements through small protests. By the end of 1825, many settlements were free. In 1804 Haiti, in 1821, Mexico and in 1925 Brazil became free. In 1830, great Colombia was divided in form of Venezuela, Colombia and Ecuador. By 1840, by division of Latin America in pieces number of states of Latin America became 17. In 1844, breaking away from Haiti, Dominican Republican became free. Cuba attained freedom from Spain in 1898 and Panama attained the status of State in 1903. Like this in 1903, Latin America was free from Europe.

Political activities after Independence: After the sates of Latin America being independent there was much change in its politics. Since the attaining of independence, most states were in extreme instability and economic crisis. The interest of the Unite States of America in Latin increased the trouble for these states. Tension in L Salvador, Nicaragua, Guatemala and Grenada are results of tensions created by the interest of America in Latin America. Similarly, communist rule in Cuba, rule of one party in Mexico, Stability in Argentina especially after the 'Falkland war' also remained to be sufficient cause of tension for peace and security of Latin America.

The cause of mutual struggle among many states in Latin America has been the 'Boundaries' since the time of colonialism. Though during the initial years of republican era, these boundaries were generally made clear, still majorly in some far off areas these could not be determined until economic assets were not found in disputed area. The reason of Acre crisis between Bolivia and Brazil was rubber. Main basis of Chaco war between Bolivia and Paraguay was oil and this was also the main cause of argument between Ecuador and Peru. These mutual struggles were the main cause of political instability in the states of Latin America. In 1962, Cuba missile crisis had endangered the peace and security of this area. America's effort to control communism in Cuba and efforts to establish America supporting rule in various states of Latin America had been the maximum cause of tension in this area.

Difference in the public of Northern America and Latin America: In the second phase of 20th century, Americans were divided into two parts, which may be named as Anglo Saxon class and Latin America class. Both these parts were not similar in any field except for population and area. Their differences were much clear than their similarities, because they were extremely different from political, cultural and economic point of view.

From political perspective, Latin America was different from Anglo America in three things. Firstly, during the colonial era, Spain and Portugal did not give any opportunity to the people of that place

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to learn the art of self governance, while Canada and the USA respectively learnt self governance. Secondly, in the history of most Latin democracies there was abundance of war, military revolution and autocracy while Canada and North America governance institutions became prosperous because of stability. Thirdly, many Latin American democracies destroyed their resources through wars and made their armies powerful, while Canada and the United States of America have been saved of destructive wars (Apart from domestic wars) for the last almost 100 years.

From cultural perspective Latin Americans have remained loyal towards their ancient humanitarian tradition and catholic religion. They did not have interest in trade, industry, technical advancements, mechanical inventions and natural sciences. They lagged behind North American people in use of modern business talent, capital and natural resources. By difference in cultural perspective, Spanish and Portuguese seem different from British even today. Like Spanish and Portuguese people, most Latin Americans are illiterate and doubtful towards foreigners.

From social perspective, the tendency of division has been there in residents of Latin America because in colonial era at one side there were a few wealthy and influential masters and on the other side servant class of poor, white, Indian, Negros and mixed people. There was lack of an influential middle class of traders, bank businessmen, and literate people. Army officer, co-operative official, owners of tea gardens, literate people and priests were among the influential people. Majority of public did the job of cutting wood and filling water. Poorest of the poor person had an untouched sense of honour, politeness and attribute of Spanish good behaviour. It must be remembered that there were different classes in different areas. A number of Negros in Carnelian Island and north Brazil were more than shwets and Indians. In 1939 in Ecuador, less than 10 per cent population was shwet, 2 per cent was Negro and rest was Indian or mixed caste. In Argentina democracy also, population of Indian people had not been much and some Negros came from outside, most population of here was European.

The economic condition of Latin American countries was extremely depressed and insubstantial. Its cause was the poverty, illiteracy and diseases spread over there. Because of lack of resources for the development of natural resources they became dependent on foreign currency. In this way, most wealth of their mines, rail routes, post and telegraph offices, electricity offices, farms and factories went to foreign nations in form of profit shares and interest. This economic precariousness made crores of people 'bonded slaves' without their consent and knowledge. In some matters autocrats gave many facilities to foreign trade association in exchange of buying weapons. Many a time, democracy is based on production of a major commodity, by fall in price of which, entire nation is ruined. Uruguay's democracy was based on export of the meat of its animals and milk products, while on dependence of Bolivia was 90% of export was of raw tin. In export of Costarica, Guatemala, and Salvador 75% was coffee. Chile once fulfilled 90% world demand for nitrate but when scientists started preparing nitrate artificially, Chile's economy received a shock. Venezuela had third place in the world in oil production and there were huge stocks of iron. In this manner it was more lucky and prosperous but was focussed in the hand of a small ruler class. The population of Brazil is 50 times more than that of Panama; the number of literates in Argentina is five times more than that in Haiti. 8 out of each 10 Uruguayan live in cities while out of 4 Hodras one lives in cities. But these dissimilarities are surrounded by many similarities. From geographical perspective it is a different land portion and from the language perspective 18 countries out of it speak Spanish, one nation is of Portuguese language and one French language. **Colman H. Silwart and Morris J. Blasman has written**, "similarities between Latin American countries are so deep that general questions related to their condition and general questions like lingual unity and many complex questions become unimportant. Worldwide end of colonialism and mergence of iverian culture in various countries and condition but still Latin America spread all across has been almost same in the entire area."

India's relations with South American continent have never been very intense. Biggest reason may be considered to be the difference of India with this land portion. Only after travelling almost half the world it may be reached there and in such situation no business may be useful. Apart from this in the last 150 years rule of big autocrats has been there in big states of South America. What is called

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revolution there is often synonymous with coup rebellion. Some people believe that Aztec of Mexico and his relations with Indian have been there in pre-historic era but proofs could not be gathered to change this myth in history. South America is also said to be close relative of Laatini Europe that is why its name is also 'Lateen America'. In European colonialism era, Brazil, Mexico and Argentina have been dominated by Spain and Portugal. Chloe and Peru have also been under their influence area. Some Indians also reached there in form of bonded labours in Caribbean state in West Indies, but their number was negligible. In this area only Venezuela may be considered important in the field of oil production but because of distance in reference to Indian energy conservatism, its name is kept very low in the list.

Two big states in Lateen America which are recognized in form of regional powers, among the Argentina and Brazil are main. Among them after the Second World War, white racist culture is more assertive and because of the desire of keeping itself associated with Spain it has been difficult to make friendly relations with India. Argentina had provided shelter to many Nazi war criminals and personal worship of a popular ruler Peron and his wife Ivita had also give a very undemocratic form to its politics.

Self Assessment

State whether the following statements are True False:

5. Despite of the freedom of states of Latin America, there was no change in its politics.
6. From cultural perspective, Americans remained loyal towards their ancient tradition and catholic religion.
7. For India, cooperation with Brazil had been easier.
8. India's relation with South American continent had been much intense.

2.5 Summary

- South-East Asia is collective name of area in the south of China from Vietnam to Indonesia and in the east of India from Burma till then Philippines. Many islands and southern terrains of Asia subcontinent are included in this area.
- The arrival of residents of Europe in south Eastern Europe happened in fifteenth century. Portuguese were front-runner in this. First attempt of extension of political influence of China in South-East Asia was done by Mongol Rulers
- Policy adopted by the South African government towards the blacks was the cause of criticism in the union and even outside it. India strongly opposed Ill treatment done towards Indian immigrants in South Africa and there was a discussion about it in the United Nations council.
- Widely, the term Latin America is used for that land situated in the western hemisphere in the south of America, which comes in middle and South America and in Caribbean area.

2.6 Keywords

- **Colonist:** One who goes and lives in another country
- **Great Treak:** Great exit
- **Co-operative:** Helpful, cooperation related
- **Autocratic:** Unlimited

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2.7 Review Questions

1. Describe the area of South East Asia and history before the arrival of western people.
2. Throw light on the entry of Europeans in South East Asia.
3. Describe the initial history of South Africa.
4. Throw light on activities before and after independence of Latin America.
5. Clarify the difference found in the public of Northern America and Latin America.

Answers: Self Assessment

1. (a)	2. (c)	3. (a)	4. (b)
5. False	6. True	7. True	8. False

2.8 Further Readings

Books

1. **Comparative Politics—***C. B. Jena, Vikas Publishing.*
2. **Outline of Comparative Politics—***politics of Liberalist, Socialist and developing nations – Gava, O. P., Mayur PaperBacks*
3. **Comparative Politics—***Chandana Dev Prasad, Atlantic publishers*
4. **Indian Politics—***Comparative perspective- B. B. Chaudhry, Shree Mahaveer Book Depot.*

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Unit 3: State Civil Society Relation: Evolving Patterns

Contents

Objectives
Introduction
3.1 Historical Development of Concept of Civil Society
3.2 Role of Civil Society
3.3 Contemporary Scenario
3.4 Summary
3.5 Keywords
3.6 Review Questions
3.7 Further Readings

Objectives

After studying this unit, students will be able to:

- Understand the concept of civil society.
- Explain the role of civil society.
- Discuss the contemporary scenario.

Introduction

In the history of political-brooding the concept of 'civil society' is very old. With time, important changes have come in this concept. Until long, 'civil society' and 'political society' were considered close. Hence this word has been also used as a synonym of 'state'. But in complex situation of today' society, it is important to consider a discreet existence of 'civil society'.

3.1 Historical Development of Concept of Civil Society

First, ancient Roman Philosopher **Marcs Tulias Cicero** in first century BC had first used the term 'civil society' to indicate 'state'. From Cicero's view it was not just the external structure of state but it was such a society whose members lived peacefully like citizens and obeying civil laws live a cultured and descent life. In this view, barbarian communities do not come in the category of civil society.

English philosopher of seventeenth century John Lock (1932–1704), keeping 'civil society' parallel to 'political society' under his **Social Contract theory**, had put forward the belief that man gives up state of nature to enter civil society. In the state of nature, humans follow ethical rules being motivated by their conscious only, but when some antisocial elements make their life miserable; then for protection of their natural rights they establish government; they give validity to rules made by the government and also handover the job of justice also to the government. In this way, **civil society is a source of establishing discipline, organisation and security in human community.**

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Eighteenth century French philosopher, **Jyan Jaak Russo** (1712—78) has also, considering civil society parallel to political society, had imagined it is such a form which is expression of general will, which provides security to humans and regulates his attitude for his welfare. Russo, making a differentiation in Natural inequality and Conventional inequality has put forward the thought that civil society does not make any disturbance in natural inequality but it, by proving a legal equality to all citizens makes them equal from the view of legal rights.

Notes Social contract is that theory of evolution of state according to which people have built state with the objective of mutual consent and mutual profit. The condition in which people lived before the origin of state, that condition has been named as State of Nature.

According to French Philosopher **Jyan Jaak Russo** (1712—78), general will is that will of people of any community which is induced by their rational and inspires them towards attainment of universal good or common good. Hence this will is different from those desires of different people which are induced by their personal greed, selfishness or temptations.

Nineteenth century German Philosopher **G. W. F Hegel** (1770—1831), **keeping difference in civil society and state**, had put forward this belief that civil society is a field of universal Egoism, where a person for maximum attainment of his benefits, considers the benefits of all other people to be a source for fulfilment of his selfishness. Hence, especially it is an area of economic activity. For example, when a person does a business then his objective is not to provide livelihood to others or to serve others but he tries to know the requirement of others so that he acquires profit by fulfilling them. As opposed to it, state is a field of universal Altruism, where a person, rising above his selfishness, is ready to sacrifice for the benefit of the entire community.

In the latter half of nineteenth century, German Philosopher Karl **Marx**(1818—83) verified those symptoms of civil society which were recognised by **Hegel.** But according Marx there was no difference between State and Civil Society. Hegel argued that the civil society that Hegel has described, came in existence after the extinction of medieval era society. Same civil society is active in form of state in modern era. It is based on universal egoism. Here a person is recognised in form of a citizen and equality of all people in view of law is accepted. Still economic power in it is centred in the hands of Bourgeoisie class. Hence its entire law motivates the benefit of Bourgeoisie class only.

Notes Bourgeoisie class is that class under Capitalism, which establishes its ownership and control on main resources of social production (Land- Factories, sources of raw material etc). It is synonym of capitalist class.

In Marxist terminology, under this metaphor similar to building construction, production process or economic structure of the society is given the name of base or foundation. Legal and political structure of the society and various expressions of social consciousness—religion, ethical principles, social traditions etc. are kept in the category of superstructure or upper structure. According to classical Marxism, changes that come in the production process during social progress, as a result of it, automatic changes happen in all parts of the superstructure.

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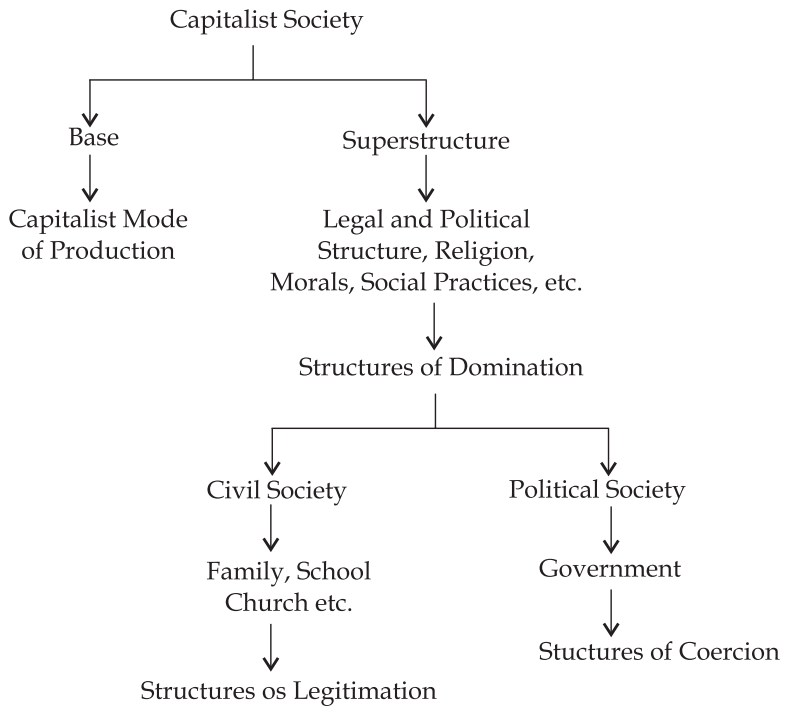
In the first half of twentieth century Italian Marxist **Antonio Gramshi** (1891—1937) added a new aspect to **Marxian analysis**. Under traditional Marxism, the economic structure of the society or production process was considered its 'foundation' or 'base'; its political or philosophical structure was called the 'upper structure' or 'Super structure'. Grashmi, amending this belief, **differentiated in two levels of superstructure of capitalist society-** (a) one level in it is **civil society** which is closer to the base. Family, school and religious institutions come under it which are **structures of legitimation** of capitalist society. (b) Second level is 'Political Society' in which **structures of coercion** of the state come. Structures of both types jointly build **structures of Domination** in capitalist society. Grashmi has given special importance to the role of civil society because its institutions introduce citizens to the rules of behaviour in the society and teaches them that feeling of natural respect towards the ruler class must be kept. Bourgeoisie society is dependent on the skill of the structures of civil society for its stability. If anywhere, civil society fails in stopping the dissent, for suppressing it, there is need to use force.

Gramsci's Analysis of Capitalist Society



Self Assessment

Fill in the Blanks:

1. In the history of political-brooding the concept of ..... is very old.
2. Civil society is a source of establishing discipline, business and ..... in human community.
3. Social ..... is that theory of evolution of state according to which people have built state with the objective of mutual consent and mutual profit.
4. Bourgeoisie society is dependent on the skill of the ..... of civil society for its stability.

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3.2 Role of Civil Society

Scottish social philosopher Adam Furgson(1723—1816) had written under "an essay on history of civil society" that civil society is the result of western civilisation. It was such a system in which different people were dedicated towards production and trade. There was no possibility of Oriental Depotism (Process popular in ancient asian societies) or Barbaric Societies. Furgson had defined 'civil society' in form of individualist Market society.

French Philosopher **Alexi De Takveil**, (1805—59), in his popular book 'Democracy in America' (1835) gave a new dimension to civil society by extending the thought area. Takveil laid emphasis on need for 'intermediate voluntary' associations between a person and a state for protection of liberty of a person, which in present era is considered to be a part of civil society. Takveil argued that under Aristocracy, the system of diffusion of power that was popular, shattered by the arrival of democracy. There were three main centres of power under aristocracy—Clergy and Nobility were themselves vested with powers; and commoners also, on the power of their huge number, had the ability to speak their thoughts. But under democracy, all power was getting centred in the hands of majority. It had endangered person's freedom. Takveil hoped that intermediate voluntary association will prove to be the best source for re-establishing the dissemination of power in democracy.

Did You Know? Aristocracy is that ruling method in which maximum decision power is in the hands of high class of the society.

In medieval Europe, mainly this method was popular. Under this method, society was mainly divided into three classes—Clergy and Nobility which were powerfull class; commoners were powerless, but on the basis of their huge number they had the ability to cause their voice to be heard to the higher level. Takveil argued that intermediary voluntary associations will be able to downrightly offset the power of state. They will highlight such opinions towards which otherwise no other pays attention. These associations making people aware towards their broader social responsibilities, will break their social isolation and will motivate them towards achievement of targets dependent on mutual co-operation. Takveil has told citizen associations to be 'Schools of Democracy'.

Example Political parties were most important voluntary association, and freedom of press was most important condition of association of people.

Definition of 'civil society' in modern era became broader because work field of voluntary associations increased a lot. Now only intrest groups and political parties do not come in the work field of civil society but various types of associations of people build it. Now whatever organisations are found between a person (or family) and a state, they are all considered to be part of civil society. According to **David Hald** (Models of Democracy), whatever associations of a person are related with financial give and take, cultural activities or political discussion and whichever groups of theirs do various works staying out of the direct control of the state, they all come under the circumference of civil society.

Interest groups are such groups that are organised keeping in view some common interest of its members and for attaining that benefit they are ready to influence the public policy regularly or from time to time. In modern time many benefit groups are found such as workers, enterprenuers, professionals, traders, consumers etc.

According to the popular book of **Jean L. Kohen** and **Andrew Areto**, 'Civil Society and Political Theory' (1992) Civil society is such an area of public activity which is different from both, state and

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market society. Various types of groups and associations also come in this area. In it there is sufficient possibility of participation of people and for activities related to their communication. Workfield of civil society is an important part of a healthy democratic society. Kohen and Areto have argued that civil society does not end the need for political institutions associated with representative democracy but play the role of their complementary organisation.

Then American social scientist **Robert Putnem** in one of his articles under the book, 'The Golbal Resurgence of Democracy' edited by Larry Diamond and Mark F Platter (1998) has argued that civil society associated with civil societies create social capital. It is a set of such social practices which make a person realise the duties related to citizen life and impart the knowledge of mutual give and take. Putman expressed sorry for the fact that in present American societies associated with citizen life are not that active in citizen activities because of which American democracy has declined.

British writer **Paul Husrt** in his popular creation 'Associative Democracy- New Forms of Economic and Social Governance' (1994) has given the argument that voluntary association may play the role of base pillars of democracy. He presented such a model of democracy in which self governing associations will accomplish public works. This will reduce the workload of the state. However, these association will end the need of government but will play a complimentary role. When these parts of civil society will take care of all public works, main job of government will be to look after these associations and establish coordination among them.

In this manner in contemporary democratic discussion, civil society is considered to be such a resource which will motivate participation of citizens in public life; will teach them the lesson of citizen virtue and public spiritedness. This system will not let the monopoly of one party only to be established on public power, as is seen in communist systems.

Critics of this perspective argue that if entire power will come in the hands of voluntary associations then they may develop Oligarchical tendencies. In other words, more organised, outspoken and powerful associations, for promoting the intrest of its members, may push back the interest of other associations. This will weaken the roots of democracy. For stopping these tendencies it is important that sate does not play the role of neutral audience instead being the interpreter and guardian of public intrest, remains continuously vigilant in establishing balance between the powers of voulantary associations.

Self Assessment

Multiple Choice Questions:

5. There were three main centres of power under aristocracy—Clergy class, ... and commoner class.

   (a) labour class (b) nobility class (c) exploited class (d) middle clas

6. Takveil argued that voluntary associations will be ..... to downrightly offset the power of state.

   (a) able (b) unable (c) outspoken (d) neutral

7. In Totalitarianism state directs and controls all aspects of ..... of its citizens.

   (a) residence (b) food (c) life (d) education

3.3 Contemporary Scenario

In the first half of 20th century, Neo-Marxist philosopher **Herbert Marcuse** (1898—1979) had given the argument that for analysis of the problems of contemporary society, it is necessary to understand

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that **difference** of **state** and **civil society** towards which Hegel had drawn our attention. According to the analysis of Marcuse, under 'Modern Capitalism', dominance of 'civil society' is established on the 'state'. At the other side, under modern communism, dominance of 'state' is established on 'civil society'. According to Marcuse, both these conditions raise a hurdle in the path of civil liberty. Civil liberty demands that society be made free of both these types of dominances.

In the decades of 1960 and 1970, the conception of 'civil society' got special popularity. It was then experienced that institutions of civil society are not only used for strengthening the power of ruling class, but also the opposing class may use this instrument considerably for promoting its opinions.

Caution Where it is difficult to challenge the power of ruling class at political level, there the hegemony of the ruling class may be dented through the medium of education and culture.

In the last years of the decade of 1970 and in the decade of 1980, in communist countries of eastern Europe instrument of 'civil society' was widely used against Totalitarian state. In Poland, through the medium of 'solidarity', the main instrument of civil society, the authority of the government was challenged in its own way in the benefit of working community. In this era 'civil society revolution' in many ways surfaced as a supporter of new social movements. This revolution, by raising social issues, contributed in preparing government–opposing atmosphere.

Totalitarianism is such a system in which state directs and controls all aspects of the life of its citizens. In its generaley considering any objective of social life to be inevitable, all resources of the society are employed in attaining that objective; no one has the right to object it.

New social movements are those social movements of the contemporary world which being motivated by special awareness towards the injustice spread in human life, demand for a wide social change.

Example Women's right movement, environmental movement, consumer movements and peace movements, etc., are especially mentionable.

The characteristic of these movements is they operate out of the general transaction of political life. They are not eager to establish their control on state power instead they want to mould the world prudentially.

One of the instruments of civil society in Bulgaria, 'Ecoglasnast' raised the issue that the huge industries of that place (which were running under the control of government) were exploiting the natural resources badly and were poisoning the environment by spreading heavy pollution. In this, under the cover of environmental movement, effort was made to run a government opposing movement. If seen, by 1989 approaching, whatever downfall of sociologist systems happened in Eastern Europe, 'Civil society movement' of that area had played an important role in it. This is the reason why conception of civil society got sufficient popularity in post-communist systems also. Here in South Africa and Latin America also, the 'concept of civil society' is considered to be a powerful tool against the authorities.

Post communist system is state arrangement of those countries where communist system had been popular for long time, but after 1989 this sytem was given up such as Rumania, Polland, Hungary, Bulgaria, Yugosalavia, Russian union, Check Republic, Slovakia.

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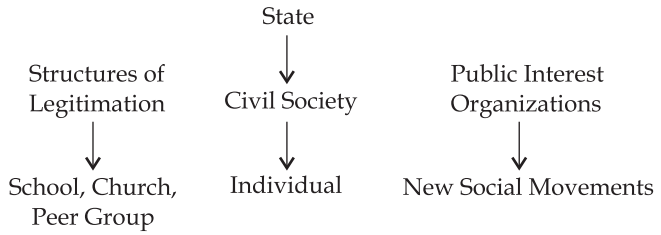
Analysis of civil society



Then western scholars also started feeling that the apathy that is mounting among their people towards their citizen duties, civil society may poove to be an effective tool for doing away with it. In present era neither people openly participate in political discussion nor do thay show any intrest in criticism of the government. In such a situation, 'Civil Society movement' may induce them towards free discussion and consultation which will strengthen the foundation of democracy. Hence these intellectuals want to spread a net of such voulantry associations which are independent of both state and trade world. it is important that such voluntary associations may thrive only in democratic system where people have the freedom of speech, association and assembly. When some citizens collectively raise their voice against the dirty city, choked drains, broken roads, power cuts, water shortage, political corruption, or other such complaints, such action of them is named 'Civil Society Movements'.

'Civil society movements' demand that public works which are not let to be centred in the hands of beureucracy, instead particaipation of public in it be inspired. Then, civil society may provide such stage also where people get an opportunity to criticse government policy and activities. In this manner, civil society may become an appropriate source of solution of economic inequality and establishment of social justice.

3.4 Summary

- In the history of political-brooding the concept of 'civil society' is very old. With time, important changes have come in this concept.
- First, ancient Roman Philosopher **Marcs Tulias Cicero** in first century BC had first used the term 'civil society' to indicate 'state'
- Eighteenth century French philosopher, **Jyan Jaak Russo** (1712—78) has also , considering civil society parallel to political society, imagined it as such a form which is expression of general will.
- Grashmi has given special importance to the role of civil society because its institutions introduce citizens to the rules of behaviour in the society and teaches them that feeling of natural respect towards the ruler class must be kept.
- **Interest groups** are such groups who are organised keeping in view some common interest of its members and for attaining that benefit they are ready to influence the public policy regularly or from time to time.

3.5 Keywords

- **Concept:** Conception, Desire, to imagine
- **Intellectual:** Thinker, one who leads the life through intellect
- **Association:** Feeling of being associated, to be together

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3.6 Review Questions

1. Describe the historical alternative of the concept of civil society.
2. Describe the role of civil society in the state.
3. Interpret the contemporary scenario of civil society.

Answers Self Assessment

1. 'Civil Society'	2. Security	3. Contract	4. Structures
5. (b)	6 (a)	7. (c)	

3.7 Further Readings

Books

1. **Comparative Politics—***Chandradev Prasad, Atlantic Publishers.*
2. **Comparative Politics—***Gava O. P., Mayur Paperbaks.*
3. **Comparative Politics—***Jagdish Chandra Jauhari, Sterling Publishers.*
4. **Comparative Politics and Political Analysis—***Dr. D. S. Yadav.*

Unit 4: Ethnicity, Politics and State

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Objectives

After studying this unit, students will be able to understand :

- Classical and Modern Notion of Politics.
  - Liberal, Marxist and Communitarian Views.
  - Concept of the State and other relatives.

Introduction

In order to understand the true meaning of politics, it is essential to do away with those confusions which have associated with its normal concept. For this, it would be useful to think about the etymology of the word 'politics'. The English word 'politics' has been derived from the Greek word 'polis' which was an index of the ancient Greek city-state. A special feature of these city-states was that its citizens commonly operated their rule. The activities related to the role which these citizens played as the members and administrators of the state, were termed 'politics' by ancient Greek thinkers. The structured study of these activities was also named 'politics' by them.

4.1 Classical Notion of Politics

In the views of Plato, Aristotle and their other contemporaries, the matters of the 'polis' or city were extremely important. Aristotle even termed their study as 'Supreme Science, or 'Master Science', because his thinking was that for a citizen, taking part in the life of the city state was an essential condition for good life. Greek thinkers believed that the "state comes into existence for the sake of life and continues for the sake of good life."

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Notes Aristotle has said that man is by nature a political animal.

The human being that does not live in the state or who does not have the need for state, would be a beast or a superman, that is, either he would be indefinitely lower than the level of humanity or would be too higher. A human being becomes a human being in the true sense only by living in the state, otherwise he cannot be recognised in the form of a human being.

Whatever a human does for the attainment of 'good life' in the state, whichever activities he takes part in or whichever rules, institutions and groups he forms, have all been believed to be subjects of politics by Aristotle. We call this as the classical notion of politics. In this era, the study of all social relations and social life of human beings was done within 'politics'; other social sciences such as sociology, economics, social psychology, cultural anthropology, etc., were not independently evolved in those days. Aristotle gave politics the title of 'Master Science' because it plays a deciding role of arranging the different relations within the human society. Humans try to control their fate on this Earth with the help of politics. All other knowledge-sciences are instruments of enhancing the political life of man; Political science is the crown of all other sciences. Within this notion of politics, not only thought is given to the responsibilities of the citizens, but also all the social relations are contained in it such as the control of husband on his wife in a family, control of a father on his children and control of a master on his servant; the ways of celebrating festivals, education, prayers, games, soldier groups, etc. But Aristotle refuted the fact that all the types of authority used in a state is similar. In this way politics contains within itself the complete social life of man, but the authority which is used in running the state is different from the authority of a master on his servant, authority of a husband on his wife and authority of a father on his children.

It is worth keeping in mind that the society at the time of Aristotle was not complex like today's society. The political and social life of the people was so mixed in those days that no need was felt for their separate studies. Although Aristotle has considered state-management as a higher level management than home-management , but has discussed home-management considering it to be a part of home-management. Then, family life too has its own importance with political life in the concept of 'good life'. Keeping this thought in mind, Aristotle kept the outline of his political science very massive. Although, in ancient Greece, the area of utility of politics was very wide, the number of people related to politics was very less. The number of freemen in the population of any Greek city-state was very low and their activities came under the scope of politics. The women had no rights in them. In the rest of the population were the slaves and aliens who had no interest in politics.

Example In Athens, the city-state of Plato, there were almost two and a half lakh slaves and non-citizens in the population of around four lakh.

In the middle ages too, there was activity of a few kings, courtiers, feudal-lords, generals, dukes, riches, abbots, monks, etc., common people were their servants or only subjects, who had no right to take part in politics. However, in today's era, politics has become dependent on the support of common people, that is why, it has connected from within the life of the common people. Common people are kept deprived of political rights through some or the other kind of military rule or dictatorship in some countries, but political feelings keep developing inside there too and on an opportunity, erupts in the form of such movements that it trembles the largest of dictatorships. Then the common people take their respective roles in politics.

Self Assessment:

Fill in the Blanks:

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1. According to ..... man is by nature a political animal.
2. In today's era, politics has become dependent on the support of ..... .
3. Traditional political science had main interest in the ..... .
4. The modern ideologist considers ..... to be a special activity of human beings.

4.2 Modern Notion of Politics

As opposed to the classical notion of politics, the area of utility of politics has become limited in today's era, but the number of people taking part in it has increased. In other words, in the study of politics today, no thinking is done on all activities of the social life of man, instead thinking is done on only those activities which affect Public policy and Public decisions. However in today's times, public policy and decision do not express the wishes of a few rulers, councillors or authoritarians but emerge as the result of mutual workings of the different groups of the society. In this way, politics indicates those activities of the people with which different groups try to adjust their mutually opposing interests. It is not necessary that a truly justifiable solution comes out from this. Some groups are more organised, more resourceful, more talented and more practically-skilled. So, they become successful in keeping their interests above the interests of other groups which creates an imbalance in social life. However, it is hoped that other groups will get a chance to organise and promote their interests in the process of politics, from which there will be a chance of justifiable solution in the future.

Traditional political science had main interest in the 'state', so its definition is given as the 'science of the state'. The traditional thinkers and scholars of political science put their focus, mainly on these problems— what are the features, (a) essential elements and institutions of the state?;and (b) what would be the form of a 'perfect state'? but the modern writers experience that 'politics' is a special activity of human life, it is not only the activity of the 'state' but is an activity connected to perfect social organisation. So, in today's era, politics is not considered to be a combination of social institutions and their functions, but is believed to be a widespread social process. It is now important to know how this process works?

Politics is the Natural Activity of Man

Aristotle had said that man is a political animal. In this way, Aristotle gave consideration to such a natural capacity of man which is not found in other creatures. It meant that a man lives in some or the other 'state' (polis), that is, organises his life through the medium of a collective authority so that he can attain good life and self realisation being an ideal creature. So, in Aristotle's view, politics encompasses the complete existence of man, although the authority that is used at ruling level, is different from the authority related to family or property.

Modern ideologist considers politics to be a special activity of man. This activity of man is expressed through the medium of different groups of the society, such as the mediums of interest groups or political parties. This activity is expressed in the form of diplomacy at the time of peace in the nations and in the form of war at the time of chaos.

Caution It should, however, be noted that war is a desirable way of politics; the recourse of war is taken when politics becomes unsuccessful.

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Yes, compliance of the rules of war is essentially a subject of politics. It can be seen that political activity is expressed in the form of 'struggle for power; this struggle can go on between many states and can also go on among the different groups in a single state.

In short, in the situation of competition with others, the effort of establishing one's dominance and control on the rare resources of the society is termed politics. Distinct policy and skill are required for fulfilling this objective; the need to do away with moral principles may also arise in it. However, this struggle goes on at the level of a civil society-not at the level of wild creatures-that is why, the advocacy of moral ideals is essentially given in it. In other words, no matter how disgusting the actual objective of the political player may be from a moral viewpoint, he will present it in such a way that he is the main custodian of the moral principles. Even at the time of announcing war, every nation tries to show the world that it had to take such a crucial measure in order to protect some higher moral principle.

Politics Involves Exercise of Special Type of Authority

The use of authority is necessary to enforce the decisions which are taken in politics. But it is worth noting that the authority, dominance or control which is used in politics, is different from the authority of other social organisations. For example, the authority which is used in a family, worker's group or trade organisations does not come under the category of politics. Only that authority comes in the field of politics which is either used by the government itself or which is used to influence the government. In his famous work 'Politics' (which was written in 335—332 B.C.), Aristotle refuted the argument that all types of authorities are the same. He indicated that the authority of the ruler in a Polis is different from the other type of authority, such as authority of the husband in the context of wife and authority of the owner in the context of servant. Aristotle has said the authority of the husband over wife is the result of natural rules because nature has made woman as inferior to man. However, compared to the ruler, no citizen is naturally inferior. Again, the authority of the master over his servant is absolute because the complete life of the servant remains in the hands of the master. But the authority of the ruler in the context of citizen cannot be absolute, because all citizens are equal in the eyes of law-whether rich or poor, whether someone is working in the position of the ruler or is a common citizen. Here the thought of 'Equality of all citizens' that Aristotle has put forward, is strictly valid in today's era; but the beliefs it has about the status of women and slaves, is not accepted anywhere today.

The concept that the political relations-formula stays connected to authority, rule or power in some or the other way has been prevalent since the time of Aristotle. This belief is still functional today. For example, Max Weber, a famous German social-scientist of the modern age has presented the thought that an organisation should be believed to be a political organisation only till the time when and the place where its orders are followed in a specific territory and the administrative authority uses solid power or shows the fear of using it in order for the rules to be followed.

According to the famous American political-scientist Harold Lasswell (1902—78) , it is determined in political science that in which forms the power or authority can be seen and the use of it is done by which people with whom? Lasswell's belief is that political act is meaningful only in the use of power.

In this way, Aristotle has believed only power, authority or rule to be the essential feature of political relation, Max Weber has indicated towards the area of usage of authority. But where Aristotle has suggested differentiating political authority from all other types of authority, Lsswell has considered every type of authority to be the subject of politics. For example, the authority used in merchant or systematic organisations should be considered to be a kind of political relation according to Lasswell. This view of Lasswell does not appear to be useful. If the authority used in all social institutions and organisations is considered to be a subject of political science, its consideration zone would become expand more than needed and its main problem will be suppressed.

Politics Involves Conflict and its Resolution

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Politics is a special human activity. Man is a social animal. However, each and every one of its activities does not come under the zone of politics. We can say that those activities done by men in a special situation, come under the definition of politics. We call this situation as 'political situation'. Alan Ball has written in 'Modern Politics and Government' (1988) "Disagreements in the tasks and the reconciliation of disagreements are contained in politics. The essential element of political situation is conflict and its resolution". In the same way Stephen L. Wasby has written in 'Political Science—The Discipline and its Dimensions-An Introduction' (1973) "There is some or the other controversy where there is politics; where there are some or the other problems, politics comes into existence there. Where there is no controversy, where no argument is being done on problems, there is no politics there."

D. B. Miller had indicated in 'The Nature of Politics' (1962) government or rule is used for the resolution of conflict in a political situation. In the words of Miller", Political activity is born from the situation of dispute and it is interest in the problem that how should the government be used for the resolution of conflict-whether it is used to bring some change or to stop a change. If political is to be recognised as an ensured activity first, there should be some early dispute between different parties or people for this and then the government should be present in some or the other direction for the resolution of this dispute."

In this way, the political process is possible only where two conditions are fulfilled (a) First, some dispute or conflict should exist between any two parties; and (b) effort should be made for the resolution of that conflict through the medium of the authority of government. The example of political situation that Alan Ball has given does not appear to be a useful example. He has written "if there are two children and one toy in a nursery and both the children want to get the toy together, a political situation will prevail there, both children can fight so the one who is stronger gets the toy or the mother can come there and make the decision for the children who are fighting using her authority." This example has two limitations. One is that it indicates the private conflict of two children which is not a useful example of political situation. Other examples of this type can be given which do not come under the scope of politics like the dispute or quarrel of husband-wife regarding the budget of the house does not present 'political situation'.

Only those disputes, conflicts or quarrels are considered to be the useful subjects of politics which are born at public level, that is, those are born in a social situation that there two or more groups connected to them, whether that dispute is born at local, regional, national or international level; whether it is connected to an economic, cultural, language, religious, communal or any such matter. In other words, the interest of political conflict is always in public problems, and not private problems; it demands a 'public' resolution, and not private resolution . Normally, we talk about the politics of a religious organisation, university or factory. Till this alleged politics remains limited to a single organisation and does not have specific affect on public life, we do not consider it to be useful subject of the study of political science. However, the conflicts at private level become subjects of public interest many times and start to come in the field of politics. When the private dispute of husband-wife becomes a problem of the status of women in family or the rights of women in the society, then it becomes a subject of politics, because it starts to demand a public resolution.

The second limitation in the example of Alan Ball is that a way of resolution of the conflict among the children is that they can fight, that is, they can take the support of violence. But taking the support of 'violence' or war does not come under the category of political situation. There is no doubt that some political disputes keep growing and take the form of war. However, war is the symbol of failure of political resolution, negotiation, persuasion, arbitration, compromise, pressure, counting of votes or other such ways which are its opposites and in which the support of war is not taken. The process of compromise between the concerned parties after war is a subject of politics. Whatever happens, this resolution must be accepted by the conflicting groups. Parties related to the conflict have their disputes regarding public goods and services, but they should be agree regarding the procedure to

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solve their disputes. They must understand that all the wishes of everyone cannot be fulfilled in the situation of scarcity, so they should be satisfied in getting their, reasonable share'.

Notes Action in which a controversial issue between any two parties is sent to a third neutral party for a decision, with the agreement of both of them. Both of them are bound to accept that decision. This is called arbitration.

Politics is Concerned with Authoritative Allocation of Values

The political resolution of politics is accepted by related parties because this resolution is authoritative. **David Easton** in his book 'Political System—An Enquiry into the State of Political Science'(1953) has written that **politics is related to the authoritative allocation of 'values' in the society.** In this brief yet compendious definition, three important words are used whose clear interpretation is essential. These words are 'value', 'allocation' and 'authoritative'.

By values, Easton means, those goods found in the society (benefits or services, comforts-facilities, etc.) which are rare and are believed to be valuable or which are desired, whether they are physical or platonic. Since all of us desire employment, health service, opportunities of education and entertainment, respect, etc., that is why all of these are examples of values. In other words, values are those desirable goods, benefits or services which everybody wants to obtain, but there is so much scarcity of them that only some can obtain them. So, the situation of 'more demand, limited availability' is significant in their matter.

By allocation he means, the division or separation of these goods among the different people or groups, that is, determining who will get what? This task is completed by policy which has a 'web of decisions'. In other words, as a fabric is made by spinning a web of many threads, in the same way, policy is made by combining many decisions and the division of valuable goods, benefits or services is done in the society according to this policy. Decision means selection of one from the many alternatives. For example, when there are a few buses and people from many colonies demand bus-service, many suggestions can be thought of as to from where the buses should be run. The selection of the useful suggestion from these is called 'decision'. Reaching the 'decision' and implementing it too is included in 'policy'.

The definition of the word 'authoritative' remains. In the words of **Easton**, the meaning of authoritative is that a policy is made for those people, levied or those people whom it affects, only those people feel it to be necessary or right to follow. In other words, the objective of authority is not to obligate or constrain the people. Its meaning is—the capacity to make the people willingly comply with orders for enforcing a certain decision or action.

When we give the definition of politics in the form of 'authoritative allocation of values', then we recognsie it in the form of a **universally social** event. In other words, politics is a global activity. In any society, the desirable goods, benefits and services are less and the people demanding them are more. So, an authoritative power is needed there which can find a way keeping in mind the mutually opposite demands that everyone can accept. It does not mean that every demand of everyone is fulfilled or some suggestion is accepted forever. In reality, after accepting a solution new demands are presented in new forms and then the search for new solutions begins. So politics is a continuous process. We cannot imagine a society where politics has started or ended. We recognise this view of politics as 'liberal view of politics'. This is a modern view of politics.

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In 1867, German statesman **Prince Bismarck** (1815—98) said that 'politics is the art of the possible. It meant that a person cannot succeed by staying aloof on his demands. He should be alert towards the expectations of the others and should respect the feelings of others. He should see what can be obtained in prompt situations while preventing crucial conflicts and should focus attention on its achievement. In other words, politician should have a defined objective and should pull off his hand on its fulfilment. The want to establish our own domination by defeating the opposing group cannot be the feature of healthy politics. **Politics is not the art of subduing others in fron of us, but is a means to fulfil our objectives along with others**. Their should not be the persistence of the 'best' for us but instead it should be seen that what would be the best for all parties in the present situation. So, it is 'the art of the next best.' This definition of 'Politics' is believed to be useful even today.This definition implies on the politics of a country and it also implies on the international politics.

Conclusion

It was believed in the traditional concept of politics that the objective or goal of social life is already determined or defined and the members of the society should carry out their responsibilities within the already defined system. No one had the right to show discord towards it or to suggest a new way. The modern view of politics is different from the ancient view because discord, struggle or disharmony is considered to be a natural feature of social life. No force is given to suppress this conflict but instead focus is given to find its solution.

The following thoughts are contained in the modern view of politics:

a. Conflict, strife and dissension are found among the different groups to obtain their respective shares of valuable good, services, benefits and opportunities in the society.

b. However, the way these things should be allocated, what its method should be- a consensus can be found regarding this, that is, the members of the society are ever ready to accept such rules and procedures according to which their mutually opposing claims can be settled.

c. Once an allocation is done, it is accepted and respected by the people; one who breaks the rules is given punishment, he is insulted and his inner-spirit curses him.

d. However, not everyone is satisfied from this allocation; the means of presenting new demands, finding new solutions and establishing new system are always existent.

Geoffery K. Roberts in 'A Dictionary of Political Science' (1971) has tried to define the modern concept of politics in a definition which prevails everywhere—Politics indicates an activity and the study of that activity too. As an activity, politics is a process in a social system. It is not necessary for it to be limited to the nation-state. The goals of the social system are selected by this process, they are set in order of priority from the points of view of time and allocation of resources and are made workable. So, there is a need for conflict resolution along with cooperation in it. Political authority is used for this and coercion may also be used if necessary. It is different from other social processes because it is interested in 'public goals' while economics might be interested in public or private allocation.

4.3 Interpretation of Politics—Different Views

Within the modern view of politics, it is considered to be a social process. In ancient and middle ages, politics was normally understood to be the activity of king-nobles, generals and members of the court—the common people only had to comply with their wishes. However in the modern ages, common people and their different groups are considered to be a part of politics apart from the specific classes and it is also accepted that different parts of a complete society play their respective roles in reaching a public decision. In other words, the specific or powerful class of today does not use power to fulfil their wishes but it orders to establish the legitimacy of its rule it has to prove in the eyes of

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other classes that the objective of its policies, decision, and programme is to promote public interest. It becomes important to keep in mind the mutually-opposite wishes of the different classes of people to know about the public interest.

The interest of politics is in conflict and its resolution. But what are the matters of conflict; what are the chances of its resolution; is such a politics possible where no conflict comes up? Taking these questions, there are many views prevailing in the contemporary political-principle. Out of these, mainly three views are important:

1. **Liberal View:** In this, politics is believed to be the means of reconciliation of conflicting interests.

2. **Marxist View:** In this, politics is considered to be the field of class struggle; and

3. **Communitarian View:** In this, a person is considered to be an inseparable part of the community and politics is considered to be the means of attainment of 'common good' .

Liberalism started around the seventeenth century in Europe when the industrial mode of production was starting due to scientific inventions; the authority of the pope was being challenged in the field of religion, commercial-trade was expanding due to the discoveries of new countries, and feudal system was breaking down. The objective of liberalism was to promote those thoughts in the social, economic and political areas which would prove helpful in the establishment of capitalism. **'Individualism'** was promoted while believing the '**Individual'** to be the centre of complete social life. **John Locke(**1632—1704**), Adam Smith**(1723—1790), **Jeremy Bentham** (1748—1832),**John Stuart Mill**(1806—1873) etc., have made significant contributions in it. In the contemporary liberalisl , different groups are considered to be the centre of social life, so '**Pluralism**' is given importance in place of 'Individualism'.

Notes The Feudal System in the middles-ages Europe which was economically based on agriculture. From the political point of view, it was dominated by three main classes-Clergy, Nobility and Commoners. The ownership of the land was in the hands of the Nobility; Commoners were their servants.

The Capitalism system of the modern age which, from the economic point of view is based mainly on industrial production. Capitalists carry out production for private profits in it; Workers are free to go and work anywhere according to their skills and demands of the market.

Liberalism mainly considers 'Market Society System' to be ideal of the political, social and economic relations of human beings. In the old liberalism, focus was given on 'Free Competition'. However, the contemporary liberalism mainly accepts 'Regulated Market System' as an ideal, so, it has become a supporter of 'Welfare State'.

Marxism began in the middle of the nineteenth century when capitalism based on free market system was at its peak; new capitalist class had obtained enormous money-estates and social status, but the state of the new working class was very bad. At that time **Karl Marx**(1818—83) and **Frederick Engels(**1820—95**)** analysed the complete history and put forward the thought that the society has since always been divided into the haves and have-not based on the ownership of private property. The haves have been the **dominant class** and the have-nots have been the dependent class. Both of their interests have continuously been opposite. In the modern industrial age, the claim of the freedom of all human beings is made from the political view, but after the decline of feudalism, the society has again been divided into the capitalist class and working class from the economic point of view. All the powers of the state have come into the hands of the capitalist class which has made the freedom of the working class meaningless. They have given an argument that till the society is divided into mutually antagonist classes from the economic point of view, no political administration can free the

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common people or working class from the bonds of dependency. So Marxism gave importance to class struggle and put forward the thought that the working class should unite in this class struggle and bring **socialism** by ending the capitalist administration and establish social ownership on the major means of production so that a classless society can emerge.

Communitarianism is a contemporary philosophy. It has originated from the criticism of liberalism. In today's times, the means of comforts have increased a lot and general happiness has also increased. However, man does not have emotional security in between economic security; he is still alone within the crowd. He lives in society, but does not experience any affinity or attachment with the society. Communitarianism is an effort to join together this broken link of the individual and society again. The supporters of communitarianism believe that a person's existence and personality are endowments of the society. Different people are not units cut away from each other but they are the points connected to each other in the image of the society. All the people are connected to each other as the members of their community. Till they are connected in this way, they lead a meaningful life. When different people works towards the fulfilment of their own objectives, their life disintegrates and their common interests are not attained. For this, they should identify the 'common good' and contribute towards it's achievements. Communitarianism is a modern thought, but its early indications are found in the thinking of ancient Greek philosopher **Aristotle** and many thinkers of the nineteenth century. The names of the noteworthy people in them are **J. J. Rosseau**(1712—78), **G. W. F. Hegel (**1770—1831**)** and **T. H. Green**(1836—82). **Alasdair Mcintyre, Michael Sandel** and **Charles Taylor** are well known among its promoters.

In short, liberalism believes that men become independent on getting political and legal freedom only, and they can regulate their relations in everybody's interest like the open market. To promote their own interests, different groups form interest groups to adjust mutual relations. But Marxism believes that till the institution of private property is existent, the society will remain divided in 'dominant' and 'dependent' classes from the economic and political point of view and any agreement between them would promote the oppression and exploitation of the dependent class. So it is important to end capitalist administration to make the life of the people meaningful. In this way, Marxism considers the economic structure of the society to be the base and terms the legal, political, religious, ethical and cultural elements as the superstructure. This superstructure develops according to the form of the economic structure of the society of any era.

Again, where liberalism focuses on the rights of individual, communitarianism focuses its attention on his duties and obligations. Liberalism gives total freedom to individual for pursuit of self-interest. It believes that when separate individuals are intent towards their self-interest, attainment of 'common good' occurs itself from their continuous dealing. In other words, it sees people as units cut away from each other whose mutual relation is affected by a feeling of completion of self-interest. On the other hand, communitarianism believes that 'common good' is created from the nonds of the personal interests of separate individuals. In reality, the source of 'common good' is the whole community; the individual good is its endowment. 'Common Good' is not a lake in which the streams of the goods of separate people merge; it is such a huge source from which infinite streams of the goods of the people come out. 'Common Good' is the sun; individual goods are its rays. The rays do not combine together to form the sun, but they are themselves the endowments of the sun.

Self Assessment

Multiple Choice Questions:

5. The recourse of war is taken when ..... becomes unsuccessful.

   (a) politics (b) social policy (c) counterfeit policy (d) activity

6. In the event of competition from others, the trying to establish one's own dominance and ..... is known as politics.

   (a) rule (b) control (c) skill (d) power

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7. Only that authority comes under the field of politics which is either used by the government itself or the which is used to influence the ..... .

   (a) politics (b) authority (c) government (d) society

8. There is essentially some or the other ..... where there is politics.

   (a) suggestion (b) controversy (c) agreement (d) power

4.4 Concept of the State

The concept of the state has figured as the central theme of traditional political theory. In 'Political Science' the familiar work of **R. G. Gettel**, the definition of political science is given as 'the science of the state'. In the famous work of **J. W. Garner,** 'Political Science and Government', a thought has been presented that 'political science begins and ends with the state'.

In modern political theory, the significance of the concept of the state has been fluctuating. Some exponents of the behavioural approach in political science have even suggested abandoning the concept of the state altogether. For example, **David Easton**, in his famous work, 'Political System—An Inquiry into the State of Political Science' (1953) has given arguments of this type. The main objection of these exponents is that this concept does not help in understanding political reality or the political process, because

(a) the term 'state' refers to a formal concept while real politics transcends the formal organization of the state;

(b) the 'state' is usually conceived in terms of the 'ends' of the state which drags us to the realm of moral philosophy, far removed from the real world of politics; and

(c) the concept of the state postulates a particular type of organisation which excludes top organisations of certain societies, real or imaginary, and thus introduces the idea of 'pre-state' societies and 'stateless' societies. This leads to the assumption that political organisation is not a universal phenomenon. These things create obstacles in the study of politics.

Meaning of the State

Ancient Greek political-philosophers used the word 'state' either indicate the formation of a complete society or to indicate the objectives of social life. Italian political-thinker **Niccolo Machiavelli** (1469—1527) defined the state first of all as the power which has authority over men. At the beginning of the twentieth century, Max Weber (1864—1920) a famous German sociologist expressed this thought focussing on the need for a socio-scientific definition –"A state is a human community that claims the monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force with a given territory. **R. M. Maciver** and **C. H. Page** have written in 'Society—An Introductory Analysis' (1950) – "The state is distinguished from all other associations by its exclusive investment with the final power of coercion."

Association is that human-organisation which is formed to fulfil the common objectives of its members and motivates them to work together.

Harold J. Laski has argued in 'An Introduction to Politics' (1931) that-" Whereas all other associations are voluntary in character and can bind the individuals only as he chooses membership of them, once he is a resident of some given state legally has no choice but to obey its commands. The state, so as to say is the crowning point of the modern social edifice and it is in its supremacy over all other forms of social grouping that its special nature is to be found." **Frederick M. Watkins** has defined a geographically delimited segment of human society united by common obedience to a single sovereign. **Watkins** lays special emphasis on the element of sovereignty—the characteristic of the supreme legal

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authority whose decisions are final. The supremacy of the commands of the state is an essential element which distinguishes it from all other associations of men.

Elements of the State

When we consider the state to be a special kind of organisation, it becomes necessary to describe its basic elements. These elements give a unique identity to the state in comparison to other human-organisations. These elements are—Population, Territory, Government and Sovereignty.

Population: Any association is formed by the support of humans. A state is an association in which a lot of human beings are connected in unity. So, population is an essential element of state. It is not fixed as to how much population should be there in a state. It can be said that there should be enough population to look after the different aspects of life. It would be good if the population itself would be able to fulfil all the needs of life. It has to depend on other states for some goods or services then it should also be able to pay for these by giving its goods and services to other states. In this way, the population should be self-dependent from the financial point of view. Still, in some situations a state can temporarily accept foreign or international help.

It is not necessary for the population of a state to be connected to a caste, religion, language or culture. But it is necessary to have loyalty towards a single centre because of being the subjects or citizens of a single state.

Territory: Territory is the second essential element of a state. Other associations either live inside a state or are spread to many states sometimes. That is why they do not have a need for separate territory. However, it is necessary for the existence of the state that its population resides in a specific territory where it has undeniable authority. A cannot live in the territory of another state. On the controversy of claim of more than one states on a territory, it becomes necessary to solve it through mutual-agreements, war or the decision of some international tribunal.

Federal System: A ruling system in which the ruling power is divided on a federal basis. Within this system, the country has a central government and there are separate state governments for regional units while some regions can be kept subject to the centre temporarily or permanently. India and the United States of America are examples of federal system. Within the federal system, there can be two kinds of authority on a single territory. They are recognised as Union Government and State Government respectively. However, the jurisdictions of both are determined by the constitution. So it is considered to be the sovereignty of a single state.

Like population, no specific shape can be defined for the expected territory for the state. This territory should essentially be so big that the population can live a self-dependent life from the least financial view. However, it should not be so big that it cannot bear the liability of its security, otherwise other states will make it dependant. It is not necessary that the entire territory of the state should be conformable, but its different parts should be joint in an effective manner. Nomadic tribes—which are not bound by a specific territory – do not form a state, despite the existence of some or the other type of organisation in them, that is, if all their members comply with the orders of the head of the tribe.

Government: Government or ruling system is the third essential element of the state which makes the services of the state available to the common people ; protect the territory of the state; maintain peace and organisation in the state; manage relations with foreign states and can arrange the expected finance for all these functions. So , the government everywhere has authority to levy taxation on the people. In the modern age, government is mobilising a lot of services for the people—especially for their health, education, transportation, communication, entertainment, exercise, etc., are widely arranged. The 'Welfare State' has developed from this.

Whatever the ruling system of the state is, the government should essentially be stable. If in any state the government disappears for some time as a result of revolution or military defeat, it should not be regarded that the state has disappeared, but it is hoped that a new government will soon be

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established and take over the authority there. If this does not happen, the state loses its existence and becomes a superior of another state.

Sovereignty: The fourth yet basic element of the state is autonomy or sovereignty. Sovereignty means, a power of the state, with which it can get compliance for its orders and rules in its territory and can make some kind of trade, friendship or war with the outside states. The state has the right for legitimate coercion because of its sovereignty. Other associations are based on traditions or necessities and their membership can be voluntary. But the membership of the state is compulsory and the one who violates the laws of the state is subject to punishment.

A state not only uses its supreme power of jurisdiction through the force of its sovereignty, but also establishes proper relations as a complete unit with other states and international organisations through it only. A state complies with international agreements and conventions at its 'wish', not bound by some other state. So, sovereignty is a necessary feature of state, which distinguishes it from other associations. A state can exist only till it remains full of sovereignty. If a state loses its sovereignty due to an inside revolution or external attack, its result comes forward in the form of anarchy because then the state disappears.

Anarchy: That situation in which there is no control of the state on a territory. So, no rule or regulation is followed there ; there is no means security for the lives, propert and respect of the common people.

Some writers regard 'International Recognition' as an essential element of the state. This denotes formal recognition of the sovereignty of the state over a given territory and population by other states. International recognition, however, is the outcome of the sovereignty of the state not a condition of its existence. When a new state like Bangladesh came into existence in 1971 it may be recognised by some states immediately while other states may withhold their recognition for quite a long time. However, the existence of the state cannot be denied on this basis.

Did You Know? Any state can keep existing only till it remains full of sovereignty.

4.5 Summary

- The English word 'politics' has been derived from the Greek word 'polis' which was an index of the ancient Greek city-state.
- Greek thinkers believed that the "state comes into existence for the sake of life and continues for the sake of good life."
- In the study of politics today ,no thinking is done all activities of the social life of man, instead thinking is done on only those activities which affect Public policy and Public decisions.

4.6 Keywords

- **Anarchy:** That situation in which there is no control of the state on a territory, from which no means of property and security remain
- **Association:** That human-organisation which is formed to fulfil the common objectives of its members and motivates them to work together
- **Federal System:** A ruling system in which the powers of ruling are divided on a regional basis

4.7 Review Questions

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1. Clarify the Classical Notion of Politics.
2. Explain the Modern Notion of Politics.
3. Justify the statement, Politics deals with the authoritative allocation of 'values'.
4. How is politics is related to conflict and its resolution? Explain.
5. Describe the different views of politics.
6. Highlight the basic element of the state while explaining the concept or idea of the state.

Answers: Self Assessment

1. Aristotle	2. Common people	3. 'State'	4. Politics
5. (a)	6. (b)	7. (c)	8. (b)

4.8 Further Readings

Books

1. Comparative Politics and Political Analysis – *Dr. D. S. Yadav.*

2. Comparative Politics — *Chandradev Prasad, Atlantic Publishers.*

3. Comparative Politics — *Prof. Ramanand Gerolla.*

4. The Outline of Comparative Politics : Politics of Liberal, Socialist , Developing nations — *Gava O. P., Mayur Paperbacks.*

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Unit 5: Politics of Community Identities

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Objectives

After studying this unit, the students will be able to:

- Understand NATO and its Relevance
- Explain Non-Align Country.

Introduction

In 1945, two events destroyed the balance of traditional power forever. Before this, the main nation-states active in international politics were known as 'big personalities. Britain, France and Germany, the main colonial countries till the First World War were held supreme in this list. Keeping in mind the decisive importance of the intervention of America in the First World War, its importance in international politics was accepted. Germany was thrown out of this brotherhood after its defeat in the war, but it had regained its personality by 1939. After seeing the height and power of America and The Soviet Union after the end of war in 1945, calling them superpowers seemed logical. Nuclear weapons also played a decisive role in them acquiring the status of superpower. After all this, a competition started in all the nations for the politics of their existence. As a result of this, some communal groups or regional groups emerged.

Various kinds of communal groups or regional groups are emerging global level politics, in which the important groups can be highlighted in this way-

5.1 North Atlantic Treaty Organisation—NATO

The member countries constituting "NATO" are from different regions of Europe. They are different from the point of view of territory, natural resources, industrial resources, historical experiences and political traditions. Still they got united as a military alliance under the leadership of America. The relations of Western European countries with The United States of America were relatively fine but this was the first opportunity in peacetime when America signed a military treaty of some countries

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beyond the Western hemisphere. Before this, the United States of America had supported the countries of Europe only at the time of both World Wars. This treaty was basically a military alliance against the Soviet faction.

The main reasons behind the creation of NATO were:

1. All the member countries of NATO experienced physical, economic, political and emotional damages. On the other hand, the danger of the Soviet Union establishing dominance over them was present. In such a situation, America was their only ray of hope, which was successful in fulfilling the biggest requirement of their economic revival. They accepted their inclusion in NATO under the leadership of America.

1. The Soviet Union refused to remove its armies from eastern Europe after the Second World War. It made efforts to establish communist government there. It adopted the same policy regarding other places. America took advantage of this anti-communist slogan and warned the European countries of the communist danger. Consequently, European countries unified as NATO.
2. The United Nations was created with the objective of world-peace and security. However, western countries felt that this international organisation could not protect them from the assailant nation. This was an indication of distrust on the working capacity of the United Nations by them. This motivated them to become members of "NATO".

Objectives of NATO

1. Play the role of an obstructionist at the time of attack on Europe;
2. Provide a security shield for the European nations to carry further its programme for military and economic growth; and
3. Mentally prepare the people, especially American people for possible war with the Soviet Union.

This way, the objective of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) has been believed to be the commitment of America to protect the 'Free World', to stop the expansion of communism and if possible, to defeat communism. The Soviet Union gave NATO the title of 'A military organisation of imperialist and aggressive countries'. This organisation was strongly opposed by the Soviet Union. NATO was an obligatory organisation for non-communist countries but a monstrous evil for the Soviet faction.

Parts of NATO

It is a huge organisation today. Earlier, its headquarters were in Paris, the capital of France but after the renunciation of its membership by France, it is now in Belgium. There are four parts of the NATO organisation.

1. **Council:** The council is the supreme part in the NATO organisation, it is created by the ministers of state. Their ministerial-level sittings occur once or twice in year. The ministers of member countries become its chairman turn by turn.
2. **Upper-Council:** This council is the council of diplomatic representatives appointed by the member countries of NATO. They discuss about the common interests committed to NATO organisation and fulfil the tasks assigned by the main institution.
3. **Defence Committee:** The defence ministers of all the member countries of NATO organisation do the representation in it. Its main function is to discuss the defence policy and discuss

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the military related issues in the non-NATO countries. It considers the military decisions approved by the council of NATO.

4. **Military Committee:** The main function of the military committee is to advice the NATO council and its defence committee to maintain balance among the main military leaders to look after the implementation of the plans and policies of NATO.

Structure, Role, Scope and Review of the Treaty

The military treaty of NATO was formed in the light of the Brussels treaty. It was stated in the beginning of the treaty that the independence, historical legacy, the culture of their people, democratic values, personal freedom and rule of law states which were signing and which will sign will be the responsibility of the signing nations. It would be the duty of these nations to cooperate with each other. In the second provision of the treaty, the arrangement for the peaceful and friendly growth of relations has been made. The countries signing the treaties announced that if conflict regarding economic matters arose between them or some obstacle emerged in the mutual relations, it will be put away through negotiations. In the next provision, the members of the treaty took the oath that in the situation of an attack, it will be retaliated through collective capacity and national power. It was stated in provision 5 that in the event of danger on regional sovereignty and unity, political freedom and some country, the NATO members will immediately discuss on how to deal with such situations.

Notes The most main provision of the NATO treaty is its paragraph 5, in which it is stated that, in the situation of an attack on one or more countries of the treaty will be considered to be an attack on the signing countries too and all the nations related to the treaty will come together and face the situation, which would also involve military retaliation.

According to paragraph 3 of the treaty, "In order to more effectively achieve the objectives of this Treaty, the Parties, separately and jointly, by means of continuous and effective self-help and mutual aid, will maintain and develop their individual and collective capacity to resist armed attack." In its other sections, the policy makers have described economic support (Section 2). This treaty is for 20 years (Section 13) and it also has arrangements for including other countries later (Section 10). The obligations of this treaty are so clear that in the event of attack, every member has the freedom to operate as per its wishes.

New Expansion of NATO

The biggest expansion since the establishment of NATO on 4 April, 1949 is that on 2 April, 2004, seven states from eastern Europe have been formally included in it.

Example Bulgaria, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania, Slovekia, and Slovenia were included in these seven nations. All these seven nations were given membership of NATO on 31 March, 2004 .

Now the member count of NATO has increased from 19 to 26. The United States of America, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Iceland, United Kingdom, Italy, Luxembourg, The Netherlands, Norway,

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Portugal, Greece, Turkey, Germany, Spain, Poland, Hungary, and Czech Republic are included in the first 19 members.

It is worth noting that the objective of the establishment of this organisation with twelve countries is to resolve international conflicts with peaceful solutions and to face the immediate military dangers of the Soviet Union and its supporting nations. But the irony is that now those countries have been included in this organisation which have been parts of the Soviet Union sometime or have been its ardent supporters. It is the result of America's aggressive power expansion policy. Three imperial countries of the soviet block, Hungary, Poland and Czech Republic were made members of NATO in March 1999, which was also opposed by the Russian union. Turkey and Greece in 1952, Germany in 1955 and Spain in 1982 were provided the membership of this union. Russia has opposed the eastern Europe of NATO and its expansion from the beginning and it has been said to be a part of American hegemonic policy. It should be remembered that as a result of the retaliation of NATO's aggressive activities, Eastern Soviet Union and imperialist countries of eastern Europe made the Warsaw Treaty organisation on 31 March, 1991 but after the disintegration of the Soviet Union, seeing the disutility of the new thinking system against the background of this organisation, it was dissolved on 31 March, 1991. As a result of the Russian reaction, NATO has recently clarified that this union is not a danger for Russia but said it to be necessary for each other.

In the present perspective, NATO has taken the form of an aggressive security organisation which is completely operating on America's orders. Now, even the Security Council and The United Nations organisations are feeling themselves to be helpless on imposing any kinds of restrictions on it. Now America's future objective towards NATO is that the expansion area of NATO should be from the Atlantic to the Pacific region in which all the middle and Europe should be included.

5.2 Factors Determining the Relevance of NATO

1. America and the countries of Europe still consider Russia to be an important military power. The nuclear arms depot which Russia and other past soviet republics have compelled the western powers to be continuously alert. That is the reason why countries like Ukraine and Belarus are being tried to be brought in close contact with NATO.
2. Apart from Russia, the growing power of China too is becoming a danger for the western capitalist countries. The obliteration of NATO can become a reason for the dissolute conduct of China.
3. America wants to keep indirect control over western Europe through the medium of NATO. America has apparent commercial and economic interests in Europe. The favourable policies of the European Union made under the pressures of France and Germany can critically affect the American trade. America can keep its economic interests in Europe secured through the exhibition of power and the mixed strategy of agreement. America can protect its military interests in Europe through the medium of NATO.
4. To control the racial and separatist movements emerging in Europe, a need for NATO is felt by European countries. These racial struggles have become a reason for the disintegration of Yugoslavia.
5. Global terrorism has become a danger today. America and many western countries are the main targets of Islamic fundamentalists. This challenge can only be faced by strong organisations like NATO.
6. To maintain their dominance in the third world, many European nations feel the need to be under the wings of a major nation. Imposing unilateral economic and commercial conditions with the countries of the third world is not possible without regulations.

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In the end, it can be said that in this strategy of NATO, America has made it the centre point of its foreign policy. It is never ready to listen to the proposals which weaken NATO to any extent in any matters. NATO has become the corner-stone of its foreign policy.

Today the world has entered into the twenty—first century and Cold War has ended, it has also become important for NATO in this situation, that it ends its military form and provides itself with an official political form. The problems of today's era may or may not be solved through military actions. So, it has become important in order to create a political environment that NATO plays its role during struggles, otherwise, this 26—member organisation can repeat the failure seen in Bosnia and Albania.

Task Explain the factors determining the relevance of NATO.

European Community

Europe had to prepare a strategy for its existence after the Second World War, because after the world war, its importance and dominance had faded. The great demolition of the war had made Europe weak from the economic and political perspective. On one side, the expansionist policy of the Soviet Union was terrorising it in the east, while on the other side in the west, the emergence of the United States of America started afflicting it. In between these two powers, the solution of for the protection and development of European nations was to strengthen the European unity and to form various economic and political organisations. Only through collective effort could the European nations solve their problems. The countries of Europe experienced that the question now was not to protect the land of this kingdom or to establish the unison for national defence plans. All the fundamental matters such as the handling of the armed forces, provision for completion, distribution of war materials and weapon factories, consistency of transportation, etc., should be solved with a European perspective and not national perspective.

For long time, it had been a dream of European visionaries and leaders that a union or shared politico-economic system of European states should be made. The situation from both the world wars made this dream a necessity because the weaknesses that had come from the Second World War had made it essential for European nations to pool their resources and efforts because it was the only effective manner to overcome the weaknesses. During the war, Churchill had stated in one of his historical speeches in March 1940 that", The safety of the world requires a new unity in Europe, from which no nation should be permanently outcast." Focussing on the importance of this oneness of Europe, he further said", Both the world wars or wars in the east started because of the conflicts of our ancestors. We should definitely work under the structure of a united nation with the conscious objective of the great oneness of Europe."Churchill again repeated his thoughts on 19 September, 1940 that, " The only supreme solution for the tragedy of Europe is the establishment of one European family or as much unification as possible and its structure should be such thatut can live with peace, security and freedom. We should make Europe as the European United States."

In the post war period, many steps were taken for the military, economic and political unification of Europe. The long term trends which were increased by the two world wars compelled them to do so. One was afraid of the Soviet Union, while the other was scared of The United States of America. European states adopted the path of mutual support in this situation. From the beginning of the post war period, different institutions representing the western European states have been operating effectively and their success has given birth to a unified European community. The economic unification of western Europe can be said to be an unusual development of the post war period, which on one hand, has not only helped the western European nations to control their socio-economic problems but it also

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has helped in multilateral growth and development and on the other hand, it has told the world that how pure benefits can be achieved through effective and organised regional support functionalities.

In the context of the study of the European community, the following organisations, communities, plans, councils, etc, have been worth noting:

1. **Truman Doctrine:** The very first effort towards the economic revival of Western Europe was made by the American president Truman. This doctrine was a part of that speech which was given by Truman on 12 March,1947 in front of the American congress demanding 40 crore dollars for financial and military help of Turkey and Greece. In the words of Truman, " Our help should mainly be done as economic and financial aid which is essential for the economic stability and well structured political system."
2. **Benelux:** Benelux treaty was the result of the negotiations between Belgium, The Netherlands and Luxembourg in September 1944. It was put into effect with amendments in January 1948. The member nations in this ended the taxing system between themselves and expressed their consents by levying a common tariff (tax) on imports.
3. **Marshall Plan:** The reconstruction of the war-torn Europe was necessary, also America believed that it was necessary the European nations should be protected from communism. So, American foreign secretary, George Marshall introduced the programme for the economic revival of Europe in June 1947. On this basis, the Marshall Plan was created to combat hunger, poverty, despair and chaos. America gave aid of about eleven million dollars for a period of four years (1948—52) to sixteen countries of Western Europe.
4. **The Organisation for European Economic Cooperation (OEEEC):** This organisation was a solid effort towards mutual support of western Europe. The main relation of this organisation which was created in 1945 was with the economic growth of Europe and European financial system.
5. **Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD):** Formed in 1961, this organisation came into existence in place of the Organisation for European Economic Cooperation. It has 20 member countries—Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Germany, Greece, Iceland, Irish Republic, Italy, Luxembourg, The Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, England and United States of America . The main objectives of this organisation are 1. Arrange for employment and economic growth in the member countries and raise the standard of living. 2. Help in the growth of world economy while maintaining economic stability. 3. Provide support in the healthy economic growth and expansion in the member countries and other countries. 4. Support in the expansion of multilateral trade. Many committees were created for the fulfilment of these objectives.
6. **Council of Europe:** Formed in 1949, this council of 21 members is a huge organisation of the democracies of Europe. It has been stated in the constitution of this council that " it will make effort to bring more unity than before in the ideals and principles of its common legacy for the economic and social growth. This council is very helpful in strengthening the unity of Europe."
7. **European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC):** The birth of this community took place in 1951 through the support of Belgium, France, Italy, Luxembourg, The Netherlands and West Germany. The objective of this community was to organise the economy of the states. So, steps were taken for the establishment of a single market for coal and steel, for ending the barriers to trade and for the freedom of the workers, etc. The elimination of the barriers in the way of completion was set as a goal. The claim related to this organisation has been made that it has unified the economic systems of France and Germany and thus uprooted their centuries old rivalries. In the words of a wise man, "the day of 10 February, 1953, when the coal of the Ruhr area started coming to the steel mills of Lorrainne without tariffs

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from Germany to France will be called an unforgettable day and an unprecedented day of European regional economic support .

8. **European Automatic Energy Community (Euratom):** The creation of this community was done in 1958. Its objective was to make efforts for peaceful provision and development of atomic power in the six countries of Europe—Belgium, France, United Germany, Italy, Luxembourg and The Netherlands.

9. **The European Economy Community (EEC) or The European Common Market(ECM):** This organisation was believed to be an indicator of a new turn not only from the view of economic support but also from a historical view. This European economic community was established in 1958. In the beginning, it had six member nations—France, Belgium, Netherlands, Luxembourg, United German Republic but later Britain, Ireland, Denmark and Norway also joined. Norway was later removed. Over time, Greece, Portugal, Spain, Austria, Finland, and Sweden too became its members. This way the number of members of this union is now 15.

The objective of the community is homogeneous growth of economic activities in the community through uniformity in economic policies, constant and balanced extension, rapid increase in the expanding stability and standard of living and to establish relations among the member countries through the medium of creation of a shared market. The establishment of the reputation of Europe and playing a favourable role for economic power and cultural traditions are also included in the objectives of the community.

The paragraph 3 of the treaty has a description of the activities of the community. According to it, the following will be the main functions in the conditions and period of the treaty—(i) To end the tariff charges and quantitative restrictions in the imports and exports of goods among member countries. Also end other interruptions apart from these.(ii) To adopt a common tariff and common policy for non-members. (iii) To rapidly end the difficulties and interruptions of people, services and capital in the member countries. (iv) To adopt a common agriculture policy. (v) To adopt a common transport policy. (vi) To create such a system, through which the economic policies of the members can be coordinated and debt imbalance can be eliminated.

After continuous efforts and conferences, a treaty was signed in the Maastricht city on 7 February, 1992, which was named as the European treaty. Now European Union came into existence in place of the European community. This treaty was put into effect on 1 November, 1993. All three of the ECSC, Euratom and EEC were merged in this treaty. According to Dr. Klaus Dieter Brochardt", One of the main features of the European community is that unlike other international institutions, its members have given a part of their sovereignty so that a well structured, inseparable, organised and political unit is possible". In the objectives of this union, there was an arrangement for a shared currency and provisions of new powers for the European Union in the fields of consumer protection, public health, visa policy and communication, etc., were also made. Presently, some of these provisions have been imposed and European is going ahead in the right direction in this manner.

Objectives of the Union: Economic unification and free trade are the objectives of the European Union. Balanced growth of economic activities, to raise the living standard, to provide more opportunities of employment and to make arrangements for currency stability—are the objectives of the union.

Implementation of Objectives: The implementation of the objectives of the European Union is done by all three communities of the union (i) European Coal and Steel Community fundamentally responsible for matters of the supply, prices and wages of steel. (ii) European Automatic Energy Community is responsible for the procedure shared research in the field of atomic energy (iii) European Community looks after the economies of member nations and tries that the unification of all the fields of the economy into one community can be done. Its purview includes independent distribution of goods and labour, freedom of services, freedom of institutions, independent distribution of capital, economic

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and exchange policy, agriculture policy, transportation policy, environment policy, research and the regulation of technology.

Institutions of the Union

(i) **Parliament:** European Union is a union of sovereign states, still it has its own parliament. The people of the 15 member countries elect the members of the parliament in direct elections. The system of direct elections started in 1979. Its members are elected for 5 years. At this time, there are 626 members in European Parliament. Out of these 99 members from Germany, 87 from Britain, 87 from France and 87 from Italy are elected. The people of Spain elect 64, people of The Netherlands 31, people of Belgium, Greece, and Portugal each elect 25, people of Sweden 22, Austria 21, Denmark and Finland 16-16, people of Ireland 15 and people of Luxembourg 6.

The European Parliament represents the above 37 crore population of the member countries. It plays a major role in the common policies of the union. It discharges the appointment of the European Commission and can remove it by two-third votes. It gives the final approval to the programme of the European Commission and supervises that the European policies are smoothly made. It provides acceptance to the international agreements, entry to the new member countries and decisions of European Council related to determining the common process of the elections of parliament. According to James Lee Roy ", although the European Parliament has less powers, it still is a unique institution. Being the only elected institution of the union, it can play an important role in the establishment of a unified inner market.

V. N. Khanna writes in international context that ultimately it will be able to frame obligatory laws and can also be the basis for European government or prime minister.

(ii) **European Council:** It was established in 1974. It includes the government heads of all 15 member countries and head of the European Commission. They are helped by the foreign ministers of all 15 countries and one member of the commission. The headquarters of the council are in Belgium, the capital of Brussels. The government head of each member country becomes head of the council for six months turn by turn. Normally, there are two meetings of the council in year. It coordinates the common economic policies and defines the collective tasks and decisions of the member countries.

(iii) **European Commission:** It has 20 members. These include two-two members from Britain, France, Germany, Italy and Spain and one-one member from all the remaining ten members. The working period of the commission is also five years like the parliament. The members of the commission are named by the member states. Member countries elect the head of the commission with the consent of the parliament. Commission is said to be the guard of the treaties. Commission implements the provisions of the treaties. It can act against any member country. Commission is considered to be the centre—point of the European Union. Commission has the right to spend the amount determined by the budget of the union.

(iv) **Court:** There are two courts of the European Union, one is a court of justice and the other is a court of remedy. There are fifteen judges and nine attorneys in the court of justice. There are fifteen judges in the court of remedy. These courts are situated in Luxembourg. Their judges are appointed by the mutual consent of the member states. The working term of the judge is for six years. The court of justice is responsible for the appropriate description of European treaties and their coordination. Court can impose fine on any member who defies the treaties. The court of remedy hears the matters presented by people and trade organisations but the settlement of the appeals against its decisions too is done by the court of justice.

(v) **Court of Auditors:** There are fifteen members in it, whose appointment is done through the parliament with the consent of the council. The members themselves appoint the heads in this

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court. This court investigates the auditors of the union. It observes the income expenditure of the union.

Self Assessment

Fill in the Blanks:

1. The United Nations was created with the objective of establishing world peace and ..... .
2. The members constituting ..... are from the different regions of Europe.
3. ..... gave NATO the title of A military organisation of imperialist and aggressive countries'.
4. Global ..... has become a great danger today.

5.3 Non-align Country

In the latter half of the 20th century, the principle of non-alignment and non-alignment movement was equally talked about which is a central topic of the students of the study of international politics. Although, normal consent could never be made regarding the definition of non-alignment, it is undisputed that the concept of non-alignment is indifferently connected with emergence of the bi-polar international system after the end of the Second World War.

Two events of 1945 destroyed the traditional power-balance forever. Earlier, the main nations active in international politics were identified as a 'mega powers' whose reputations were same more or less. Major colonial countries of Britain, Germany and France were kept supreme in this list till the First World War. The intervention of America in the First World War proved to be of decisive importance and in the later years its importance was accepted in international politics. The character of the Russian state changed dramatically after the Bolshevik revolution, but due to its huge size and historical legacy, it was enumerated in the mega powers. Germany was removed from this fraternity after its defeat in the World War, but with the rise of the Nazis it had regained its status by 1939. Even after many ups and downs, the power balance was maintained between these mega powers through political dealings and the manner of crisis treaties.

In 1945, by the end of war it was clear that the height and power of America and The Soviet Union were very much higher than those of any other mega powers and no other 'mega power' could dream of getting to their level not only in the near-future, but also in the future. It looked feasible to call them both as superpowers. The nuclear weapons too played an almost decisive role in earning them the title of superpower. After the use of Atom Bomb on Hiroshima and Nagasaki by America, The Soviet Union had quickened its nuclear programme and soon obtained atomic weapons. The danger of the destruction of humankind was born after the invention of atomic weapons. For this reason, 'cold war' was replaced by traditional war, and the concept of power-balance by balance of terror, but it would be wrong to conclude from all this that the deadly rivalry between both the superpowers ended. As the comment in an active phrase has been done, the fight was on in the heart and mind of every human being in the world, cold war was thus fought to attain victory in this struggle.

Beginning of the Cold War and Power Struggle

In reality, the inception of the Cold War had occurred about a quarter century before 1945. After the success of communist revolution in Russia, a nation-state emerged which could not be compared to any other nation-state. According to the Marxist-Communist approach, the defined national interests were very different from traditional national interests. All the capitalist-imperialist countries united in order to discipline this communist state which was determined to change the international system, to

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force it to stand in a defensive position through least enclosure. In order to intervene in Russia after 1917', White Armies' inspired and supported by foreign countries were sent and though later after their failure, the western European nations had to compromise with Lenin-Stalin, the basic clash of two ideologies remained. It should be added here that the clash was not a mere abstract, principle conflict but was a challenge to choose from two completely different options of economic growth and social organisation. With this, there was the confusion of imposing that political system as per which political resources could be undisturbed.

During the Second World War, Nazi Germany was considered to be a danger by America, Britain and France along with The Soviet Union for their existence and a collective military front with ally nations was formed. After defeating Germany and its treaty ally Japan, the fact was not hidden from anyone that the friendship due to common enemy could not go on for a longer time.

After the end of war in 1945, the Soviet Union's Red army had invaded the critical parts of Europe. It had set its base in Berlin after freeing it from Nazi dictatorship. America and the western countries started to realise the danger that the Russian is not going to return now and Stalin would try to expand the boundary of Soviet kingdom to Germany. Apart from this, it was difficult to ignore the fact that the conditions in the war-torn Europe were such that the spread of communist ideology was very easy from them. Prices were touching the sky, the threat of drought was looming due to the difficulties of grains, there were no possibilities to be seen that millions of European youth would get employment in the near future. The mindsets of the soldiers who returned after defeat had become a tension increasing typhus fever of depression, aggression and dissatisfaction. The Americans had started campaign called **Marshall Plan** to deal with these problems. Russians were unaware of all of this. Their very first effort was to prevent the American-European influence (economic and cultural) from entering their effective region. Its result was that in a few months an invisible border line was drawn in between Berlin, crossing which was not easy. The British prime minister at that time **Winston Churchill** rightly commented on it and named it as an '**iron curtain**'.

It is evident that America was not ready to accept this changed situation. It had realistic awareness of the fact that its companion treaty allies, Britain and France were not in a condition to challenge the reckless expansionist efforts. So it adopted the strategy of global enclosure to control it itself. An inseparable part of this strategy was the creation of military organisations. First of all, **North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO)** was posted for this job and soon **Central European Treaty Organisation (CENTO**) was formed. A similar regional military organisation was created in south-east Asia which is known as SEATO. The Soviet Union started the military organisations of supporting communist nation to face the western capitalist enclosure, out of which the **Warsaw Treaty** is most notable.

The attitude of the American Foreign Minister was, John Foster Dulles was very aggressive. He fiercely announced that 'Who is not with us is against us' that is, an enemy of America. A somewhat same situation prevailed at the time of Stalin in the Soviet Union.

Example

Any country of the world which was not ready to openly stand and support the communist camp was defamed as a 'tout of the capitalists' and 'next child of the imperialists'.

The years after 1945 were full of depression for the new nations of the world. On one hand, they had to bear the responsibility of their unity and integrity after getting freedom from colonial troubles and had to increase the pace of nation building and economic development. On the other hand, neither of the two superpowers was ready to give them some respite. Both the superpowers kept pestering and continuously kept forcing them to join their military organisations to prove their loyalties. Intimidating and tempting were connected with this campaign. The confusion was even more complicated. On one hand, the possibility of direct clash between two powers due to atomic weapons reduced the chances of destruction. However, the danger that the supporters of the superpowers would send the

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small treaty allies in the warzone to keep the violent power struggle going on in an ulterior manner had significantly increased. Relentless clashes between Israel and Arabs in the middle east and civil wars in Asia and Vietnam could attain a horrible form only due to this reason.

Emergence of Non-alignment on the International Stage

Non-alignment disciplinary thinking was born and developed in this background. The first prime minister of India, Pandit Nehru was the first one who attracted the attention of the international community towards it. The interim government formed in 1946 gave speech as a leader and made it clear that' wherever possible, our effort would be stay away from such power groups, organisations due to which the wars had exploded in the past and the possibility of destructive clashes increases because of whom in the near future too.' Nehru believed that joining any such political economic or military organisation whose particular ideology is represented by some superpower, would limit the independence of India. This thought of Nehru could be easily understood that for the economic growth of India, permanent peace in the world, especially in south Asia is critically important. For this it was utmost necessary that India kept itself out of the ring of power struggle. Indian analyst **Prof. Karunakaran** presented the intent of India with a graphic title. The name of his book is '**Outside the Contest**'. Other Afro-Asian countries also welcomed this far-sightedness of Nehru. Indonesia's Sukarno, Narotam, the prince of Cambodia and Marshal Tito of Yugoslavia and later Colonel Gamal Abdul Nasser, the president of Egypt also gave a lot of support to Nehru. The concept of 'third world' is connected with non-alignment in an inseparable way. All those countries were included and are included in this list of the third world, which were neither members of the capitalist camp nor were include in communist mobilisation. In few years, the membership of the non-alignment movement became a means for any Afro-Asian Latin American country to prove its independence.

Both the superpowers made equal efforts to dismiss non-alignment in the beginning years. Both America and Russia felt that it is opportunism and excessive cleverness to gain benefit while maintaining distance from both camps. Some people called it as such a neutrality which can only be believed to be cheating, because being neutral at the time of choice between 'good' and 'bad', 'right' and 'wrong' can only weaken the good and the right. Also, some scholars pointed towards the fact that it is impossible for a big country like India and for regional powers like Indonesia and Egypt to be neutral in international politics. It can be known by turning the pages of history that Switzerland can remain neutral more or less to different countries than its akin neighbours or the example of Austria can be given which is made neutral in particular situations by the international treaties.

Nehru was aware of all these criticisms and he also consistently refuted these attacks. He had a clear saying that it is not fanaticism for non-alignment, neutrality or maintaining occasional distance from both superpowers in any way. He said that seeing India's national interest, non-alignment is necessary to take temporized prudential-strategic decisions according to the changing situation and to choose better options. This is not any abstract ideological recreation, but a well-thought realistic strategy.

Indian scholar, **Dr. M. M. Raajan** has deeply researched non-alignment and has also made an effort to assess it in the historical context. In his opinion, the following reasons are responsible for the birth of non-alignment:

1. The bi-polar international system that appeared after the Second World War was believed to be unfavourable by the major new Asian countries. They kept feeling that military organisations and the efforts of enclosure of one superpower by another can prove to be harmful towards their own ambitions for nation building and economic development.
2. After getting freedom from colonial tale, the passion in the new nations to strengthen their independence, political freedom and economic self-support was tremendous. They were not ready to lose their independence and autonomy by becoming members of some military organisations.

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3. The countries of Afro-Asian fraternity were impatient to join international politics. They were not ready to accept that they have to stay inactive even after independence or their power-means were unable to influence the international order, that is, they always have to operate according to the orders of some other.
4. Most of the new nations are heirs of pluralistic cultures and according to this their world view was not one-dimensional and inhibitive. Their ordination was fundamentally of peaceful co-existence and they were not ready to adopt the ideological fanaticism of both the superpowers.
5. India and other countries like India also felt that a risk for national security can arise immediately after leaving the path of non-alignment. Those new countries which accepted the membership of one or another military organisation was eventually surrounded by the flames of war. The French started to establish their colonial dominance in Indo-China in 1945. The destructive civil-war/freedom-struggle continued for three decades in the two parts of Vietnam due to the capitalist and communist siding in this region. Cyprus and Turkey, Israel and Egypt can also be mentioned. It is worth noting that, when the Suez Canal was nationalised in 1956, the support of the non-aligned countries given to Egypt to fail the western intervention in that country, proved to be of the highest strategic importance.
6. It was the belief of Non-aligned countries that this policy is not of narrow self-interest means but of collective national interest. Along with opposing racism, colonialism and imperialism, the capacity to increase Afro-Asian brotherhood can be clearly seen in non-alignment. India adopted mixed economy for its economic growth which was seen as a 'third option' in many other countries Afro-Asia and Latin America.

In totality, it is right to believe that the objective of non-alignment was to enhance the independence of new nations in an effective manner and to prepare a foundation for a peaceful environment for efforts of nation building and economic development. No one should be surprised that in a very short time, the number of non-aligned nations increased rapidly and it took the form of an effective movement.

Growth of the Non-alignment View

At the time when India became independent in 1947, there were few countries which had overcome the colonial tale. Indonesia got freedom from Dutch dominance in 1945 and the Maoist revolution in China succeeded in 1949. New China emerged with this change in authority. In the south-east Asia of the Japanese, the military campaign had beaten and removed the European powers, but even after getting independence for different countries, their efforts to establish their own lordship had devaluated this independence. The independence in Burma and Indo-China was actually visible after the defeat of Japan in 1945.

It is ironic that the inception of cold war was done with the end of the Second World War and the Sovereign-Independence of the New Nations fell into danger due to military organisations. Many small states also started to feel that it was in their betterment to accept the care of some superpower. Only some superpower could provide them with military security and protect them from the terror of the other superpower or ambitious or expansionist regional power. This was the reason that Sri Lanka (then Ceylon), Thailand, The Philippines readily accepted American protection and Laos and North Vietnam had no doubt in joining the communist camp.

Notes In north Asia, Pakistan accepted the membership of the American Military Alliance to put India in trouble and took the cold wars to India's frontiers.

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Seeing the strategic American needs, Pakistan was armed with weapons on a large scale—unaware of the fact that it could be believed to be a conspiracy to destabilise and unbalance India.

However, in the beginning years, from 1945 to 1954-55, non-alignment movement was identified as non-aligned fraternity. Gradually, with the independence of other countries, the number of this congregation kept on increasing and the first **Non-alignment Movement Summit Conference** was organised in 1961 in **Belgrade**, the capital of Yugoslavia. A contradictory surface of non-aligned fraternity was reached at this summit conference. A heated argument started between Nehru and Sukarno on the proposal which was to be passed. According to Nehru, the biggest challenge of the international community was nuclear disarmament and maintaining world peace. Whereas in the view of Sukarno, the risk of neo-colonialism was endangering the independence of all Afro-Asian nations. In other words, the Afro-Asian brotherhood which gave strength to non-alignment, appeared to have cracks and also the non-alignment movement started to seem weak and directionless in the first summit conference.

It is worth knowing that by 1961, the concept of non-alignment had become well reputed in international politics and the achievements of non-aligned nations were believed to be important and notable. At first, when at the time of Korea crisis, the situation of a deadlock occurred in the security council of the United Nations organisation, at the initiative of a non-aligned country, India, the commons council passed the 'uniting for peace' proposal and broke this deadlock. The possibility that emerged from this that how non-aligned countries can give a creative option, without coming under the pressure of some superpower. Although no such dramatic success could be recorded in the coming few years, non-aligned countries repeatedly exhibited the amount of power in their unity.

Did You Know? The first Non-aligned Movement Summit was organised in Belgrade, the capital of Yugoslavia.

Self-Assessment

Multiple Choice Questions:

5. The first effort towards the economic revival of Europe was made by the American …… .

   (a) Winston Churchill (b) Truman (c) Clinton (d) Abraham Lincoln

6. The Cold War commenced almost a quarter century before …… .

   (a) 1945 (b) 1948 (c) 1950 (d) 1947

7. The Red army of …… had invaded the vital parts of Europe at the end of the war.

   (a) America (b) England (c) The Soviet Union (d) India

8. …… of India is believed to be the facilitator of the Non-Alignment movement.

   (a) Mahatma Gandhi (b) Pandit Nehru (c) Lal Bahadur Shaastri (d) Dr. Rajendra Prasad

5.4 Summary

- The member countries constituting NATO are from the different parts of Europe. The relations of Western European countries with The United States of America were relatively fine but

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this was the first opportunity in peacetime when America signed a military treaty of some countries beyond the Western hemisphere.

- It is a huge organisation today. Earlier, its headquarters were in Paris, the capital of France but after the renunciation of its membership by France, it is now in Belgium. There are four parts of the NATO organisation:

  1. Council 2. Upper Council 3. Defence Committee 4. Military Committee

- In reality, the inception of the Cold War had occurred about a quarter century before 1945. After the success of communist revolution in Russia, a nation-state emerged which could not be compared to any other nation-state.
- After the end of war in 1945, the Soviet Union's Red army had invaded the critical parts of Europe. It had set its base in Berlin after freeing it from Nazi dictatorship.
- Non-alignment disciplinary thinking was born and developed in this background. The first prime minister of India, Pandit Nehru was the first one who attracted the attention of the international community towards it.
- Nehru believed that joining any such political, economic or military organisation whose particular ideology is represented by some superpower, would limit the independence of India .

5.5 Keywords

- **NATO:** North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
- **CENTO:** Central Treaty Organisation

5.6 Review Questions

1. What do you understand by NATO? Describe the objectives of NATO and its parts.
2. Explain the new expansion and relevance of NATO.
3. What do you understand by the European Community? Explain in detail.
4. What is the European economic community and shared market? Describe its main institutions.
5. Describe Cold War and Power Struggle.
6. Analyse the emergence and of non-alignment at international level and its growth.

Answers: Self Assessment

1. Security	2. NATO	3. The Soviet Union	4. Terrorism
5. (b)	6. (a)	7. (c)	8.(b)

Further Readings

Books

1. **Comparative Politics and Political Institutions**—*C. B. JENA, Vikas Publishing.*
2. Comparative Politics—Chandradev Prasad, Atlantic Publishers.
3. **Indian Politics: Comparative Perspective**—*B. B.Chaudhary, Shree Mahavir Book Depot.*
4. **Comparative Politics and Political Analysis**—*Dr. D. S. Yadav.*

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Unit 6: Ethnic Movements

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Objectives

After studying this unit, students will be able to:

- Understand tribal Movement of 1857;
- Known movements at the Beginning of the 20th century;
- Explain tribal Movements of the Present Time;
- Discuss constitutional Provision after Independence.

Introduction

According to the census of 1991, the total population of tribes was 6 crore 77 lakh, which was 8.8 per cent of the country's total population. Assam, Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, West Bengal, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Orisha, (now Orisha) Rajasthan, Jammu and Kashmir, Himachal Pradesh, Nagaland, Manipur, Tripura and Tamil Nadu are such states and self-ruled regions in which these tribes reside. There are almost 500 tribes in the country. Bihar has thirty kinds of tribes which mainly reside in Chota Nagpur and Santhal Pargana. Apart from these regions many tribes are found in the mountain areas and forest areas of Purniea, Katihar, Munger and Bhagalpur.

Example These tribes are recognised by names such as Bega, Banjara, Bhumij, Chero, Chik, Khond and Santha l, etc.

There is a long tradition of tribal movements. These movements are mainly put into four categories.

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6.1 Tribal Movements upto 1857

The main objective of the tribal movements upto 1857 was to acquire somes concessions from the rulers, that is, the officials of the East India Company. At least ten major rebellions took place in Bihar only during 1770 and 1820. Among these, the more critical ones were the 1778 rebellion of the Seriya Pahadiya, 1794 rebellion of Chota Nagpur and Chero rebellion of 1807. The main complain of the tribes was that the British rulers and local landlords were exploiting them. In the words of **Verrier Elwin**", The main complaint of the tribes in different parts of the country is that they are being deprived of their lands and forests. The lands and forests are as important for the tribes as growth and education. If we take a look at the tribal movements, we will find this matter in its base. Kol Insurrection occurred in 1833 because the lands of the tribes were violated. Between 1789 to 1832, Tamars rebelled at least seven times and the Hoss, Munda and Oraon, etc., tribes revolted because they were being deprived of their lands."

6.2 Movements from 1857 upto the Beginning of the 20th Century

As the claws of the British rule got pricked, the intervention of the British increased in the tribal areas. British rulers had started a rent system and also tried to impose new civil and foreclosure laws. The tribes got angry from the new laws. They felt that their traditional society was trying to be broken and also they are being insulted and exploited. In 1855, violence started in the Santhal area, and to suppress it, hordes of troops were posted. Christian missionaries were carrying out religion conversions in tribal areas. Many people of the Munda and Oraon tribes became victims of these temptations, but dissatisfaction also spread with that.

Birsa Munda, who is remembered as a god even today by the people of his region was a result of this dissatisfaction. He was born in a small village situated about 40 kilometres away from Ranchi and he came into contact with Christian missionaries from childhood. He was even admitted to a mission school, but he did not like the non-vegetarian food there and he came back to his village. Birsa hated the fact that the people of his tribe and region were victims of many types of superstitions. He also criticised those people who changed their religion after giving in to small temptations. He also opposed animal sacrifice. When he observed that with the partnership of the British rulers, the landlords and moneylenders were exploiting their region, he raised the flag of rebellion. He was arrested at the saying of the Christian missionaries. He was punished imprisonment for two and a half years. Drought and epidemic spread in the tribal area of Munda in 1899. The Christian missionaries again got active in the taking advantage of the helplessness of the tribes. They again started the conspiracy of religion conversion under the guise of giving medicines and food to the people. Birsa organised the tribal youths and attacked the police stations. A prize was announced to capture Birsa. He was caught due to the betrayal of some greedy people. He died of Cholera in Ranchi jail. In the words of Bihar's major historian**, Sachchidaanand**", Birsa movement was the realisation of social, economic and religious dissatisfaction. People abused by oppression and tyranny, saw Birsa as a prophet and saviour". Even today, the people of the Munda tribe, proudly tell the story of Birsa to their children.

Self Assessment

Fill in the Blanks:

1. According to the ..... of 1991, the total population of tribes was 6 crore 77 lakh.
2. The main objective of the tribal movement of 1857 was to acquire some ..... from East India Company.
3. Christian missionaries were carrying out ..... conversions in tribal areas.
4. Even today, the people of the Munda tribe, proudly tell the story of ..... to their children.

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6.3 Tribal Struggles During the First Five Decades of the 20th Century

These factors were mainly responsible for the tribal movements that happened in the twentieth century—the atrocities of the moneylenders, traders and landlords, negligence of the administration and national movement under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi and other patriots. The movements had a religious form in some places. Jaatra Bhagat spread among the Oraon tribe residing in the Pathaari region of Chota Nagpur that he had a vision of god and god ordered that". people should not believe in ghosts, stop animal sacrifice, eat vegetarian food and do not pay rent to the landlords." The effect of Jaatra Bhagat's teaching was such that the people stopped paying tax to the landlords and obeying the British rulers. Jaatra Bhagat was imprisoned. He died soon after his release from prison. The followers of Jaatra Bhagat played an important role in the non-cooperation movement of 1920—21.

Jadonang struggled against the British in Nagaland. He had fought in Iraq after enlisting in the army during the First World War. He started a reform-movement in his region after coming back from there and told the people to rise above old traditions and superstitions. Later, he formed a secret organisation with the help of thousands of tribal people and started revolutionary activities in Nagaland. The activities of Jadonang can be highlighted as follows (i) spreading the message of independence among the tribal people. (ii) Collecting wealth for armed revolution. (iii) Composing songs of patriotism and (iv) Organising the volunteer army of girls under the leadership of his cousin Gaidinliu. Motivated by the the teachings of Jadonang, people stopped giving rent and other taxes to the government. He composed songs in honour of Mahatma Gandhi and awakened a spirit of freedom in the complete tribal area. He was excecuted on 29 August 1931 due to a false case of murder.

Among the freedom fighter women, Rani Gaidinliu had to undergo punishment for about 15 years. She had started her struggle against the British in 1932. She was soon captured and was freed after the independence of the country in 1947. She was a 17-year-old teenager when she was captured. **Jawaharlal Nehru** described her courage in these words "This brave daughter of India is that pure child of the Naga Hills, in whose breath is the freedom of hilly airs…..A day will come when all of India remembers her, and give her respect." Rani Gaidinliu had a volunteer army of about four thousand Naga fellows accomplished in Guerilla warfare. The extent to which the government was scared of them can be estimated from the fact that they were captured and a strong rope was tied to her back and her comrades were beaten brutally. She was imprisoned for life. She was freed from imprisonment only after the independence of the country.

In the southern states of India, The majority of the tribes reside in Andhra Pradesh. In those regions of Andhra Pradesh whose borders meet Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa. (now odisha) About 30 tribes reside. These tribes are known by the name of Gond, Koya, Chenchu and Pahaadi Reddy. The people of the Koya tribe started a gruelling movement against the government in 1922 which went on till 1925. This movement was under the leadership of Seetarama Raju. Their comrades attacked the police forces many times, but he was killed in the end by the police. His comrades were brutally hanged. Seetaram Raju was a Kshatriya by birth but the tribal people considered him to be their dear leader because he had worked a lot in tribal regions.

6.4 Tribal Movements of the Present Time

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Many arrangements have been made in the constitution of India from the point of view of development of the listed tribes. There are places reserved for them in government jobs, legislative assemblies and Lok Sabha.

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The Caste and Tribe Commission was formed on 12 March 1992 by a constitution-amendment act of 1990. The function of the commission is to completely monitor the arrangements for the protection of these tribes. A the states of the listed tribes have formed Tribal Advisory Councils, whose objective is to help in the matters regarding tribal developments. 13 Tribal Research Institutes have been established in Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Orisha, (odisha) West Bengal and Manipur, etc. The use of these institutions is done to publish tribal literature and to codify the tribal traditions and laws. The Tribal Cooperative Marketing Development Federation of India—TRIFED was established with the objective of sending the goods prepared by tribal people (especially honey, ropes, jute, wood and substances made from leaves) for sale in the market. However, the tribal regions are still backward as compared to other regions. The traditional authorities of the tribal people over forests have ended and their lands are in the grips of moneylenders. Majority of the tribal people are forced to become forest workers there. These people are living under conditions of economic exploitation due to bonded labour and usury. The contracting practice has corrupted the cultural values of the tribal people.

We shall discuss some of the main tribal movements of the present time below:

1. **Jharkhand Movement:** The tribal people of Bihar demanded Jharkhand state after independence. They operated a tremendous movement for this demand which became violent. In 1989, Jharkhand Freedom Front announced a six-day closure and economic blockade. But despite the call of closure and blockade, normal work kept on happening. The leaders of Jharkhand were assured that an 'Autonomous Council' woul be established for Snathaal and Chota Nagpur of Bihar. There will be 164 members in the council of this region of a population of 2 crores 75 lakhs, out of which 90 would be elected and other members would be nominated by the governor. The Autonomous council will have many kinds of administrative and developmental rights and some limited legislative rights will also be provide to it. An interim council was to be established before the formation of the autonomous council, which was established in 1995. Its president and vice-president are Shibu Soren and Suraj Mandal respectively. With the arrest of Shibu Soren and Suraj Mandal in Jharkhabd Freedom Front Bribery Scandal, the matter of the formation of autonomous council became uncertain.

   National Tribal Organisation had given assurance of the formation of 'Vanaanchal' (Jharkhand) in its election manifesto. The president had sent the Bihar state reformation bill to the state-government to know its thoughts. On 27 April 2000, Bihar assembly gave its consent. This bill was presented in Lok Sabha on 17 May 2000. The name of the proposed state will be 'Jharkhand' which will be made after joining 18 districts of southern Bihar.

2. **Bodo Movement:** The agitators were demanding a separate 'Bodo State'. Both central and Assam governments have made it clear that the demand for Bodo state is not reasonable. An agreement was made between the government and Bodo agitators in 1993, as per which a 40- member council was to be established. According to the Bodo leaders, 3085 villages come under the jurisdiction of this council, whereas the government has included 2570 villages in the Bodo region. No permanent solution has been found for this problem till now. The Bodo movement quickened again immediately after the formation of a new government in Assam in May 1996. The terrorists killed thousands of people. Recently, there is a lot of violence in the Bodo region, for which Bodo Liberation Tiger (BLT) is responsible. They temp the innocent tribal people and motivate them for separatism. Not only did they make the army and the police force as targets of their violence, but have also killed innocent citizens. It is required that these anti-national powers are strictly suppressed. It is also important to give thoughts to the problems of these regions. Till their exploitation is not over, they will not join the mainstream country. Bodo revolutionaries gave assurance of staying away from all illegal acts. The Indian government too suspended the campaign against the terrorists for creating suitable environment for resolution of this conflict on March 15, 2000.

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3. **Extremist Movement in Tripura:** Tripura has been the bastion of extremists and the extremist front is still in power there even today. Congress has claimed that Marxist leaders are joining with tribal leaders to give shelter to terrorism. The attacks of terrorists on the semi-military forces in Tripura are constantly increasing. The administration there is lazy and corrupt. The pace of growth is extremely slow. Extremist front had to face heavy defeat in the elections of autonomous district council in May 2000.

Caution The wave of terrorism cannot be eliminated by the power of guns only. It is required that the youth there, which has become directionless, be appointed in manufacturing activities.

In short, the real problem is how to protect the tribal society from exploitation? The growth of these regions is unsatisfactory from the point of view of water supply, electricity and accommodation. It is also found that the landlords cut more trees than the expected limit in the tribal regions. The cutting of forests has a wide impact on the economy of tribal areas and their environment, the layers and ice are decreasing in mountain areas, because the green region is slowly becoming extinct. The ill-fate of the people living in these regions is increasing from it. The contractors have also corrupted the cultural values of the tribal people. The crisis of values has taken birth in tribal areas, which has worried even the sociologists. The people living in cities are bent on emptying 'the store of greenery' and are intervening in the lives of people in tribal areas.

Self Assessment

Multiple Choice Questions:

5. The followers of ..... played an important role in the non-cooperation movement of 1920—21.

   (a) Jaatra Bhagat (b) Birsa Munda (c) Queen Gidaaloo (d) Jadonang

6. Jadonang composed songs in honour of ..... .

   (a) Jawaharlal Nehru (b) Mahatma Gandhi (c) Tilak (d) Subhashchandra Bose

7. Rani Gaidinliu had a volunteer army of ..... thousand Naga fellows accomplished in Guerilla warfare.

   (a) Five (b) Three (c) Four (d) Two

8. Tripura has been the bastion of ..... .

   (a) Congressmen (b) Extremists (c) Janta Party (d) Socialist Party

6.5 Administration of Tribal India

The British Rule Policy

During the strengthening of their kingdom in India, the British also came in contact with the tribes. A long ago they had to control the rebellious people of the Rajmahal Hills area of Bengal, who had rised in revolt against the Hindu landlords. First, the British were defeated in an armed battle, but later an appeasement treaty was accepted. The tribal leaders were given pensions upto 15000 rupees annually as bribe. The retired people were given temptations of settling in the hilly areas. According to the suggestion of Augustus Cleveland in 1782, the particular administrator of Rajmahal area was

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removed. The local courts under the leadership of local heads were given civil and foreclosure rights. The relations with landlords were broken and the hill people obtained rent-free land directly from the government. In this way, the foundation of the policy of the British towards the tribes was put taking the hill administration which developed as the policy of separatism of non-intervening and tribal areas as a way to strictly impose completely unfavourable laws in the views of tribes. In short, it can be said that, there was a mix of the policy isolation of British rule, which was often harmful and unnecessary, and the inconsiderate administration, both of these had a harmful effect on tribal life. The law of the terrorist tribes, which had provisions of stricter punishments than normally set punishments in the Indian Penal code is an example of inappropriate administrative attitudes towards the tribes. Fortunately, the national government of independent India has cancelled it.
In the context of hill administration, a hill assembly was also formed under the supervision of Cleveland and his successors. Its function was not only to make justice order but also to make and implement laws related to tribal life. In 1796, these laws were given the title of Regulation No. 1 by the government in that year. However, this exercise could not go on for a long time. Inefficiency and corruption entered into it and the Regulation no. 1 of 1796 was ended in 1827. In its place a new regulation (no. 1 year 1827) was imposed in which the hill and other regional tribes came under the partial jurisdiction of normal courts. However, there was also the mention of the arrangement of special exemption related to law imposition in this new regulation.

This system of tribal administration went on till 1855, when the Santhaols rose in rebellion. A regulation was imposed again for regulation free areas. According to it, civil and foreclosure authorities were also given to the leaders of the revolt affected areas in the particular administration. British parliament gave the consent of impose special administration on the regulation free regions through the Indian Council Act 1861. In 1861, the parliament gave the governor-general of the council the authority to legalise the regulations of these particularly administered regions. The local administration got special rights from the listed district law 14 year 1874 passed by the Indian legislature. Now the local administration could make laws which could be imposed in the administered local areas and could make desirable amendments before imposing the other operating laws in these particular areas.

Despite different local amendments, the British ruling policy remained undone till 1919. Whereas at the same time the British Parliament passed the Indian Government Act, 1919. The governor-general of the council was given the authority to impose modified administration on the areas which were believed to be backward in the Section 52-A(2) of this law. In this way, the people of the regions stated in the provision of this law got freedom from the past operating administration. It was decided by the Indian government that in some backward areas, only the amendments in the operating laws were enough, whereas in certain other regions, complete specific rule was needed. In this way the regions divided (separated) as 'partial' and 'complete'. Some of the divided regions from these were not given the right to represent in Indian and provincial legislatures, the substitute members of some were arranged to be nominated, some were given the right to choose their representatives, while a provision was kept for the others to nominate their representatives.

The arrangement for some changes in the Indian Government Law passed in 1935 was done. According to it, the cabinet could not advise the governor on how to run the administration of a completely restricted region. However, as a result of the imposition of the provision of this law by the operating cabinet related to the partially restricted areas, tribal investigation committees were formed in the states of Bihar, Orissa, Bombay, Madras, etc. The British rule policy remained negative till now. Its only objective was to leave the tribes on their own(it also meant exploiting them), while they did not create any problem. The appointment of investigation committees was the first positive step towards revival. Problems could not be solved without being aware of them. The function of these investigation committees was to find these problems, so that future policies could be determined in a better way. In the meantime, however, world war started. The famous ministries had to resign national emergency. How could the new policy of tribal revival be determined in such a situation.

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Self Assessment

State whether the following statements are True False:

9. The features of economic problems are very clear and their effects are very critical.
10. Religion and magic fulfil the physical need of human beings.
11. There has been a change in the tribal society organisation as a result of interaction with non-tribal people.
12. The number of Korwa and Toda tribes is increasing critically.

6.6 Policy After 1947: Constitutional Provision

After gaining independence, a wide democratic constitution was created in India. This constitution is equally applicable to every Indian. There are provisions in this constitution which apply to all the Indians, however, from the view of problems and inequalities of tribes and backward classes, these provisions gain special importance. Also, there are some sections of the constitution which are only applicable to the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes.

The principal background of the Indian constitution gives guarantee of economic, social and political justice, freedom of thought, expression, belief, opinion and religion for the total public of India and designs the growth of the brotherhood of Indians in order to maintain the honour of the individual and national unity.

The basic rights are mentioned in the third part of the constitution. It is an assurance to them that no discrimination of religion, tribe, caste, gender or birthplace would be directed towards them (paragraph 15). This is particularly important from the view of the tribes because , discrimination is observed towards them based on their religion, caste, birthplace, etc., till now. The Dalit tribes too have remained Dalit due to their generic situation.

Paragraph 16 is the assurance of giving equal opportunities to everyone in government jobs. Untouchability has been ended through paragraph 17. Paragraph 19 provides the freedom of speech, expression, accommodation, acquisition and withdrawal of property, profession, free incorporation and free movement. Paragraph 23 pronounces forced labour and malpractices as illegal. Both of these types of evil have been imposed by non-tribal people on the tribes. Paragraph 25 gives the right of religious freedom. Paragraph 29 protects the cultural and educational rights of the minorities. This provision too is particularly important from the point of view of tribes, because tribes are one of the main minority classes of the country.

It has been arranged in the paragraph 46 of the fourth part of the constitution that 'it will especially encourage the states of people of weaker sections, particularly the educational and economic interests scheduled castes and scheduled tribes and will provide them security against social injustice and exploitation.'

According to the paragraph 164 of the sixth part of the constitution, special arrangements have been made to put special ministries for the tribal development of Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa. According to the paragraph 244 of the tenth part, it has been arranged to specify in fifth schedule of the administrative provisions laid down for the tribes of the schedule areas in the A and B types of states. Assam state has been kept separate from these states. The administrative provisions for the tribes here have been presented in the sixth schedule.

According to paragraph 275 in the twelfth part of the constitution no one would be denied the right to vote on the basis of religion, caste, tribe and gender. Paragraphs 330 and 332 of the sixteenth part secure the seats for scheduled castes and scheduled tribes in the Lok Sabha and state legislatures. A provision is kept in it that this system of secured seats or special representatives will end after 10 years

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of the constitution coming into effect. 335th paragraph gives assurance that while making appointments in government jobs scheduled castes and scheduled tribes will be given special consideration. In the 338th paragraph a special officer has been appointed by the president for the scheduled tribes and scheduled castes . Shree L. M. Shrikant has been appointed at this post who is a famous social worker. He has not only played his role with full excitement but has also presented some useful reports in front of the government, which have mentioned the problems of the tribes, and also evaluated the actual implementation of the constitutional provisions. His post is referred to as 'Commissioner of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes'.

It is arranged in paragraph 339 that after 110 years of the constitution coming into effect, a report of the special administration of scheduled areas and scheduled tribes be presented to the president. If the president wants, he can demand for this report even before the duration of 10 years. The central executive has also been given the authority, to give instructions to the states in matters of the administration of tried, as needed.

Paragraph 340 gives the authority to the president to appoint a commission to examine the condition of common backwards classes and give suggestions for their growth. In the autumn of 1952—53, one such commission was appointed under the leadership of Kaka Kalelkar. The commission visited the whole country for two years, and has given its report created on the basis of philosophies of various tribes and their extensive research.

Paragraph 342 gives president the authority that he should select the scheduled tribes from the tribal communities of each state after discussion with the governors of the state.

According to the fifth schedule attached to paragraph 244(1), it is necessary for the governor that whenever asked, he should give a report of the administration of scheduled areas to the president and obtain his orders.

It is arranged for the appointment of tribal advisory councils in the fifth schedule only. A maximum of twenty members can be there in each of these councils, out of which, three-fourths or less members should be the members of the scheduled tribes of state legislatures.

If the governors want, they can make changes or limitations in the normal laws, while imposing them on the tribes. The governors can also make rules for maintaining peace and better operation of the administration in the scheduled areas of their states. These rules can be for stopping land acquisition, allocating land, controlling the activities of traders and usurers, etc. However, without the advice of tribal advisory councils, no rules can be made. Although, the advice of the council is not obligatory from a constitutional view.

According to the sixth schedule attached to the paragraph 244(2) and 275(1), it has been arranged in the administration of tribal regions of Assam for the establishment of autonomous districts and autonomous zones and their own councils. These councils make laws relating to land acquisition, use of jungles and canal water, moving farming related regulations, establishment and rights of committees of villages or towns, appointment or succession of heads, succession of property, marriage and other traditions. These councils make the Indian civil laws and penal codes favourable for local traditions and also edit functions judicially. They can do the task of establishing primary schools, land revenue determination and realisation, and taxation. They also perform the function of giving licences or bands related to mines. District councils can make rules related to the weights-measures used by non-tribal people and their trade activities. They can also prevent or limit the laws of the states and the centre from being imposed in their areas.

According to the constitutional system, these councils have to keep a regulated measure of their income-expenditure. Governor can appoint a commission for the accounts of the activities of these councils anytime. Governor has been given the authority that he can dismiss or cancel these councils when he feels that the actions of these councils can be a danger to India's security.

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It is clear from the provisions of the sixth schedule that arrangements for ample social, cultural and political autonomy for the tribal areas of Assam have been done.

Although there is a lot in the constitution to usher in a new hopeful era in the history of tribal India from the view of spirit and words, but a lot depends on the fact that to what extent is the constitution followed. For instance, the ambitious sixth scheduled has not proved to be effective. The Nagas have not used the constitutional solutions-According to the neutral observers of the conduct of autonomous district councils established in Khaasi and Jayantiya regions, political leaders have entered all of these and they are not able to do as much as they were supposed to do.

6.7 Possibilities of Future

It has been mentioned above that constitutional protections work as a good and useful structure, but it is necessary that its details are well decided . These details cannot be based on multi-purpose principles. Each region has its own specific problems. Their reasons too are different. So it is obvious for different parties of tribal revival policy to have differences.

The policy of keeping in place was followed during the British rule. Hutton and others criticised excess separatism and complete siding a lot. **Alwin** emphasised on adopting the policy of revamping. The advocacy of not intervening in any manner in the tribal areas and their revival was done in his plan of national secure region. Bombay's superior sociologist, **Ghurye** emphasised on complete siding against these conservative and revivalist thoughts. He said that calling the tribes primitive and native is a misleading thing. They were actually backward Hindus and the solution of all their social, economic and cultural problems is contained in their complete joining in the Hindu society.

It can be indicated here that Ghurye has exaggeratingly presented his argument. A tribe is a specific culture of people and their complete siding may not be done without doing any harm to them. Tribal cultures have many good and useful aspects whose protection is necessary. A good policy for them can be controlled (organised) and limited siding. The meaning of limited siding is to accept the need and desirability of the protection of their institutions, traditions and customs. Their origin and features may be tribal. Trans-cultural acquisition should also be promoted. For instance, it does not mean that child marriage should be imposed on the tribes, but is that Hindu tribal custom of marrying later should be adopted, so that it does not only improve overall health, but can also limit the increase of population.

The **Invisible Rule** policy determined for Assam should be explained to its residents in such a way that rapport can be established between the Nagas and other residents of Assam. This can be done through suitable education and promotion.

Where on one side, efforts are being made for the mechanisation of villages, there, on the other side, the countryfication of tribal villages should also be tried, so that ultimately, Indian people can be divided into two main categories, namely, 'urban' and 'rural'. Majority of the policies of the central and state governments have been directed by social activists. It is high time for the role of social scientists in public administration to be understood and to promote the direction of revival policies and ample support between the social scientists.

The plan of tribal rehabilitation should be complete. That is, arrangements for every cultural, social, economic and political problem should be there. Priorities should be determined in a manner that their results can be obtained soon. Our first step should be to get their support for the plan towards the arrangement of a better future for the tribes. This can be done by telling the tribes that these plans are for the betterment of their lives and not to end what they have. In such a plan, the distribution hygienic and economic facilities can definitely motivate these uneducated tribes. With this, necessary goods and such goods which they are not aware of but which can fulfil their needs should be made available to them through multi-trade dealing cooperative committees. Providing fresh fertilisers,

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and best quality of seeds, instruments for agriculture and digging wells, technical training, etc., are related to these priorities. However, it is also true that any plane of change cannot be successful without education. So such knowledge should be imparted through the medium of education to them that they are able to become better members of their society. Also, the grade system should not be imposed in their education but the traditional system of teaching should be used as far as possible. It is a very unnatural way that the simple Munda and Oraon children are made to sit on wooden stools. A blackboard is kept in front of them and they are taught world geography and other such subjects. Unfortunately, this is happening in the name of their education.

After the ushering of beginning work by the states, the schemes of social reform, economic growth and even intelligence development can be considered. It is an excessively complex human problem for which the rulers, social workers and social scientist should work by pooling their resources.

6.8 Summary

- The main objective of the tribal movements upto 1857 was to acquire some concessions from the rulers, that is, the officials of the East India Company. At least ten major rebellions took place in Bihar only during 1770 and 1820.
- In 1855, violence started in the Santhaol area, and to suppress it, hordes of troops were posted. Birsa Munda, who is remembered as a god even today by the people of his region, was a result of this dissatisfaction.
- These factors were mainly responsible for the tribal movements that happened in the twentieth century—the atrocities of the moneylenders, traders and landlords, negligence of the administration and national movement under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi and other patriots.
- The tribal people of Bihar demanded Jharkhand state after independence. They operated a tremendous movement for this demand, which became violent.
- It has been arranged in the paragraph 46 of the fourth part of the constitution that 'it will especially encourage the states of people of weaker sections, particularly the educational and economic interests scheduled castes and scheduled tribes and will provide them security against social injustice and exploitation.'

6.9 Keywords

- **Tribe:** Such races which reside in mountain or forest areas
- **Religion Conversion:** Leaving one religion and accepting the other

6.10 Review Questions

1. Explain the movements from 1857 to the beginning of the twentieth century.
2. Analyse the tribal movements of the present time.
3. Describe the Indian tribal society and the policy of the British rule.
4. Analyse the policy or constitutional provisions after gaining independence.
5. Highlight the possibilities of the future of tribal society.

Notes

Answers: Self Assessment

1. Census	2. Concessions	3. Religion	4. Birsa	
5. (a)	6. (b)	7.(c)		
8. (b)	9. True	10. False	11. True	12. False

6.11 Further Readings

Books

1. **Comparative Politics**—*Jagdish Chandra Johri.*
2. **Comparative Politics**—*C. B. Jena , Vikas Publishing.*
3. **Comparative Politics and Political Analysis**—*Dr. D. S. Yadav.*
4. **Comparative Politics**—*Chandradev Prasad, Atlantic Publishers.*

Unit 7: Political Regime

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Objectives

After studying this unit, students will be able to:

- Understand view of Morten Kaplan and System Theory;
- Explain characteristics of Political System;
- Discuss main Types of Political System;
- Know liberal Democratic Political Systems, Totalitarian Political Systems and Autocratic Political Systems.

Introduction

The study of behaviour science had a tremendous effect in the field of sociology in the immediate years after the Second World War. The study of international politics too could not remain untouched by it. The beginning of this kind of thinking was at first seen among the biologists and then the insights obtained from different subjects were combined and through 'inter disciplinary' methods, efforts were made to study the behaviour of an individual or group and the popularity of this trend increased gradually. System Theory is also called General System Theory and its use is believed to be a revolutionary initiative in this field.

Irrespective of the fact there is no bindingly undisputed definition of system or regime, the main concept of system theory is that the meaning of system is the set of those elements/factors which are interrelated to each other and are continuously functional. It is important to commonly keep in mind the time structure, interrelation of elements and process while examining any regime.

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The names of **Kenneth Balding**, **Kenneth Waltz** and **James Rosenau** come first among the people who adopted theory in the context of international politics. The people who demonstrate this theory, see the world politics as a system or regime whose components are nation-states which are sovereign subjects themselves and whose jurisdiction is determined from their territorial boundaries. It is clear that according to system theory the activities of sovereign states not independent and are conditioned by interaction with each other as well as limited with the structure of the system. James Rosenau considers its description-capacity to be its greatest utility, whereas in the view of Kenneth Waltz, Kenneth Balding and Charles McDonald, new possibilities apart from description arise from this scheme. In the argument of Morten Kaplan, the task of putting a solid theoretical foundation in the study of international politics becomes easier after adopting this approach.

Notes According to Kaplan, there is difference between international setup (system or regime) and any other political setup because it is operated on the basis of those rules and principles, which cannot be compared to other rules or principles.

7.1 View of Morten Kaplan and System Theory

It has been the effort of Kaplan to present international system as a subordinate to the overall political system. In his argument, the models that national doers who take all the system related decisions use to prove their activities as constitutional and legitimate are all based on domestic politics and overall political system only. According to **Kaplan**, all the activities in international relations are accomplished in the national interest according to them. Kaplan divided the international system into two sub-systems keeping this fact in mind. The basis of this division was done according to the national doer and the division of the national doer. If **Morten Kaplan'**s description is accepted, the division of six segments can be put to use for the study of system or regime.

1. International system based on balance of power.
2. Flexible bipolar international system
3. Rigid bipolar system
4. Universal system
5. System determined according to position
6. Prohibitive monopolistic system

On the basis of experience in the real world, **Morten Kaplan** later added four more categories to this division:

1. Very loose bipolar system
2. System with strain hysteresis
3. System with unstable groups
4. System with incomplete nuclear proliferation

Morten Kaplan himself, has extensively commented on all these categories, out of which, only the main ones can be seen here.

System with Balance of Power

The six important rules on which this international system can be seen operating on were developed in 18th and 19th centuries Europe. First and foremost, the actors in this system are those nation-states

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whose objective is to influence the world politics in favour of their interests by increasing their own power. They normally choose the path of diplomacy, saving themselves form war. A thing connected to this is that the security of own national interest is considered to be the first duty of the state, even if a war has to be fought for this on having no other option.

One more principle of this system is that even the existence of some nation-state defeated in war can be ended. All the state-actors active on the international stage remain alert towards the fact that the pact of any one state or states does not become the supreme power by ending the balance of power.

It is the effort of all nation-states that no national-actor attempts to establish principles. Eventually, the nation-states defeated in war can be allowed to be included in the changed role, in the new balance of power, with the consent of other members of the system

Kaplan was aware of the fact that the system with balance of power becomes unstable due to the behaviour of some members and is not able to achieve those international objectives for which it is established. Also, it cannot be ignored that in the recent years, the capacity to decide at national level has declined due to the national organisations. This trend has been inspired by formation of military groups, and treaty organisations. The analysis of the mainly bipolar world of the 20th could not have been meaningful based on the power-balance model of 18th-19th centuries, so Kaplan suggested **loose bipolar system** and **rigid bipolar system**. In the first international system, the two superpowers and the military organisations formed by them as well as the creation of groups by them were kept in the centre. Non-aligned states are also seen with it. The national actors in this system are seen as important components, in which the United Nations and Regional organisations are believed to be important. It is considered good that various actors will play their determined traditional roles in a more or less regulted and traditional way. If this happens, the settlement mediation between two opposing groups is possible through dialogue and diplomatic-advice.

Opposite to it is **loose bipolar system** in which the main and decisive role in international politics is only of the two superpowers. The existence of the non-aligned states is for namesake only. Any national actor (military or regional organisation) cannot be considered to be independent. A universal community like the United Nations does not play any meaningful or important role in this system. The member states of opposing polar-groups take orders from the superpowers and act according to order of positional preference. it is evident that the space for diplomatic dialogue, advice, negotiations and mediation remains low in this system.

International Universal System

It is the imagination of an ideal international system in which the United Nations stays effortful for the removal of war and prepares ground for creative cooperation between the nation-states. The basis of this system is the enlightened thinking of the nation-states of their national interests. In this system, all the members keep a common consent regarding the rules and principles and consider group-interests to be a lot more important than the clash of interests. Due to which, there is a possibility of the success of the system formed by common consent.

International System Based on Post Preference

The establishment of this description is possible in that situation when some universal actors make all the nation-state-actors inactive. It is possible only when a particular nation-state wins the world or when all the member states with common consent, distinguish a new system, according to new social agreement, in a democratic manner. **Kaplan** had a doubt that such a system established according to an ordinance from above can only prove to be unstable.

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Prohibitive Monopolistic System

The imagination of this type of international system can only be done in such an unusual situation where every member state has a capacity to end the existence of every other member state. There remains a danger of its own existence because the capacity of every other member stays the same to it. **This international system can be considered in a way to be the synonym of the chaos of complete nuclear power states.** The growth of this type of system can only happen as a corrupted form of strict bipolar system.

Self Assessment

Fill in the Blanks:

1. According to Kaplan, all the activities in the international relation are accomplished in the context of ..... interests.
2. The main concept of System Theory is the ..... of those factors which are interrelated and functional among each other.
3. ..... structure can be found in all the political systems, whether they are simple or complex or pure or mixed.
4. David Easton has considered functions as the basis of ..... .

7.2 Characteristics of Political System

It is the belief of **Robert Dahl** that despite personal problems among the various political systems, there is much resemblance in many ideologies. The resemblance is not limited to the states or governments, but can also be found among labour unions, trade institutions and entertainment institutions. According to **Dahl**, political systems have some of their own features due to these resemblences. These features are found in all political systems and appear the same because of these only.

1. **Equality of political structures:** Political structure is found in all political systems, whether they are simple or complex or flexible or rigid. The continous comparison of these structures can be done. The only difference of specialisation is there in these structures. In any political structure there are articulation, aggregation, communication, rule making, rule application etc., functions these functions can be separated from each other or it can also happen that their limits in some structures cannot be destroyed. In both situations, although there will be change in the form of political structure but it will still be called a poltical structure.
2. **Pervasiveness of functions:** Comparison between political systems based on structure is only the first step. We do not often get this result by comparing on the basis of structure. We should give more importance to functions than structure. In other words, it will be more desirable than the organisation and membership of interest-groups to know how the interests are conveyed, which organisations take part in this function and what kind of interests do they convey. David Easton has believed the functions only to be the basis of analysis. It divides the concept of political systems into "input" which he divides into demand and completion and "output" in which the authority decisions and policies come. Easton has formed his principle on the basis of three functions—demand, completion and policies.
3. **Diversity of political structure:** Political systems perform diverse types of functions. If we examine the developments which have happened in the political science of the past 50 years, we will see that the speciality of today's political structures is that each of their part does not perform only one function but performs more than one function. It is said that the legislative makes the laws, the executive implements them and the judiciary explains them. But the

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reality is that all three perform each other's functions. They perform administrative and judicial functions along with creating legislations. The best example of functional diversity can be found in the 'Principles of Barriers and Balance' in the constitution of America. Although the president of America is the head of the executive, he also takes part in policy formulation because governors are appointed as per his orders and he has the special power of veto over them. Congress not only performs policy formulation, but also functions in the executive through appointments and confirmation of policies. It means that without functional-diversity, it is impossible to keep political structures separate from each other.

4. **Mixed form of political structures:** No political system is pure. All the political systems are mixed. None of the political systems are completely historic or completely modern. Political systems are mixed forms of both traditional and modern thoughts, institutions, that is, political culture.

Example The administration of America is a mixture of democratic, presidential, federal and work-specialisation principles.

5. **Unequal ownership of political resources:** In each political system,there is unequal distribution of political resources among the individuals. By political resources we mean those resources through which one person affects the behaviours of other persons. In this way, wealth, resource, information, intimidation of force, employment, friendship, social status, authority of policy creation, voting right, etc., can be included. According to Robert Dahl, there are four reasons for unequal distribution of political resources- (i) Specialisation—specialisation of functions creates differences among political functions. (ii) Experience —surplus or deficiency of experience creates differences among political functions. (iii) Inheritance—those people who start their lives with more resources have greater reach and their control on the political resources is higher. (iv) Inspiration —the difference in inspiration creates differences in control of resources.

6. **Effort of political influence:** Some people in politics are more effortful to effect the government's policies, rules and decisions. The capacity to effect the administrative policies, rules and decisions is named political influence. People do not achieve political influence for themselves only, they try to achieve it so that they can achieve other objectives easily through political influence.

7. **Unequal distribution of political influence:** Political influence is distributed unequally in political system. Some people have more political resources with which they can affect the government and it becomes easy for them to influence the government whenever they want. Those people who have more effect on government can control more political resources through this influence. Inequality of influence is an important feature of the system which is found since ages.

8. **Following of continuously opposite goals and its solution:** Some people in each political system follow continuously opposite goals and it is tried by the government of the system to solve this apart from other resources. Opposition and consensus is a necessary aspect of every political system.

9. **Acquiring of legitimacy:** The leaders of the political system try that whenever government resources are used to deal with a problem, those decisions should be obeyed by the people not only from fear of violence, punishment or force but also with the feeling that it is ideally correct and it is fine to follow them. This feeling that the structures, processes, functions, decisions, policies, authorities and leaders are correct, without noticing in which context it is, is called legitimacy.

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10. **Development of ideology:** The leaders of political systems adopt such permanent and unified principles which can prove their leadership in the system as clear and suitable. Leaders develop ideology so that their leadership can attain legitimacy or they could convert their influence into monopoly.

Did You Know? A group of principles is called ideology.

11. **Effect of other political systems:** The existence of other systems affects the behaviour of political systems. Political system is not alone in the same way man is not alone. Political system is situated in society and society keeps on affecting its activities.

12. **Effect of change:** There is change in all the political systems. Change is an eternal rule of nature. Political system is not free from this rule. Monarchy in aristocracy, aristocracy in rich system, rich system in democracy and so on the systems keep on getting affected in this way.

Self Assessment

Multiple Choice Questions:

5. The capacity to affect political policies, rules and decisions is called ..... influence.

   (a) social (b) political (c) religious (d) psychological

6. The disparity of influence is an important matter of ....., which is found since ages.

   (a) system (b) resource (c) control (d) change

7. The group of principles is called ..... .

   (a) social stream (b) personality (c) ideology (d) state stream

8. There is ..... in all political systems.

   control (b) change (c) accomplishment (d) rule

7.3 Main Types of Political System

Not only formal political institutions are included in the political system but also every kind of political activity of the society is contained in it.

From **Plato** and **Aristotle** to the various political thinkers of today have expressed their thoughts on the division of political system. Aristotle has divided the political system on two bases— (i) the sovereignty in the state is contained in how many people and (ii) what is the objective of the state? According to Aristotle, monarchy, aristocracy and democracy are the common forms of administration; autocratic monarchy, oligarchy and demagogy are their corrupted forms.

Montesquieu, a French thinker of the 18th century has told about the following three types of political system—democracy, monarchy and autocratic regime. **Bluntschli** classified (i) Monarchy (ii) Aristocracy (iii) Democracy (iv)Religious regime as the kinds of political systems.

Marriott divides the political systems on the following three principles: (a) **Distribution of the powers of the administration—**he has made two distinctions of states on this basis : unitary, and federal. (b) **Nature of the constitution—**there are two kinds of states on this basis : flexible and rigid. (c) **The relations of the legislature and executive—** on this basis, there are two forms of governance-parliamentary and presidential.

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Almond and **Powell** have divided 'political system' on the basis of structural differentiation and cultural alignment in the following three sections: (i) primitive system (ii) traditional system and (iii) modern system.

We can widely divide the 'political systems' into the following kinds:

Liberal Democratic Political Systems

13. Totalitarian Political Systems
14. Autocratic Political Systems

7.4 Liberal Democratic Political Systems

The main characteristics of liberal democratic political systems are as follows:

1. There are more than one political party. The parties can freely compete with each other for political power.
2. The competition for power does not happen in a hidden manner but instead happens with openness. This competition happens on the basis of an established and accepted manner.
3. The elections or appointments on the posts related to authority happen in a relatively open manner.
4. Elections occur time-to-time based on overall voting rights.
5. The effective groups get an opportunity to work in order to influence the government decisions. The strict control of the government is not there on groups such as trade unions and other self-serving societies or councils.
6. Freedom of expression and religion and the citizen freedoms of not being made a prisoner by a despotic manner are recognised by the government and the government protects them.
7. The judiciary is independent.

Caution The government does not have monopoly over public contact mediums of television, radio, newspaper. They also have the freedom to criticise the government subject to certain limits.

Many dangers are contained in this account of features of the liberal democratic political systems. There is two-party competition method in South Africa but it cannot be definitely said the citizen freedoms are protected with more passion as compared to Tanzania, a country with only a single effective political party. It can also be asked that does the competition field expand in reality with more than one party taking part in administrative authority; Or does it indicate that there is a struggle between two or more political noblemen sections. The important question is that the judiciary is free from the control of government to what extent or the public contact medium is independent to what extent. It is the saying of **J. Blondell** that "it is difficult to define a liberalist democracy because the difficult implementation of the major sub-parts(independent elections, existence of opposing party, etc.) of the constituted order seems excessively complex." But despite these problems, the political systems of countries like Britain, America, France, West Germany, Sweden ,India, etc., can be kept in the liberal democratic class without any problem.

Notes

Self Assessment

State whether the following statements are True False:

9. Political system is not alone in the same way as human being is not alone.
10. Political system is not situated in the society.
11. Change is the eternal rule of nature.
12. Elections are not held on time due to overall voting rights.

7.5 Totalitarian Political Systems

The following features of totalitarian political systems can be mentioned:

1. The government is politically obligated with all the aspects of fundamental individual and social activities.
2. Only one party is politically or constitutionally effective. All the political activity goes through its medium and only the party presents the basis for competition, appointments and opposition.
3. Fundamentally, there is only one clear ideology which regulates the complete political activity in that system.
4. Government has strict control over the mediums of judiciary and public contact and the citizen freedoms defined in liberal democracies are brutally toned down.
5. The totalitarian systems lay emphasis on public activity to obtain public support with the objective of availing a democratic base. The system is legitimised with the public taking part and public consent.

The totalitarian systems mainly came into existence due to the modern technology and growth in communication in the 20th century. Most totalitarian systems are determined revolutionary systems for modernisation and to bring improvements. The religious rule of Calvin of Geneva in 16th century can be added to the list of totalitarian systems. From an analytical point of view, it is unfortunate that there are no examples of totalitarian systems. Stalin's Russia and Hitler's Germany are two precious examples; maybe Massoulini's Italy too can be a third example. The common feature in all three of them was that- the focus on one individual's leadership. However, the totalitarian political systems of 1945—which are mainly the communist states of Europe—present examples of 'group leadership'.

7.6 Autocratic Political Systems

The third kind of political system is the autocratic administration. This category is close to totalitarian systems instead of liberal democracies. Autocratic administrations are temporary administration which are not able to erupt into liberal democracies or totalitarian schemes in the absence of industrial and economic growth. The states with traditional ruling sections — such as Saudi Arabia, Ethiopia and Nepal and modern states with military governments such as Nigeria and states with civil governments such as Algeria and Egypt can be included in this category. The main characteristics of autocratic administration are as follows:

1. Important restrictions on free political competition (political parties and elections).
2. Absence of effective political ideologies such as communism and fascism, although caste pureness and nationalism are frequently expressed on the basis of political oneness.
3. To obtain political conformity and obedience, political authorities give emphasis on force and use of strength.

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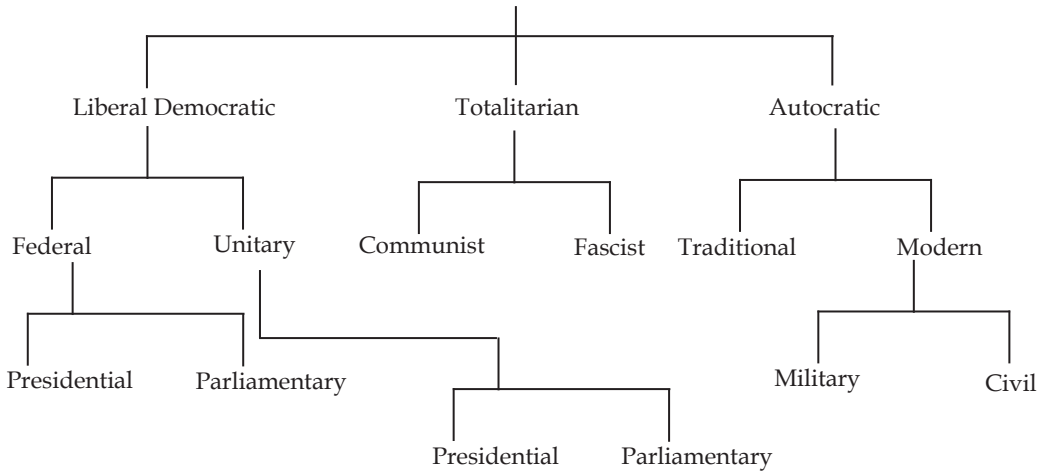
4. In contradiction to liberal democracies, the permission of citizen freedoms is given very less and the government has direct control over the mediums of public contact and the judiciary.
5. It is believed about the basis of ruling that either the ruler should be a supreme person from the traditional view or is a supreme person with modern views. Often, the military takes over the power as a result of the colonial war of freedom or incidental change of rule.
6. Contradictory to the pluralism of liberal democracies, it happens mostly that only one group has the monopolistic control over politics.

Kinds of Political System



Task Present your views on autocratic political systems.

Political Systems operating in the Modern Era and their Types

The number of the kinds of states in the modern era is increasing so much and their forms are so mixed that a suitable division of their kinds cannot be done. Still the effort has made to divide the modern political systems in the following manner- first of all, division is done in the form of secular and religion relative state on the basis of relation of the state and religion. Both the states are divided into autocratic and democratic form after this. Autocratic state has been divided as monarchy and dictatorship and five forms of democracy have been presented in the end-

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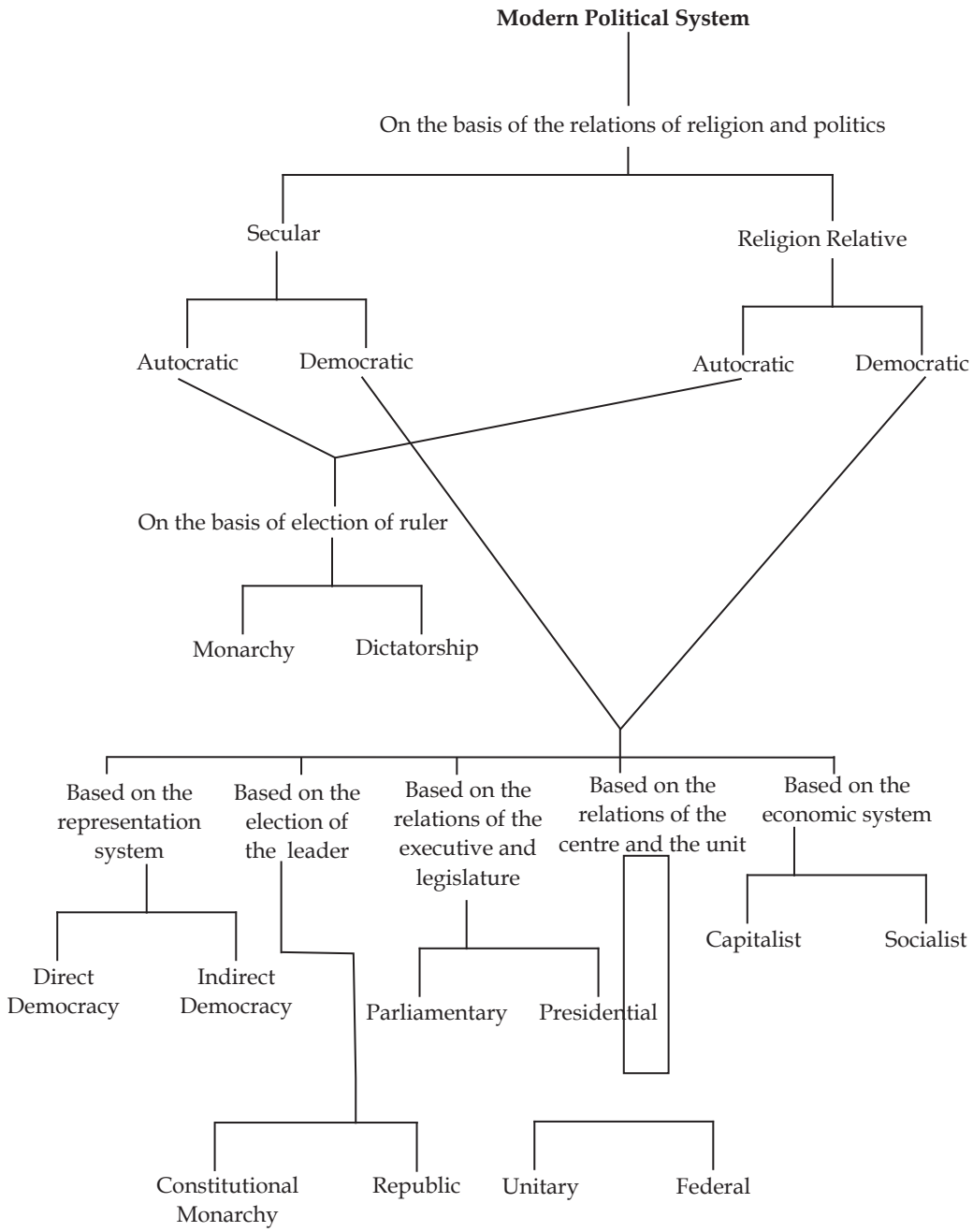

On the above basis, India, The United States of America, Switzerland, The Soviet Union are secular states and Britain is a religion relative state in some ways. There is some or the other kind of autocracy in China and The Soviet Union whereas The United States America, India, etc. ,are examples of democracy. There is monarchy in Japan and England. There is direct democracy in Switzerland whereas indirect democracy has been adopted by other political regimes. There is constitutional monarchy in England and Japan whereas France, America and India are democracies. There is parliamentary system in Japan, England and India whereas in America there is presidential regime. There is unitary political

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regime in France, Japan and England whereas in India, America, Australia, The Soviet Union, there is federal political regime. Based on economic system, Soviet constitution establishes socialist system, there is capitalist system in America and mixed-economic system operates in India.

7.7 Summary

- The study of behaviour science had a tremendous effect in the field of sociology in the immediate years after the Second World War. The study of international policy too could not remain untouched by it.
- Irrespective of the fact there is no bindingly undisputed definition of system or regime, the main concept of system theory is that the meaning of system is the set of those elements/ factors which are interrelated to each other and are continuously functional.
- According to system theory, the activities of sovereign states are not independent and are conditioned by interaction with each other as well as limited with the structure of the system.
- The principle of power-balance system is that even the existence of some nation-state defeated in war can be ended. All the state-actors active on the international stage remain alert towards the fact that the fact of any one state or states does not become the supreme power by ending the balance of power.
- We can widely divide the 'political systems' into the following kinds-

1. Liberal Democratic Political Systems
2. Totalitarian Political Systems
3. Autocratic Political Systems

- The number of the kinds of states in the modern era is increasing so much and their forms are so mixed that a suitable division of their kinds cannot be done.

7.8 Keywords

- **System Theory:** A set of such factors which remain interrelated and functional among each other
- **Prohibitive Monopoly:** Where every member state has a capacity to destroy the existence of every other member state

7.9 Review Questions

1. What do you understand by political ruling system? Explain the view of Morten Kaplan and System Theory.
2. Describe the characteristics of a political system.
3. Describe the main types of political system.
4. Comment on the following
   a. Liberal Democratic Political System
   b. Totalitarian Political System
5. Explain the political systems and their types operating in the modern world.

Notes

Answers: Self Assessment

1. National	2. Set	3. Political	4. Analysis
5. (b)	6. (a)	7. (c)	8. (b)
9. True	10. False	11. True	12. False

7.10 Further Readings

Books

1. **Comparative Politics and Political Institutions**—*C. B. Jena, Vikas Publishing.*
2. **The Outline of Comparative Politics : Politics of Liberal, Socialist, Developing Nations**—*Gava O. P. Mayur Paperbacks.*
3. **Comparative Politics**—*Prof. Ramanand Gerolla.*
4. **Comparative Politics**—*Jagdish Chandra Johri, Sterling Publishers.*

Unit 8: Bureaucracy

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Objectives

After studying this unit students will be able to:

Understand the Definition of Bureaucracy.

- Know the View of Max Weber about Bureaucracy.
- Explain the Features of Bureaucracy.
- Understand the Types of Bureaucrac.y

Introduction

English word 'Bureaucracy' is derived from the word 'Bureau' of the French language. This is related to a Departmental Sub-division or a department. It is often an indication of governmental department. This word was used to either for drawer table or writing desk. The cloth that covered this desk was called, 'Bural' and the word 'bureau' formed on the same basis was an indication of governmental operations. Further this word was used to operate a special type of government possibly for French Government before France Revolution. In the 19th century, its "decreasing use began to whole Europe. Where was seen the self-will, narrow perspective and arbitrarily in the governmental officers, it was called bureaucracy. Gradually, its implied meaning was taken as follow of hard rules, irresponsibility, complex processes and vested interests. After the Second World War it was assumed as the effigy of 'Parkinson Law' which was indication of bad habits such as bureaucratic power, empire building, wastage of resources, indifference, self-diffusion, etc.

Notes According to **Encyclopedia Britannica**'', as the meaning of dictatorship is the rule of a dictator and the meaning of democracy is the rule of people similarly, the meaning of Bureaucracy is rule of a bureau.''

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8.1 Definition of Bureaucracy

According to Robert C. Stone'', Literal meaning of this word is ruled by the office or ruled by the authorities. Normally, it is used in context of flawed administrative institutions. In Bureaucratic organizations emphasis is on redtapism, rigid rules and procedure. In **Marstin Marx's** opinion 'bureaucracy' is the term mainly used in four forms—(i) Bureaucracy is a special kind of organization, especially, this is a structure of the work of the public administration. (ii) Bureaucracy is a such disease of organization which poses barriers to good management. (iii) Bureaucracy is a "large government". This is a huge institution connected to the social and financial system for the good-bad actions. (iv) Bureaucracy is a curse that produces an evil which is harmful for freedom.

According to Michal Krogear, bureaucracy is a vague term. In Social Sciences, this term is used mainly in three forms (i) **First**, according to use, the Bureaucracy is governmed by Bureau. This is governed by those departments of the state in which there are not elected but appointed workers. These are organised as hierarchy. In this sense bureaucracy is an indication of the law and order of rule but public does not contribute in it. (ii) **Second**, the second experiment was started by Max Weber, and it was made popular by sociologists and historians. Accordingly, bureaucracy is Rationalization of Collective Activities. For this centralization of units of production and development of impersonal rules in all organizations are done. Through these rules various functions and responsibilities of the officials are defined. (iii) **Third**, its third experiment is the representation of such organisations in which slowness of work, complexity of procedures, routine procedure, malicious responses for goals and painful effects, redtapism, etc., all these things are received simultaneously.

The representation of the modern concept of bureaucracy is largely done mainly in two respects: structural and functional. Structurally bureaucracy was seen as such an administrative specification in which hierarchical specialization; qualified workers, etc., work features are found. In the words of Karl Fredrick" Bureaucracy is such an organization equipped with hierarchy, work specification and equipped with high level capacity for those who have been trained to work on these positions. ''Functionally the study of bureaucracy is the study of the bureaucratic behaviour of general social order on the other subsystems. Bureaucracy itself is a part of the general social order. In the words of Michael Krogier,'' in the bureaucratic behavior slowness in practice, process complexity, routine, nature and members of the administrative organisation or bluntness environment for serving persons etc. things are included in it.'' Harold Laski considered the bureaucracy such an administrative system in which "desire for mechanistic work, sacrifice of flexibility for rules, delays in decision-making and inhibition of innovation, conservative attitude, etc., all these will remain in effect.'' F. M. Marx accepted ''hierarchy, jurisdiction, specialization, vocational training, fixed wages and durability the characteristics of bureaucratic organisation.''

8.2 View of Max Weber in Bureaucracy

Max Weber was the first sociologists to study the bureaucracy systematically. His contribution had been in many areas in which sociology, economics, history and political science are the major. Both Max Weber and bureaucracy became synonymous to each other. Administration related modern thinkers also had great influence of Weber. Weber's Bureaucracy Theory and legitimacy and dominance theory set the basis of the future principles. He considered bureaucracy as the rational system of the administration. his opinion the best means of bringing a large pair of scales in institutional human behaviour is bureaucracy. **Max Weber** had attempted the classification of power. Weber's bureaucracy theory is a part of dominance theory. Dominance means the official power of control. In other words, Weber raised a question how a person puts dominance the over other person and answer itself that the use of dominance if in any way is lawful or valid is accepted. If we see, there is a special type of dominance from a type of validity and another type of dominance from the other type of validity. Weber distinguished three types of dominance—(i) traditional dominance, (ii) dominance based on belief and (iii) legislative dominance. Bureaucracy falls last into the category. He considered bureaucracy nurtured and supported by the legal power, the most effective form of organisation.

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Did You Know? 'Bureaucracy' term is used for the staff working in large organisations such as government, industry and military.

The purpose of the entities may vary, but the characteristics of their bureaucratic system are same. Max Weber's description of certain characteristics of Ideal Type of Bureaucracy is as follows:

1. **Clear cut division of labour**: In bureaucracy there is a clear distribution of work among all the employees in the organisation and every employee is made responsible for effectively concluding their work.
2. **Set procedures:** In bureaucratic organisations work procedure is fully certain. The actions which are required to fulfill the purposes of organisations their rituals are determined before. All work is done according to before certain rules. Overall these rules and procedures are stable and comprehensive. Special emphasis is on the fact that work effectiveness remains same, purpose of the goal is justified by impersonal ways, that is, under a series of behavioural rules must be under discipline and control.
3. **Consistent System of Abstract**: In bureaucratic system methodical arrangements are provided to complete the work regularly. With the purpose that work should complete effectively, only those people were appointed who had the required qualifications.
4. **Hierarchical Structure:** Bureaucratic system is based on hierarchical structure. In this Superior-subordinate relationship is found among employees. Sources of order flow upstream to downstream. Administrative structure of the organisation remains like a 'pyramid', there remains many stages between the highest and the lowest officers. Every job is done 'through proper channel'.
5. **Selections on the basis of qualifications**: One symptom of the Bureaucratic system is that there is prescribed qualifications for each position. In this, only those persons are employed who are efficient and can do government operations in an efficient manner. Officers of the bureaucratic Government are not only recruited but are also promoted on the merit basis.
6. **Salary and pension rights**: Wages of the employees were not fixed on the income of bureaucratic organisation but are determined by taking care of things like its level in hierarchy, liability position, social status, etc.
7. **Impersonal relations**: Another feature of bureaucracy is that there are impersonal relationships between staff. In bureaucracy, structure position of the office is free from personal relationships, emotions and sensations and is not affected from these. The decisions are based on merit rather than on an individual basis. Although in actual circumstances this type of non personal approach cannot be justified even then Weber's conviction is that bureaucratic system led to the non-sense decisions.
8. **Official Records**: Official records in the bureaucratic organisation is properly placed. Organisational decisions and activities are formally recorded and kept safe for future reference. This work is done by widely using the filing system in the organisation.

Self Assessment

Fill in the Blanks:

1. Bureaucracy is often the government department's ..... .
2. According to Robert C. Stone, literally meaning of Bureaucracy is ruled by ..... or rule by the officers.

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3. The use of bureaucracy started from ..... and was made popular by sociologists and historians.
4. The presentation of the modern concept of …… is largely done mainly in two respects: structural and functional.

8.3 Features of Bureaucracy

Bureaucracy pointed towards 'public services' defects. Usually, this intention is expressed that Public Service Staff are surrounded by redtapism faults and ignore the public interest. Bureaucracy is called that system under which the government officials understand themselves owner and not the servant of the people, ignore the public interest, follow strictly rules and regulations. Virtually, ways of bureaucracy become inflexible, mechanically heartless and formal. They cannot establish their identification with the public and claim their superiority. Finer called it "rule of table". In short, bureaucracy is a specific organisation of qualified and dutiful government employees in which 'hierarchy' and 'unity of command' are strictly followed. **Carl J. Fredrick** outlined six characteristics of bureaucracy which are:

1. The differentiation of Functions;
2. Qualifications for the position;
3. Organisation and discipline of hierarchy order;
4. The objectivity of method;
5. Tapism Red; and
6. Secrecy in relation to administrative tasks.

Following are the major bureaucratic 'symptoms'

1. **Unabated faith in law and rule:** Bureaucracy has the highest faith in law and rule. It was trained from the start that whatever work should be done, should done within laws and rules. In the democracy, law has given the highest authority as it is understood that law is the epitome of public desire. Bureaucracy works according to the law. No members of the bureaucracy can function freely of their own free will. They have to do the work prescribed and required by law or regulation. A lot - there are occasions when the law does not favour anybody but bureaucracy cannot disobey the law.
2. **Authority determined for each position:** In bureaucracy authority of every bureaucrat is defined and determined. He is not in a position to act out of power. For example, an officer of a district may use his power in the district only, but he cannot use his power outside the district. He is the officer of which department he can do work related to that department only, he cannot do work related to other departments.

Example An income tax official can put income tax but cannot take any action against adulteration.

''In Bureaucracy areas of functions or responsibilities are strictly defined, specialized and sub-specialized.''

3. **Technical specialty:** There is a specific way of working in bureaucracy. Organisation that is working for years a specific feature of that organisation gets established and that specialty is known by those people who are the part of the bureaucratic organ. Those who are not the part of bureaucracy for them that feature appears to be like a fortress distinguishing whose

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walls can be a cumbersome task. A government employee puts his whole life into a specific task. This fact gives him a sense of attribute. Trained in a particular specialty, repeating it again and again and officer abiding his position whole life becomes eligible in particular task.

4. **Basis of power is law of state and rule:** Whatever work bureaucracy do, it gets the authority from the government to do that work. If any citizen takes steps against any part of bureaucracy it is understood that he has taken law in his hands. Obstructing work of government employees means to violate laws. With this situation the state government employee gets an armor of protection staying within which he volunteered to work safely.
5. **A group of earning livelihood:** Members of the bureaucracy are not hired in public service so that they have to serve society. Their objective is to earn a livelihood. Public servant does not leave the house for 'Public service' instead they leave home for their stomachs and their children. They are paid for the work they do.
6. **Paperwork**: Management system of the modern office is based on written documents and files. Activities of the office remain apart from the private lives of ruler, entrepreneurs and workers.

Caution No decision is personal related to the office; each action, decision and order is recorded.

Files, punch – cards or computer tape etc. are the memorial fund of the institution which are helpful in the future for decision making.

Self Assessment

Multiple Choice Questions:

5. According to Makrstin Marcus opinion bureaucratic term is used mainly in ..... forms.
6. Max Weber was the first …… to systematically study bureaucracy.
7. Weber considered bureaucracy ……. system of administration.
8. Bureaucracy pointed towards ..... defects.

8.4 Types of Bureaucracy

F. M. Marx has discussed four forms of bureaucracy – (i) Guardian Bureaucracy; (ii) Caste Bureaucracy; (iii) Patronage Bureaucracy ;and (iv) Merit Bureaucracy . Marx recognises that among these forms not even one is fully available in any country. Here we will briefly discuss the characteristics of bureaucratic forms mentioned by Marx:

I. **Guardian Bureaucracy**: This type of bureaucracy works for public. The sense of public interest is hidden behind its all the work. They are the custodians of justice and public welfare. Guardian proposed in Plato's Republic can be called bureaucracy of this class. Marx has given two examples of guardian bureaucracy these are – Chinese bureaucracy (from the rise of Shungkal to 960) bureaucracy of Prussia administration (from the year 1740 to 1640). The characteristics of China's Guardian bureaucracy were:

   (i) The influence of ancient texts in the selection of administrators,

   (ii) Ancient texts as the basis and source of administrative practices,

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(iii) Traditionalist and conservative nature,

(iv) Indifferent to the problems of public interest.

Characteristics of the Prussia's bureaucracy were:

(i) Dedicated in the interest of the state,

(ii) Balanced and integrated administrative system,

(iii) Educated and able administrator,

(iv) According to the values of enlightened monarch,

(v) Unresponsive to the public emotions.

Thus, Marx on the definition of such type of bureaucracy had said that ''these scholars are the officials who are chief into classical behavior.'' This type of public service believed itself the custodian of public interest but this was independent of public opinion and was also responsible towards that. On the one hand it is fair, efficient, work efficient and for the welfare of public but on the other hand was unresponsive and possessive.

II. **Caste bureaucracy:** When the administrative and the political power are in the hands of the same specific category, there is a origin of caste bureaucracy. The basis of the caste Bureaucracy is a specific segment. This type of bureaucracy is widely prevented in countries of minor political regimes. In such arrangements, only those people can be the government officials who are from the higher classes or castes. For example, in ancient India only Brahmins and Kshatriyas could be high officers. Indian King admits only members of high class society for their service. **Vilobi** said, oligarchy, which was long ago found in England. The principal characteristics of caste bureaucracy are:

(i) The inevitability of academic qualifications,

(ii) Interaction between rank and caste,

(iii) The joining of service or post to one family,

(iv) The symbol of flawed social order.

Marx in ancient Examples of caste bureaucracy mentioned the Roman Empire and in straddles examples mentioned Meji constitution of Japan.

III. Patronage bureaucracy: This is a form of bureaucracy in which public servants are employed not on the basis of their relative merit but on the basis of political relations of employers and candidates. In this type of bureaucracy leaders after political victories appoint their supporters on high positions. It was necessary to establish control over the administrative machinery for making permanent victory in election results. Committed bureaucracy believes in this type of philosophy. Its second name is 'booty symtem'. The United States is its traditional home. Such public service exists where appointments on the government posts are given in the form of some personal favor or political award. In the U.S. numerous high Administrative Office working with each newly - elected President were freed and such persons are recruited in their place who have given an overwhelming support in the presidential election, who was the main person of that team or If for any reason liked by the president. This booty system was started in short form at the time of Washington, Jefferson and Adams. In 1829 when Jackson was appointed the President then this small stream adopted the form of Vegwati river erupted and the river starts flowing fast. Patrons of bureaucracy some key features are:

(i) In this not much importance is given to employee's academic or professional qualification during their appointment.

(ii) Commitment is expected from the programs and policies of the ruling party which are supposed to do public service.

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(iii) Tenure of public servants is not safe. They can work on their post only when they are protected by the ruling party.

(iv) Main function of the public servants is to keep political leadership happy.

(v) Administration cannot remain politically neutral.

Task Throw light on "caste bureaucracy."

IV. **Merit bureaucracy**: Basis of the bureaucracy based on merit is the merit of the government official. Impartial and objective examinations are conducted to check the merit. Its aim is efficiency of the public service. Its goal is "open profession for talent". In this arrangement, a public servant is not reeled under the burden of grace of someone and can always take interest in the development of general interest forever. This system of bureaucracy is prevalent in all the civilized countries. In Modern Democracy public employee is actually an officer appointed in the service of the public and his recruitment is based on certain eligibility for certain definite purpose. Key features of the merit bureaucracy are:

(i) Placements based on the merit and to check appointments written exams,

(ii) Security of tenure;

(iii) Salary from prescribed rules,

(iv) Fair and fearless task operation,

(v) In place of commitment for political ideology or policy, conscious towards the Constitution of the country and towards our duties,

(vi) Work is based on the objective criteria,

(vii) Candidate does not enter by the favor of any preservatives so he need not to compress by assuming favor.

8.5 Summary

- English word 'Bureaucracy' is derived from the word 'Bureau 'of the French language. This is related to a Department sub-commissionary or a department.
- In the words of **Karl Fredrick,** "Bureaucracy is such organization equipped with hierarchy, work specification and equipped with high level capacity for those who have been trained to work on these positions.''
- **Max Weber** was the first sociologists to systematically study the bureaucracy. His contribution had been in many areas in which sociology; economics, history and political science are the major.
- Bureaucracy pointed towards 'public services' defects. Usually this intention is expressed that Public Service Staff are surrounded by redtapism faults and ignore the public interest.
- Bureaucracy is a specific organization of qualified and dutiful government employees in which 'hierarchy' and 'unity of command' is strictly followed.
- **F. M. Marx's** discusses four forms of bureaucracy: (i) Guardian Bureaucracy; (ii) Caste Bureaucracy; (iii) Patronage Bureaucracy; and (iv) Merit Bureaucracy.

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8.6 Keywords

- **Bureaucracy:** This is a specific organisation of qualified and dutiful government employees.
- **Hierarchical System:** administrative structure of organisation involves many stages between highest and lowest officers like pyramid structure.

8.7 Review Questions

1. What do you understand by bureaucracy?
2. Explain Max Weber ideas on bureaucracy.
3. Describe bureaucratic traits or characteristics.
4. What do you mean by Bureaucracy? Describe the types of bureaucracy.

Answers: Self Assessment

1. Introductory	2. Office	3. Max Weber.	4. Bureaucracy
5. (b)	6. (a)	7. (c)	8. (a)

8.8 Further Readings

Books

1. **Indian politics and political contexts—***B. B. Chaudhary, Shri Mahavir Book Depot.*
2. **Comparative Politics—***C. B. Jena, Vikas Publishing development.*
3. **Comparative politics—***Prof. Ramananda Garola.*
4. **Comparative Politics and Political Institutions—***C. B. Jena, Vikas Publishing..*

Unit 9: Militancy in Politics

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Objectives

After studying this unit, students will be able to:

- Understand origin of Military Organisations;
- Explain decreasing importance of military Organisations.

Introduction

Regional military groups and 'regionalism' are the main features of post war period. There are many reasons for the emergence of these trends. Second World War, spread of communism, continuous disbelief of the superpowers,Cold War, the obstacles born in the United Nations, military groups and the origin of regionalism are the main reasons for their growth. The term 'Regionalism' is used for the administration of two or more in which the member-states agree and pledge that they will come for the help of each other at the time of some particular action done by an external state or other states. Military action is always contained in this pledge. It is true that the establishment of regional organisations can be also done for economic, social and civil agreements, but the regionalism which is discussed in context of international politics is usually military organisation. Its fundamental sense and objective is the protection of the states constituting the organisation from foreign attack.

9.1 Origin of Military Organisations

In 1945, in the San Francisco conference, serious considerations were done on the system of regional military organisation in the context of the United Nations and in the 52nd section of the charter, the regional military organisations were given recognition. It was said that the establishment of such regional organisations and agencies which match the objectives and principles contained in the charter can be done to maintain international peace and security.

This arrangement of the charter does not appear to be suitable from any point of view. It has many reasons. First they are results of the Cold War and they have increased international distress by influencing the Cold War in many ways. The biggest thing is that it has reduced the very importance

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of the United Nations. In order to maintain world peace,the principle of balance of power was abandoned in 1919 and the principle of collective security was recognised in its place, but these military organisations gave new life to that old and unsuccessful principle.

Notes The credit for the inception of the movement of establishment of military organisations after the Second World War is given to Winston Churchill.

A historic speech of this veteran political leader was given in 1946 in a town named Fulton in America, in which he made an appeal for the adherence of every possible solution to limit the so called iron curtain and to stop the spread of communism. The experts of Cold War in America accepted this view. In the American senate of 1948 a proposal of Badenburg was accepted with sixty-four against four votes in which it was mentioned that", the United Nations should make an effort to orderly develop regional and collective organisations for individual and collective security on the basis of continuous and effective, self-dependence and continuous help". Consequently in the past years a tide of such organisations and agreements has come. The following are agreements which affect international relations:

1. **Organisation of American States:** In 1948, a meeting of the American states was called in the Begosta town of Columbia in which regional organisation favourable to the United Nations was established among the American mainland. Its name is—Organisation of American States. This organisation has a legislation in which there is mention of the rights-duties of the member states, peaceful resolution of conflicts, collective security and economic, social and cultural support. All the states of the American mainland along with Canada can be members of this organisation. There are five parts of this organisation—**(a)Inter American Conference,** which determines the forms, functional-organisation, policy and programme of all the parts of organisation. Its assembly is held five times a year. **(b) Assembly of Foreign Ministers**, which considers the necessary matters. Its assembly can be called in the situation of some armed attack. There is also an advisory council for its help. **(c) Council,** whose main headquarters are situated in Washington. It is a permanent and continuously working institution. The main function of this part is to look after the peace-security related functions and the functions of various parts . **(d) Pan American Union**, which is the secretariat of the organisation. **(e) Specialised Organisation**, which accomplishes specialised functions.

Did You Know? Rio treaty has an immensely important place in the organisation of American states.

The objective of this inter-american group of mutual help is to arrange for collective action in the event of attack on the western-hemisphere or the fear of breach of peace. A secure region has been determined by it from the north-pole to the south-pole, an attack which will be considered to be an attack on all the states and all the signatory states of this pact will provide help in its retaliation.

2. **Brussels Treaty Organisation:** On 17th March 1948, Britain, France, Belgium, The Netherlands and Luxembourg had signed a treaty in Brussels, the capital of Belgium which is called the Brussels Pact. The duration of this pact is fifty years. Its objective is to strengthen the system of collective security in western Europe and to give birth to economic, social and cultural support. It is mentioned in the fourth section of this treaty that if there is a military attack on any of the countries which has signed it then the other countries will provide their complete

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military and the other aid to the country under attack. As per another agreement in 1954 in Paris, Germany and Italy were also included in this treaty and the organisation is now named Western European Union. The states constituting this pact have created a council of Europe formed by the foreign minister of each country for mutual consent.

It is clear that this pact was made against the Soviet Union, till Germany and Italy had not joined it, it could have been said till then it was to stop the revival of Germany. However, with the joining of past Nazi and Fascist powers, its form has gottn clear.

3. **North Atlantic Treaty Organisation:** North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, NATO is the most important. The NATO organisation was born on 4 October 1949 in Washington by the signing of a twenty year treaty by the United States of America, Canada and ten states of Western Europe. Greece and Turkey in February 1952 and western Germany in May 1955 also joined in it. In this way the total member count of NATO now is fifteen. The objective of this organisation is to stop the so called expansion of theSoviet Union in western Europe and two reasons have an important role in its birth—the increasing power of the Soviet Union and the possibility of not getting ample security from the united nations against a possible soviet attack. The secret of this treaty is contained in its fifth section. It is in this way—the parties signing this treaty accept an attack on any one or more of Europe or America will be considered to be an attack against all of them and so they accept that if such an armed attack occurs, each of them will act according to the right of individual or collective self-defence conferred by 51st section of the charter, and soon join the other parties individually, will take such an action for the help of such group or groups as it deems necessary, which also includes the use of armed power for the re-establishment of north Atlantic regions.' There is also description of the development of armed attack retaliation capacity and economic support of the treaty-workers in the other sections of the treaty.

The North Atlantic Council is at the top position in the organisation of which has two or three meetings in an year in which the foreign ministers or defence ministers of the countries can take part. Its headquarters are in Brussels. The ministers of different countries become its chairperson turn-by-turn. There is a central secretary and a secretariat for the operation of NATO's functions. The central secretary is appointed by the council.

NATO has a military committee whose members are the chiefs of staff of the NATO countries. The main function of this committee is to give advice in the military matters of the council. In 1950, for the security of western Europe, the council created a collective army of all countries and kept it under the Supreme Headquarters of Allied Countries in Europe. General Eisenhower was made its first supreme commander in 1955. Apart from 'shape' NATO has two commands—Atlantic Ocean Command and Channel Command. The American armies of NATO were armed with atomic weapons in 1953.

NATO has two main goals—one is the warning to Russia that if it attacks any of its member states all the signing countries will oppose it. Its second objective is to always keep the United States of America ready for war, so that, it can quickly join the war in the event of an attack. It will not take time to join the fight like the last two-world wars, but NATO cannot actually be kept in the category of regional organisations, because it includes those countries of Turkey, Greece and Italy which cannot be included in a region such as Atlantic.

International relations have become completely toxic with the establishment of NATO. The Soviet Union believed it to be an aggressive military organisation and kept strongly opposing it. It helped a lot in extending Cold War and international tension.

Many important changes have come in the form NATO in the last few years. There unification of Germany in 1990 and disintegration of The Soviet Union in 1991 and the increasing goodwill among north-western countries and eastern European countries have put a question mark

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on the relevance of both NATO and Warsaw Pact. In this situation, the future of NATO has become a noticeable matter.

4. **Warsaw Pact:** The Soviet Union created an organisation by joining the communist countries as an answer to NATO which is called Warsaw Pact or east European treaty. At first, the soviet Union strictly opposed NATO, but when there was no result of this opposition then A treaty of eight countries—Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Poland, Romania and The Soviet Union was made for 20 years on 14 May 1955. In the role of this agreement of "security and peace", emphasis was given on the establishment of a method of collective security of Europe and it was said that with the groups of western Europe and re-armament of Western Germany, it has become essential to strengthen own security and establish peace in Europe the main system of this pact was contained in its third section. It was said in it that if there is an attack on any member country constituting the pact then all other countries will give military aid to it. A united-military command was established in the fifth section for the fulfilment of this objective. Armies of all the countries were under it and they had their own supreme commander. The secretary-general and commander of this pact organised the armies after consulting the general staff and distributed them in various countries. It had three commands in Europe and one command in east Asia. In this way, Warsaw pact was a complete answer to NATO.

   An arrangement for close support in economic, social and cultural matters in the Warsaw pact wene made and it was mentioned that its members will not use power and will solve their international conflicts with peaceful solutions. An advisory council was made to consider common questions. It had two meetings in an year. It had the authority to establish other support institutions. Its headquarters were in Moscow.

   Apart from the Warsaw pact, there were twenty pacts for mutual support among the communist countries. On 14 February 1950, there was a treaty for friendship and mutual support between China and The Soviet Union for thirty years. Through Moscow gave assurance for complete help in the event of a military attack on China by Japan or any other power related to Japan. As a result of changes occurring in the communist structure of the world, Warsaw pact was ended as a military organisation on 1 July 1991.

5. **Central Treaty Organisation and Baghdad Pact:** There is a lot of importance of Western Asia in international politics regarding the Suez Canal and oil wells. During post Second World War, this region was dominated by Britain, but after the war, a tide of nationalism came in western Asia. British Colonialism became the victim of this tide. The British army had to empty the region of Egypt and Suez and countries too got rid of the British tale. America got worried because of this that the removal of British influence from this region might result in the increase of the soviet influence in this region. So America had to do something in this region and so this communist expansion does not occur for this a plan was made in which the Anglo-American group wanted to establish a security pact in which the other countries of Arab and Western Asia could be included. Egypt was tried to be roped in this net first of all, but when that country refused to be constituted in it then Britain and America leaned towards Turkey and persuaded its rulers to take steps in this direction.

Example

On 6 January 1955, the prime minister of Turkey reached Baghdad with a goodwill-board and after negotiating for six days persuaded them to join a treaty.

In this manner, this pact was born on 24 January in the form of Turkey-Iraq pact with the order and inspiration of Britain. It is called Baghdad Pact because it was signed in Baghdad. The objective of this pact was clearly to stop the western communist expansion, but its actual objective was to create

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discord among the Arab countries in order to suppress the increasing feelings of nationalism and anti-colonial feelings of the Arab countries. The Arab people strongly opposed this pact because of this reason but these oppositions were ineffective and Baghdad pact persisted.

It was mentioned in the fifth section of the Baghdad pact that its membership is open to all such states which are actively related to the security of western Asia. The object of the pact was to determine such solutions with which the support of different countries in this region could be established in the field of security. Therefore, the goal of the pact was to create a military group whose main objective was to form groups of the countries joined with The Soviet Union in its southern borders to establish the military and air force bases in those countries. So the Soviet Union brutally opposed it. Pakistan was also a member of the Pact. So India also criticised it with very harsh words.

In 1958, the fourth meeting of the Baghdad Treaty council in 1958 happened in Istanbul on 19 July. At the time when Shah Faisal of Iraq and prime Minister Nouri Al-said were preparing to go to Istanbul, the progressive officials of the Iranian army rebelled against the government and killed both shah and the prime minister. Nouri Al-said was a close friend of the imperialists. He had a big hand in the establishment of the Baghdad Pact. The future of the pact seemed blur with his death. The new revolutionary government immediately announced that it had no interest in this military organisation. Now the question was that what will happen to the Baghdad Pact without Baghdad. **Khrushchev** had said during his India-visit that", the Baghdad pact will soon burst itself like a balloon." His saying was true.

But America and Britain were not ready to accept defeat. Dissolution of the treaty would have been a very big political defeat. Therefore, there were efforts from that time to make a new treaty in place of the Baghdad pact. On 24 March, 1959 Iraq was separated from this treaty organisation. In this condition, the naming of this treaty after the capital of Iraq was meaningless. Therefore on 21 August, 1959 Baghdad treaty was named as Central Treaty Organisation. All the members of the old Baghdad Pact excluding Iraq were its members. This organisation remained in existence for twenty years. Iran, Pakistan and Turkey separated from it in 1979.

South East Asia Treaty Organisation: After the Second World War, the government of Chyang Kai-shek and emergence of communists heavily affected the status of the United States of America. Chinese communists started giving support to the communist parties of neighbouring countries after establishing their authority over the power. There is no doubt that their objective was the spread of communism. It was also a reason for the intervention of China in Korea war. Communist China also started helping the communists of Malaya and Indo-China. The worries of the western faction increased because of this. In 1951, Winston Churchill put a proposal in from of the United States of America for the communist expansion of communist China that an organisation like NATO be created for south east Asia. Australia and New Zealand too were believing the spread of communism in the pacific as dangerous, but at first the United States was not that big of a supporter of military organisation for that region, but the results of the battle of Indo-China obligated America to take steps in this direction. In the beginning of 1954, the battle of Indo-China got very intense. The nationalists of Vietnam under the leadership of Dr. Ho Chi Minh critically wounded imperialism despite the American support. When the situation got more intense, in July 1954, an international conference happened in Geneva for the consideration of Indo-China problem. An agreement was made there as a result of which North-Vietnam went to the communists. USA did not recognise this decision.

After this, the American foreign secretary John Foster worked very hard to establish a military organisation like NATO in south east Asia. He made an effort to gather his supporters in this region, as a result of which a pact of mutual support and collective security was made on 8 September in Manila between Australia, France, Britain, New Zealand, Pakistan, the Philippines and The United States of America. Based on this pact, **South East Asia Treaty Organisation** was established.

In the first section of the treaty of SEATO, a pledge has been taken for peaceful resolution of international conflicts and not adopting the way of intimidation and use of power in any way in

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international relations. In this third section only, oath is taken for support of economic growth and social development, but the most important is the treaty's fourth section in which it is mentioned that on the happening of an armed attack against any country in the pact or in fear of breach of peace, there will be the same condition for all in the fifth section there is description of the consideration of all matters related to this pact or the council created by one representative of each member nation for taking advice on some plan. Its headquarters are in the capital of Thailand, Bangkok.

A description letter of the United States of America is also attached with the treaty. It is mentioned in it that the attack mentioned in the fifth section means communist attack. It means that America will give help to these states only in an attack by communists.

If we think about SEATO in the historical background, we get huge difference in the language used in its sections and its actual objectives. In order to understand this fact, serious consideration should be given. Indo-China has an extremely important place from the strategic view, when the communists started getting victory here in 1954 then sadness pervaded the western world. They felt that losing Indo-China would mean the establishment of communist rule over Thailand, Burma and Malaysia. President Eisenhower himself said that there is a queue of south east Asian states in which after the decline of one, the complete structure will fall like a pack of cards. America could not allow this condition to come in any situation. Therefore, in order to stop the speed of Nationalism and communism, the establishment of SEATO was extremely important from its view. There was one thing in the root of its organisation, stopping from going under the influence of South Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos. After 1954, the events that occurred in south east Asia and especially Indo-China, the United States of America had this concept only in their base.

The countries which were included in this pact apart from America had their own self-interests too. First, they were against communism and secondly, Britain and France wanted to maintain their control on their colonies in some way. Australia, New Zealand and The Philippines supported this pact with the objective of stopping the rise of Japan and Pakistan got included in this Pact to get its problem of Kashmir with India solved.

All the freedom loving countries of Asia strongly opposed this pact. It was made to create discord among the Asian countries and to bring western colonialism over them. **B. K. Krishna Menon** had called organisation as the "modern form of protectorate". **P. Nehru had** said in this relation that it is against the charter of the United Nations, it will increase tension and insecurity in place of increase in world peace. It is a kind of principle which is forcefully imposed on the countries of south-east Asia. China's prime minister Chao-En-Lai called it as "a means of involved attack in the cover of collective security". Literally, SEATO was a modern version of old colonialism.

Self Assessment

Fill in the Blanks:

1. The credit for the inception of the movement of establishment of military organisations goes to the British politician ..... .
2. Pan America Union' is a ..... of the Organisation of American States (OAS).
3. The states constituting the Brussels treaty have established a ..... council created by the foreign ministers of each country for consultation.
4. NATO is the most ..... of all the military organisations of post-war period.

9.2 Decreasing Importance of Military Organisations

It can be said in support of the regional military organisations that more than hundred states of the world are different from each other from the viewpoint of castes, languages, religions culture etc. This

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difference of the states is a very big obstacle in effective global support. If a group of such states is made, it will definitely be weak and temporary. So, groups with limited membership should be made which are strong and permanent. Regional organisations fulfil this objective. Nations with common ideology, interests and policies get organised by joining in this system and solve their problems through continuous support, but this rationale cannot be recognised.

Caution When the United Nations has already been established for the removal of all kinds of problems what is the need of military organisations? These organisations spread disunity and disgust in the world instead of bringing unity. They divide the world and struggle against growing of the United Nations as a more suitable world organisation.

Regional administrations providing maximum national security are necessary evils. Security is a global problem which cannot be solved based on region. A tide of military organisations came in post-war world. It is surprising that all these treaties were done in the name of peace and The United Nations charter. In order to establish its rationale, the 52nd section of the charter is always cited but in reality this charter is opposite to the principles and it has provided new life to the ancient and pointless principle of balance. The charter had assigned the responsibility of international security to the security council and that security council remains then what is the need to create dozens of security over it? The existence of these organisations wastes the powers of the United Nations. They are not agents of peace but instead invitations of war. It has destroyed all the possibilities of growth of the United Nations. **Hamilton Armstrong** has rightly written that", the system of regional military organisations can overshadow the global nature and objectives of the union." All these systems are the failure of that political and constitutional system for which the United Nations were created. In the words of **Jawaharlal Nehru**, they do not match the systems of the charter. There is no increment in security because of them but instead an increase in Cold War and fear.

These factions are not a solution for international problems. Their presence prepares a distorted environment of war and keeps on confounding the problems. Till now, a group considers the military organisation of another group as a sword on its head. It obligates every nation to be in the condition of "the situation of being in a war." The member-nations have to keep the foreign military on their land due to them which can prove to be very dangerous for their security, but the bigger danger in it is that international distress always remains because of it. The problem of disarmament too has not been solved because of this.

Disintegration of NATO: The importance of these military organisation has gradually started to decrease because of the decrease in Cold War in the past years. Some events have occurred during this period that after seeing them it is felt that the NATO is standing on the edge of disintegration. Cracks appeared in this organisation first of all in 1956, at the time of Suez crisis. France and Britain had confidence that the NATO powers, especially America, would support their attack on Suez, but America adopted a different view on this event which angered France and Spain very much. After this in 1957, seeing the silence of NATO at the time the Soviet Union's intervention in the matters of Hungary, NATO's members started to doubt its usefulness.

France has been the most vocal among the nations which are dissatisfied from NATO's policies. On 21 March 1966, the French president De Gaulle announced that there is need for amendments in the relations of NATO. France has decided that it will practice sovereignty on its land and will not allow the foreign armies to be on its land. He demanded from America that it should remove all the military bases of NATO from the lands of France by 1 April 1967, because France will give up the membership of NATO on 1 July 1966.

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As per this decision, the French officials did not reach the NATO's headquarters by 1 July 1966. After this the American aircraft were removed from French bases, some members of NATO got worried over this. They gathered an assembly in Belgium and reviewed the achievements of NATO and decided to retain the organisation. After this decision, the headquarters of NATO was removed from Paris and brought to Brussels. France broke off its relations with NATO, but it maintained its relations through finance, migration and planning as far as possible. It started to be felt that there is no power in NATO now due to such behaviour of France and now it is only a formal organisation; but then the Arab-Israel war took place. During this war, The Soviet Union sent a lot of warships in the Mediterranean sea in support of the Arab nations and now about fifty Russian warships started cruising in the Mediterranean sea whereas at the beginning of 1967 there was not a single warship. By keeping a chain of ships in this region, the Soviet Union increased its influence in the middle east in such a way that was never imagined. The goal of the Soviet Union was not only to prove that the Mediterranean is not merely an American sea. It spread its borders to Egypt in the south and Algeria in the west.

The entry of the Soviet Union in the Mediterranean created a sensation among the NATO states in this way. The decision of the return of British soldiers from the Suez east made the situation even more complex. Greece and Turkey in particular became worried to a large extent. Greece even removed some of its soldiers from the Bulgarian border and posted them for coastal security and both countries asked for America's help in improving their navy and talked of strengthening NATO.

In August 1968, the entry of Soviet armies in Czechoslovakia alerted countries of NATO and the nearly disintegrated NATO started to get organised again. In 1967, it appeared at first that after the removal of France from NATO and Britain and America calling their soldiers to return in huge numbers NATO would remain to be a mere formal organisation, but the events that occurred in Czechoslovakia alerted the European countries towards their security. In April 1968, France had given indication that it was reconsidering its decision of leaving NATO. After the Czechoslovakia event, when the soviet leaders forced their authority of military intervention in west Germany within the soviet manifesto, the situation changed a lot. NATO powers gave assurance to take every possible action for the security of west Germany. France announced that it will remain in NATO for now. Britain and America decided to post those military groups in west Germany which they had earlier recalled with objectives of saving some military expenditure. Belgium announced that it will post four in place of three divisions in west Germany. Greece, Turkey, Italy also gave indications of changing their strategic policies. The presence of the soviet naval regiment in the Mediterranean made Greece and Turkey worried about their coastal security. Both these countries came closer to each other despite having conflict over Cyprus.

An assembly of the NATO council was held on 14 October in which Portugal demanded in heavy words that NATO be expanded till the south Atlantic. Italy, which started to make efforts of providing superior training to the modern naval officials and providing the regiment with modern equipment. **Chancellor Kissinger** of west Germany announced in clear words that the presence of America in Europe is essential, America assured that president Nixon's government will fulfil its European promises. On 14 November 1968, there was a meeting of the security ministers of NATO in Brussels and the new situation was given consideration. After this, a second meeting of the ministers of NATO countries was held in April 1968 in Washington. With the conclusion of this meeting , a new proverbial war started between the Soviet Union and western countries. At the end of this meeting organised in Washington, the 'aggressive' and international 'anti peace' policy of NATO was strictly criticised in an broadcast of the Soviet Union. According to the government news agency 'merely taking part in this conference proves that it has not only performed the task of creating inspiration for war but also it itself has become an obstacle against the countries of western Europe and their wishes of social change.'

In this way, stress was created among both the groups regarding NATO but this stress did not remain for many days. The Warsaw Treaty group and the conferences of the NATO members that happened in 1970 did not have as much mention of war and weaponry as of the European security and improving

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east west relations. First, the summit conference of the Warsaw Treaty was held in Moscow which had a major position for discussions of improving the relations with western countries. The countries participating in the conference considered the need of European security to be supreme and also experienced that the goal of European security cannot be achieved without the support of western countries.

Immediately after this conference of the countries of Warsaw Treaty organisation, the conference of the NATO countries started in Brussels which gave a favourable answer to the suggestion of the Warsaw treaty organisation to hold a conference of European security. Some conflicts were undoubtedly seen in this conference, but with the conclusions in the form of a combined broadcast it must be reached on the result that member countries of NATO are also eager for east-west dialogue.

Both the organisations expressed their wish to reduce international stress in this way. It is important that the organisations have started to talk about peace in place of war and it is a prove of this fact that the importance of treaty organisations is decreasing. The European security conference held in Helsinki in 1963 can be considered to be very important from this view. The ministers of thirty five states in Europe united in a conference on 5 July. It was a security conference of the European states to reduce international tension (in which states of both NATO and Warsaw were present). Many programmes were made in this conference to create feelings in Europe which were to be put for consideration in conference summit held in 1963 but this conference had to be stalled due to the fourth Israel-Arab war (1673).

Fourth Israel-Arab war also has a hand in weakening NATO. The western European countries of NATO stopped the American weapons sent to Israel from moving in their regions at the time of this war. It is an event of a lot of importance in the history of American military groups that the flights of American aircraft in their regions and the departure of American warships from their ports were banned by Portugal, Spain and west Germany. It made it clear that the countries of Europe did not want to be bound by America in the interest of their nation. They paid more attention to the import of oil from west Asia and not on the unity of NATO. The European member countries of NATO are starting to feel that the geography of war and peace has changed. Their thinking is that the next war would be fought in Asia and not in Europe. That is why every effort to keep NATO powerful is not being successful and the worthiness of NATO is decreasing day by day. Apart from American-Soviet harmony, the mediating stance of the French prime minister Pompidou and the decision by chancellor Willie Brandt to establish goodwill are in its roots.

Disintegration of CENTO and CEATO- CENTO and CEATO are also getting weak like NATO. Now CENTO remains to be an organisation of a handful of politicians of Britain, Turkey, Pakistan and Iran. The member states did not get any benefit from it on any occasion. One of its member states Pakistan had to go to war with India two times but it did not get any help from CENTO. So Pakistan gave up its membership in return. The condition of America in relation to that of CENTO has become like that of a snake and a rat. It does not wish for it to be solid and is also not in the position to recall its support in the present situation.

SEATO is almost over. This organisation was established against communist China by American inspiration, but this organisation has become completely ineffective because of the revolutionary changes that have come in the relations of China and America from 1971. The rise of Bangladesh in 1972, the end of Vietnam War in 1963 and the efforts of unification of both the states of Korea in the previous years have ended the importance of this organisation. Even Australia and New Zealand tied to America by the Anjum Pact. When America made the decision to establish naval bases in the Diego Garcia islands of the Indian ocean, both countries opposed it with a common tone and demanded that the Indian ocean be announced as a region of peace. In totality it is clear that the old importance of the military organisations cannot be re-established.

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Self Assessment

Multiple Choice Questions:

5. The headquarters of North-Atlantic Council are in ..... .

   (a) washington (b) brussels (c) baghdad (d) geneva

6. International relation became completely ..... after the establishment of NATO.

   (a) toxic (b) strengthened (c) self-dependent (d) stable

7. NATO has a ..... committee whose members are the main overlords of NATO countries.

   (a) state (b) advice (c) military (d) work council

8. Soviet Union created an organisation by joining the communist countries as an answer to NATO which is called ..... .

   (a) baghdad pact (b) seato (c) warsaw pact (d) nato

9.3 Summary

- Regional military groups and 'regionalism' are the main features of post war period. There are many reasons for the emergence of these trends. The Second World War, spread of communism, continuous disbelief of the superpowers, Cold War, the obstacles born in the United Nations, military groups and the origin of regionalism are the main reasons for their growth.
- In 1945, in the San Francisco conference, serious considerations were done on the system of regional military organisation in the context of the United Nations and in the 52nd section of the charter, the regional military organisations were given recognition.
- In 1948, a meeting of the American states was called in the Begosta town of Columbia in which regional organisation favourable to the United Nations was established among the American mainland.
- On 17th March 1948, Britain, France, Belgium, The Netherlands and Luxembourg had signed a treaty in Brussels, the capital of Belgium which is called Brussels Pact.
- The NATO organisation was born on 4 October 1949 in Washington by the signing of a twenty-year treaty by the United States of America, Canada and ten states of Western Europe.
- Soviet Union created an organisation by joining the communist countries as an answer to NATO which is called Warsaw Pact or east European treaty.
- Security is a global problem which cannot be solved based on the regional level. A tide of military organisations has come in the post-war world. It is surprising that all these treaties are made in the name of peace and the United Nations.
- Due to decrease in Cold Wars in the last few years, the importance of these military organisations slowly decreasing. During this period some events have occurred, seeing which it looks like NATO stands on the edge of its disintegration.
- CENTO and CEATO are also getting weak like NATO. Now CENTO remains to be an organisation of a handful of politicians of Britain, Turkey, Pakistan and Iran.

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9.4 Keywords

- **Warsaw Pact:** An organisation created by Soviet Union by joining the communist countries
- **SEATO:** South East Asia Treaty Organisation
- **NATO:** Central Treaty Organisation

9.5 Review Questions

1. What do you understand by the origin of military organisations? Which are the main ilitary organizations?
2. Highlight the decreasing importance of military organisations.
3. Explain the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO).
4. Comment on South East Asian Treaty Organisation (SEATO).
5. Write comments on:

   (a) Baghdad Pact (b) NATO disintegration

Answers : Self Assessment

1. Winston Churchill	2.Secretariat	3.European	4.Important
5. (b)	6. (a)	7. (c)	8. (c)

9.6 Further Readings

Books

1. **Comparative Politics and Political Institutions**—*C. B. JENA, Vikas Publishing.*
2. **Comparative Politics and Political Analysi**—*Dr. D.S. Yadav.*
3. **Indian Politics: Comparative Perspective**—*B.B.Chaudhary , Shree Mahavir Book Depot.*
4. **Comparative Politics**—*Prof. Ramanand Gerolla.*

Notes

Unit 10 : Federalism, Patterns and Trends

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Objectives

After the study of this unit, students will be able to:

- To understand the government System of Unitary, Confederal and Federal.
- To understand the theory of Federalism and characteristics of Federal Polity.
- To understand the modern view traditional theory of Patterns of Federalism.
- To understand the utility, Condition for success and Future of Federalism.

Introduction

In the political system, Centralization of Governing power at the one level or distribution on different level on the basis of this Governing system has three patterns are accepted. First is Unitary Pattern, where as the use of State power centered on at on place, second is Confederal Pattern, where as the use of state power centered on different places and third is Federal pattern whereas the use of state power fined on two levels consisted on center of State Governments.

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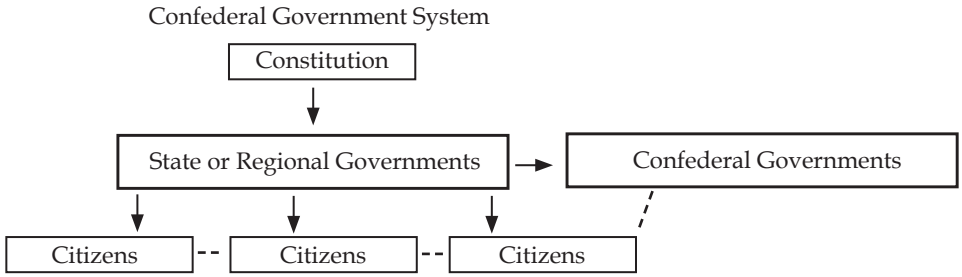
Picture 10.1 : Relation of Constitution, Confederal Government State Governments or Citizens

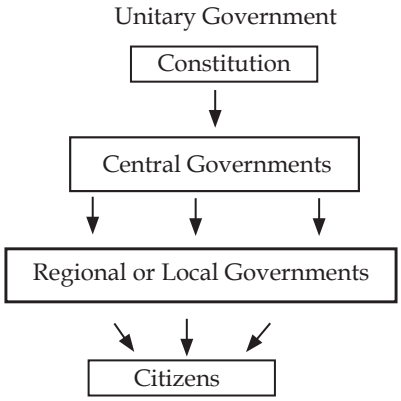


10.1 Unitary Government System

In the Unitary Government System, the entire power of Government consisted in one centeral Government by the constitution and in the use of state-power the Central Government is para-mounted (above all). In the Unitary Government System, Various Regional Government, Local Governments are placed for well-being administrative of facilitation by the Central Government, who provide them necessary power and controlled over on them. In the Unitary System, Central Government is the only source of power and State devotion for the Citizens Unitary state divided in regions and for obtaining facilitation and efficiency of Government, but these regional or Local Governments have no seperate independent of original power. These Government have all the source of administrative rights is the Centeral Government not a Constitution. In this way, in the Unitary Government System, Regional or Local Government representative of Central Government, and these are ended by Central Government. They have muturality and relation is like these Regional or Local Governments. In this situation, State Government obtained a original power.

As Landlord and Servant, in the Unitary Government System, the source of Government power, Central Government or Regional Governments have mutual relations and state devotions of citizen described in Picture 10.2

Picture 10.2 : Relations of Constitution, Central Governments, Regional Governments or Citizens.



10.2 Confederal Govenment System

Confederal Govenment System, is the totality opposite system of Unitary Government System. In this Confederal Government, independent states make easy, healthy efficient service for some

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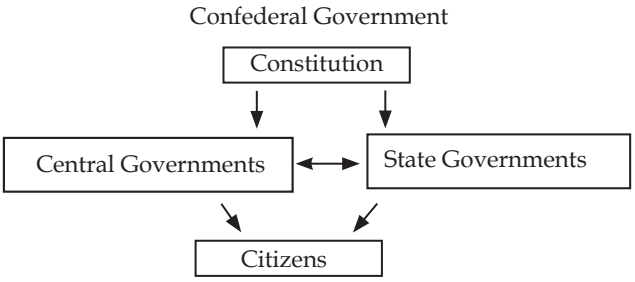
important affairs, established by mutual understandly of gathered States in Confederal. In Confederal Government System, the state power has many independent centers are existed and confederal Government installed for the facilitation of and by these some special motives security, economic cooperation or some resources have collected use for obtaining possible, some powers give to confederal Government. In Confederal Government, Citizen devotions are straightly to own-own Government and Confederal Government relation with them to which invisible. Confederal Government, limited the desires of State Government and Commonly worked as his attendee (follower). In this Government System Confederal Government is not formed a one independent center power and don't say for this Government. It is parallel or similar to the state Government.

Notes Confederal linkage System Commonly the Constituted medium or Source of Connected information of some equal characteristics-Culture, historical, Religious or Geographical, Political situations.

In these situation, the sources of Government power, Confederal Government or State Government mutual relations of devotions of citizens for the state described in Picture 10.3.

Picture 10.3 : Relation of Constitution, Federal Government, State Governments or Citizens.



10.3 Federal Government System

Federal Government System is the middle System of Unitary and Confederal Goverment. In this situation State power is divided between the State Government of Central Government and both of levels—National or Regional Government source of power is the one basic authority or Constitution. In Federal Government System Center, National or Common Governments (K.C. Vaihan give the name of Factors Government into Regional Government) have its own-own original powers, on which they are not depending to each other for the use of these posers and don't going behond the authority areas of each other. Both of the level—National or Regional—Government in the use of own authority direct relation with Citizens and Citizens have state devotions towards both types of Governments. Therefore wonderful characteristics of Federal Government System contained, this facts that it is defferent from unitary or confederal Governments systems but its take the factors both of them. K.C. Vaihan writes very well that in Federal Government System 'Normal or Regional Government' both of straight Relation with citizens and every one citizen lived under on two government. In Federal Government System Government Sources of power, Mutual relation of center or State Government or Citizens contact with Governments 'Clarified in Picture 10.3'

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In Unitary, Confederal or Federal Governments opinion is that it is characteristic of basic discrimination, principle of Subordination. If Regional Governments dependent upon Central Governments, then governing system Unitary, Central Government dependent upon Regional Governments then governing system is Confederal and central Government or Regional Governments then governing system is Confederal and Central Government of Regional Government Co-ordinate with each other then Governing system of different parts afer discrimination of relation system of these three patterns extensive discrimination of Federal Government become unavoidable. Because from the explanation of Federal Government other patterns political power evaluated by the usefulness of them in the organization.

10.4 Theory of Federalism

According to the constitutional point of view Federalism System is the shape of that Government whereas many independent states to achieve his some common goal organise the Central Government and handover important or companion matters to the Central government for fulfilling goals and remaining matter protect own-own separate independency. Therefore in the Federal State one Federal or Central Government and some Federating units Governments are existed. Federal System constructed by the written agreement, that is one form of constitution. By the Constitution or written agreement clear or pre-defined partition done of Governing power in between center or units of Governments. Common and matters implementation of whole country managed by central Government and Local or regional important matter give to the units of government. Unusual powers commonly remained for State government. Both types of Governments are independent on own-own authority areas. Any type of changes in his authority areas are made by one special process and mutual understanding of them. Both type of Governments governing powers are original and existence of both by the one constitution and both type of governments don't depend upon to each other for own authority areas. In briefly said that Federal Government is the dual polity. It is a system of two types co-equal governments and in political system, important and be defined system of decentralization of the power. From this description meet the indication of principle of Federal.

According of some jester, 'Principle of Federalism means such partition of Governing power, In which uses power are defined by Federal Government and remained power leave up for the regional governments. According to this Center and Regional Governments are independent own-own uses in authority areas.

It is not sufficient for federalism but its important that both types of Government have authority areas are partitioned by the special method and remained powers hand over with state governments. According to these idealism, remained powers gave to the Central government then, that system will not be a federal, because without this Centeral or State governments are not independent in his own authority areas. This meaning of federalism perhaps make-up to keep on mind constitutioned reference of America, whereas Central Governments powers wroted and remaining powers leave-up for State Government

Notes K. C. Vaihan said that "Federalism is not contained in this fact that who have remained powers by contained this fact that in Central and State government no anyone are dependent with anyone.

According to some other idealism, meaning of Federalism Principle is direct relation of Central and State Government to the citizens. According to them on the basis of these Federal, Confederal or

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Unitary System can be differntiated, but this meaning of Federalism Principle is not right because indecentralise Government System, Regional and Local Governments are also straight energetic on Citizens. By this meaning of Federalish Principle federal, Confederal or Unitary system have no original difference cause of this it cannot be accepted.

Freeman, Jaithro, Brown, Kanadi, Harison, Moor, Dayasi, Birch, Ville, Davis or K. C. Vaihan, Differentiate the meaning of Federalism Principal from the above all meaning. Vaihan wrote that According to me Federalism Principal is the method of partition the powers in which common and regional Government. Everyone are independent or similar in own special regions. From this meaning it is clarify that Federal Governments system have original characteristics in the government system in the way by means of power division, whereas Central or State Government are not dependent upon each other and independent on own-own authority areas. Vaihan give the clarification of this and wrote for Federal Principal not only its sufficient that Normal Government, as the similar of Regional Government energetic for the citizens but it is also necessary that every one Government limited on its own area and independent in that area from another governments. Daniel J. Iljana said that "federal system organise or united the different-different politicals in such extensive political system possessed from its basis political situation.

According to korli and Abrahim, "Federal is such repetition of Government that is in the point of view United the coordination with variation and partitioned the powers Regional and functional basis. It is clear that Federal System has important characteristics is divided the power and polity between Common Government and State Government. Therefore, Federalism is coordination of different political system and its controlled is genuine or united. If Federalism is production or action of duel polity system then it natural result can said that in Federal Government System basic principal of political and whole society determined or examined and actioned by the way of mutual understand and cooperation that both tybes of Governments central and State existed in the process of decisions and implementation of decision. In the reality Federalism is such type of acting System whereas some of political power and unpolitical powers coordination of such as Ideological, Social or Psychological excetra. Therefore in the conclusion it is suitable to say that Principle of federalism is such type of process who made harmonize in centripetal power and keeping away of complete development in political system. After the understood meaning of Federalism principal it is necessary to understood brief description of Federalism Government characteristics for any political system. Therefore main characteristics of Federal system are mentioned.

Self- Assessment

Fill in the Blanks:

1. In Federal Government System, State power partitioned between Central Government and State Government and both of Government is ..... .
2. Citizens have both types of ..... towards devotions.
3. Unitary, Confederal and federal Government system has basic discrimination characteristics ..... pretended.
4. Federalism is various political system ..... and its controlled fact is genuine and united.

10.5 Characteristics of Federal Polity

It is necessary to understand the meaning of Federal constitution of Federal Government determination of Federal Polity system discrimination. According to Vaihan Federal constitution is that constitution in which Federalism Principal is objected. It means from this constitution polity powers are partitioned

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in this way between central or State Government, both of reside independent and co-equal. In other words that constitution is federal who are not establish the Central or State Government but the source of both of powers and both of limited resided in his own areas, and independent from eachother.

Commonly it is doubt that whereas federal constitution accured, there Government will be federal. It is not necessary every government who established by Federal constitution will be federal. For saying Federal to any government only saw the constitution of federal is not sufficient.

Vaihan opinion is Federal Government can be say that Government from this polity system partitioned in such way between common and Regional Governments, whereas every government is independent co-equal in his own areas between each other. According to this measurement that all Governments, who not working according the principal of Federalism. But its organization objected the Principle of Federal constitution then K. C. Vaihan said for these type of system is quasi federal system. It is clean from this Federal system, Federal constitution and Federal Government not equal. In any state system constitution is federal, its Government is federal it is not necessary. Therefore only say the federal of any polity system when its political system both of constitution and Government are gennine on federalism principle. From this description some indication meet of Federal polity characteristics and in briefly these are:

1. Supreme, written or constant constitution
2. Partitioned of powers
3. Supreme Court

Federal Principle cann't implemented in any Government system, when constitution is not only Supreme, that is demascating of power and keep-up of its supremacy in a mannered for this make a such type of Supreme court who was free from the power of Center of State government. Some idealism considered Federal system have two subsidary characteristics. These two characteristics are—

1. Representative in Centeral legislative as a Unit form of state.
2. Participation in amendment process of States : The supporter assumptions for these characteristics are protect the beneficial of State and make more substantial it is necessary that states remained in Center legislative as a representative and don't make amendment in constitute without the agreement of state.

   Vaihan said that, "Constitution supremacy is the protection system of beneficiary for the states in a own part and Supreme Court represent influential sources for making the constituion supremacy.

Therefore no special importance of state representative in Center parliament and supremacy of constitution when possible in practice when constitution is separate or single and beyond of centeral and state government reach. It means in the amendment of constitution both level of government are participated. Therefore, basic and original identification of federal system, supremacy of constitution, partitioned of powers and both of them solved from one level of government arranged a independent or Supreme Court. This description of Federal system characteristics present this question is in which type of politics or which type of pre-promise present are useful in the establishment of constant Federal system. In briefly after the description can be gave modern indication of Federal system.

10.6 Pre-requisite of Federalish

The definition of Federalism principle clarified that Federalism system does not created in that time when related government politics make the desire of involvement in Independent government for achiving some goals of society, and also make the separate or independent desire in some other matters in such government because some goal are fulfill on the basis of only involvement of new government then can be fulfilled by unitary system and make a goal of separate and independent

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government available in confederral government. but in reality some politician society from many reason helpless to keep up unity in diversity. In such society in one source and with its to make separate or independent compulsion are very strong where unitary or confederal systems doesn't co-ordinate with one time. In such type of politicians society federal system of political power organization, in different parts of society make a earthern-relation for present a good source separate of different parts. Therefore, logistication of Federal system contained this matter that many political society came up with the desires of earthend unity but with its they are possessed with the desire of completely and separate entity. Here, serious question is which are the situation requirements and compulsions who motivated the different-different political Societies for involvement in one government and with its don't renounced the entity of separate of independency the answer of this question can't easy to give-up. From that reason produced a demand of unity or separality they are very complicated and make seperateness in every society. Therefore it is very difficult to say that certain situation or obstruction cause of Federal system. But some common requirements are motivator accepted for the establishment of Federal system.

Vaihan belief in following reasons for the establishment of federal system in his book e Federal Government

1. Perception of Soldier Unprotection
2. Desire of Independency from foreign powers
3. Expectation of Economic profit
4. Instant Composition in political units before the attemptation of Federal organization
5. Parallelism in political institution
6. Expectation of influential leadership achievement according to the need

Billiam, P. Madox also described mining cause of these types. According to him Federal Polity Creation involved following reasons in placing of his background.

1. Who was arisen from the cause of fear, direct efforts of threatening and feeling of deep and prolonged unprotection.
2. Cause of sensible conclusion for the profit and facilitation
3. Cause of any monopolistic through symbol and myths.
4. Cultural, Sociologist or Political development levels or in size very much cause of similarity
5. Cause of Geographical nearness

If see with delicacy then no special difference in causes of both types. Although organised in federal structure of the American states it is to much motivated from soldier unprotection, But can't say about this for present federal system. Such as single state of India motivated from unity and economic profit of federal system but much more it is arranged from the cause of immediate leadership. Therefore conclusion is found out here, that in these causes any cause anywhere, some other cause anywhere and make a motivator of federal organisation. Whereas adoption of federal system may be more important cause of the desire, whereas achieved a honourship in form of separate political unit every expected profit of independency very powerful, political or economic power of big and important state. In back of federal system motive of one from many is established and withits, each of the many where as possible, can said the powerful desire of make the permission of own separate or wonderful political and existence of socialism. Because most of units have separate or wonderful political and existence of socialism before organising in federal system. United states America (1789), Canada (1867), Austrelia (1901), or Switzerland (1848) its consisted units are separate political factors whose own tradition and selfishness before establishment of federation. But in Soviet Russia (1936), Yugoslavia (1963), Jermany and India (1950) before the establishment of federal system these have United system established in any form can said that, therefore can say that in the back of federal system

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establishment today main reasons are may be soldier protection, economic profit or abundance of nationality. Such as in Indian country Federal System can make a goal of Desi Bharat or Princely India and British in a cord of unity, In the end can say that necessities of modern era—Soldier protection or economic Co-operation, in reference of it probably changed the United system to Federal system. In future coming federal system commonly created with a moto of achievment in economic profit and merging of independent of seperate state. Small-small states make a desires to gain a profit of new or transforming techniques but they want own separatity and independency. In such type of state coordination, go-up with federal relation-chrod then become a benifit in reality in Europe E, M, E, C and I975 have 35 states documents of cooperation, West Asia, Africa, Latin America, South-east Asia have different organization and United State federation etic from this can take the such type of indication that in future creation of Federal system mainly bounded from the cause of ideological soldier or economic necessaties.

It is clear from the explanation of logistics creation federalism that federal system establish a such linkage system in independent of separate political units in which profit of United or Confederal system so many acquired necessities are mentioned. In future political system does not prohibited from the possibility of looseness in strengthened with its rapid changes in economic situation causes showing rising a new dimension of co-operation in independent states. In this situation transformed circumferences obstruction are pushing small-big states to the Federal relation system in sighted. It is not over, world political societies have transforming situation from this traditional assumption of Federal are stammered. Now, Federlism is not lifelessness it is dynamism, It is not co-operation. On the place of stability it is considered a sigh of flexibility and transformation. On the place of traditional Federation principle its new explanation and dimensions are in hosted. Founders told these new trends before it the explanation of traditional Federal Principla characteristics are very useful.

10.7 Traditional Theory of Federalism

It is clarified in the explanation of Federalism principle that Net (Pure) federalism is such system in which both level of governments in reference of whole political system, don't whole dependency to each other and don't make whole independency to each other. Both levels of governments are limited in its own area, consider seperate or independent give the sign of mutual cooperation limits. This explanation of Federalism in the feference of modern politics seemed so much incorpatible. Today in Federal political system, some total policy output such as complicated inter-actor transformation result of central or state government in which both level of Governments to take decision (Whether it is related from any government authority areas) in implementation of them, showing too much mutuality, cooperation, participation and spiritness. Whether traditional conception of federalism sign of both level of governments such type pattern of interaction in which every level of government lived in separatity or independent in his own area.

This conception of modern world in every political system reside invisible from the process of complicated decision. Today the decision of Federal govenment not only resided free from state government decision otherwise, many non-political forces or also restricted from activity of organization, do not resided from limitation and influentical. From the exchange cause of circumference Roheld J. M stated the traditional conception of federalism it is possessed by two contradictions. First is traditional principal of Federalism neglect the mutual dependancy of central and state government. It is refuge the direct relate of one level government policy outputs upon on second level Government persuasion, effect and bargain etc. and it is belief upon every level of government. The demands of voters reach in form of independency and separatity. In these demand don't accept any type of inter-relation and don't meet the place of any inter-action in the ideal traditional pedenliasm.

Above assumption of tradition concept don't acknowledge logistic. In reality, Federal Polity such situation in mannered in which both level of governments have cooperation or interaction and resided

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in solid or basic foundation. Both types of polity have relation with similar political society, both types have seperate or independently compulsory after a sacrifice of cooperation, tolerance and inter-action. While this inter action is not result of pressing of threatening natural cause of political system dynamics. It is natural in every federal polity. When in one state duel governments are established then there have basic foundation is co-operation. Therefore traditional principal of federalism separate the both level of government, considered independent or exclusive and done hesitated explanation of principal of federalism.

Second contradiction of Federalism in thought of traditional is that althought it has accepted the difference of federal units.

Thereafter it is consider that policy output of these units are very equal and on the basis of this can say the collectivity of these units. Commonly see here that base of cooperation in units equalization in policy production upon place of this extensive or deep equalness and cooperatiion in basic origin of political system. Central or State government don't give the place of opposition or senseless in any federal system. In reality don't rise up these type of matters in federal system. In Modern political system Center, State and Local government relation with that proverbs commonly. There have only the difference of quantity on the place of type and therefore all government are working in a form a cooperation in federal system. Ronald, J. M. don't say from this reason that traditional thought of fedefalism is correspondent of modern constituent system.

10.8 Modern View of Federalism

In modern time scattered powers of political system and complication in there method of acting the principle of federalism don't resided untoucheble. Current political system has complicated method of acting from this not only a new dimensions are rise up in relation of central or state government but new trends of facts or mutuality make necessary re-explanation of Federalism. Marks F. Freda give his explanation and write here that Federalism is not a chord of liked model or political organization but it is democratic-groups, extensive bureau-creation, many types of beneficial group and it is origin from inter-action elected government of development is continuous process of transformation. In a form of organization Federalism don't untouchable from era necessities. In modern era, new aspects of political powers become very important. In political societies, confusion of thoughts and effect of economic, socialism, cultural or religious facts are make a form of changes in work of Government.

In such situation, in one political system working central or Regional government seperate from each other, independent or limited in its own area , How it can be considered? Now, Central or Local government have seperate area belong to self-respect or independent authority area it have only limited principle are resided. In present time it is not practiceble. Also beyond of this cause, manager of political systems have whole control on the political life by political group, guidness and thoughts allegation, every level of government of federal system that is commonly included in his own that showing deferent colours and become a base pillar of similarity in Centre or State governments. It is clean from all of this that federalism cooperation is such process in which no motionless and liveliness are insighted.

According to Amail R this new conception of Federalism is that in federal system have two types of powers are associated in fulfilling of national motives.

Central and State governments have increased enchanging-view don't make agreed on both of common-policies and programmes but now unit of federal don't rise the demand in his own area of autonomy because today time to much integrated that area of Central or States are pre defined unpracticable. Commmonly both of its authority area considered overheaded to each other, overlapping to each other. From this reason in modern political societies, federalism become form of one movement cooperatin of process. Now, According to traditional theory of federalism principle is central and state

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government separate from each other, independent and limited in 'special area' only considered from the view of constitution. In practically this difference or seperatity to become dull.

Self Assessment

Multiple Choice Questions:

5. Now ..... not senselessness it is dynamic not opposition it is cooperative, Flexible on transfer on the place of fined considered a indication.

   (a) Marxism (b) Federalism (c) Democratism (d) Publicism

6. Federalism traditional ..... opposing the mutual dept. of Center and State government.

   (a) Policy (b) Principal (c) Patterns (d) Nature

7. India has ..... established a cooperative federation in a definite form.

   (a) State (b) Court (c) Constitution (d) Law

8. In Federal Government organised different governments by ..... group.

10.9 Patterns of Federalism

From ancient time to at this time from the studying of federal system three pattern of federalism clearly displayed in use. Any political society have special situation cause of this federal polity can be resided in one pattern from these three patterns. Although this three trends are existed in every federal system, but sometimes from the cause of historical or external exacts the primacy of someone from these make it separate class from others two. Such as in India election of 1967.

Put on garment of bargaining to federal structure. In two world was Federal system of Americas has made too much centralised. We describe three trends on separate-separate way before this it is useful to keep in mind that in these three trends quantity difference is more and types is less. These three trends are—

1. Cooperative federalism
2. Bargaining federalism
3. Unitarian federalism

After the extensive description of these trends can be expected the imagination of future therefore detailed description of this seeing important or useful.

Co-operative federalism—In federal system excute partitioned of polity power don't establish two level of autonomic governments. But in two types of these new governments or polity system have arranged a type of cooperation in which administration run-up very efficient or effective way in partitioned areas. This cooperation is also necessary. Because two level of governments are related with same political system from this his goals are equal. Therefore in federal political system such so many aspects are resided that is connected from variety and autonomy to make its strangeness inspite this inter-regional relationship or cooperation done very necessary. Such as K. C. Vahian wrote that if every regional government fully limited to its own then whole political system bear a loss of different-different rules or control system in many matter and regional government don't met the profit of each other experience from this cause or work-efficiency become very less. It is cause that in every federal system arranged institution of cooperative government in the constitution or these type of cooperative institution are developed as a form of traditions. It is necessary to clarify here that this cooperation not between Central or Regional government. It also showed inbetween various regional government and counters political composition.

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Various beneficial-group or other organization organizations are surrounded across the boundary of regional governments and both level of government have and in various regional government become a strong foundation of inter-action. It is clear from this cooperation Federal system not limited on government level but it is influential on non-government.

America, Australia, Canada and studying the federal system of India from this conclusion is clearly in fronted that characteristic of coopration is consisted in federal system. In Australia annual conference of inter-provincial conference, premiers conference and loan conference, governor conference in America, dominion-provincial conference in Canada and conference of main minsters, Governors or regional council in india, are medium of inter-cooperation in central or regional governments. In India federal system present good example of establishment of very hard mutuality, mutual exchange of view and continuous communication in both level of governments. In India arranged many institution of cooperation by the constitution in which establishment of proper political environment to be existed and whole federal political system received refreshing soul for their nurturing. Constitution of Inida is definetly set up a cooperative federal. In the constitution of India also arranged many such sources in which mutuality in various state governments and completed the process of inter-action in Center and State governments.

Example

Finance Commission, inter-state councils, Regional councils, Planning commission, National development council, conference of chief minister and other ministers and conference of Governors etc. are such medium who are the dense symbol of mutual cooperation in Central or State government and may state government of Indian federal system.

Grainviel Austin given the name 'Coperative Federalism' for Indian federalism from the causes of these systems.

If federal structure is set up of many government in one political system then these governments never don't resided from definite seperatity of each other movements. Main cause of this all governments of federal in one political system engrossed. In solution of equal problem of the citizens. Therefore federal system in one political system is one such process of cooperation whereas various cultures, institutions, regards or destructive powers are resided on the base of density or institutional cooperation. This prodedured arrangement of cooperation don't arranged by constitution then in every federal polity on the basis of these experience or necessities are developed in form of convertions. In hard situation of modern era, perhaps federal system have tendancy of dense cooperation don't save the federal system from breely. Modern political mas wants seperatity, autonomy, independency in many area then make a hope of mutuality in many area. Federal system also present the structure of co-existence in these two mutual senseless desire, requirements of economic development, protection or obstruction of international ego, are initiator of cooperative tendency in federal systems.

Bargaining federalism: In federal polity the struction of various government by political groups. Newly political system have new experience in Asia and Africa make not grantable of western federal patterns, western federal system give a form of work and slowly-slowly dual group systems are developed and these groups have common agreement in origin or basic principles from cause of this in political system. All political groups are agreed on rules of political played. These groups made assembling powers in between of various government in federal system.

Federal system of America and Australia seeing very cooperative or hard from the cause of cement group. But after Second World War, in fined federal system specially new states of Asia or Africa have new pattern of group system developed. In these states such groups are developed who keep two levels of neutrality. From these some groups are organized on national level and so many groups are on

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areas or Regional level. In federal system the expectation or opportunity causes for power receiving in regional basis so many groups are against from National beneficial take a support of bargaining politics. In these states communication in citizen and political groups on the base of programmatic upon the place of dense basic principle. It is not over in such federalism system. Competition of power, efforts for the support of people on the base of hesitated or Regional wise group are success to achieving a power on Regional level. Therefore in one political system two levels governments come in control of such groups in which there is no boundation of achieving mutual national goals. In such situation it is possible that control on federal government by the group seperate from them make a supremacy of regional groups or other national groups in units of federalism. In these type of situation in control or state government have started a chain of bargaining. Government of states, Central Government and Center of Government trying to achieve the co-operation of State by bargaining. Althouth these type of bargaining on a extensive scale don't permanented in any Federalism system but in new states its have more expectation or indication are meet. Federalism system of India has many situation come, when in states, many regional groups becomes autocrata and extended to bargaining. Therefor Maurish Jngh may be say in eagermess that Indian federal system is bargaining federalism today that is not too much confirmed from the facts of 1977.

Here it is necessary in mind that this pattern of federal system as a western writer the attention of Indian writer make a cause of attraction but there is no conclusion of both are same India such a big country of variety don't live long with seperatity of Inter-regional groups from goals or determing the opposite goals. In modern political system have much more complication come that mutuality become necessary in different parts of similar system. Although in new states have political aspect of democracy allegator on traditional society such situation created from which definite and common national goal political groups have environment of development but its not possible from many causes, only alternate of power struggle be left on regional level. From this new states have organized the political power on local level and expectation of control on polity system made it when—then but in this federal system may be too much bounded from the limitation of bargaining there bargain is possible for only cooperation. Simply, If federalism system is maker of two separate, independent or separate government then from this sprout of bargaining are blusted open when—then it natural but from this Fedaralism system perhaps become a countyard of bargaining. If in federalism system also bargainy become a base of inter-action in Central and State governments then it make the situation of completion in federal system. Therefore conclusively said that this pattern of federalism when even showing in any federalism system

Unitarian federalism: If Federalism system is process of organization then can't say this a system of senseless of constant. Any system don't line untouchable or free from demand of time. Today federalism system is such pattern of on extensive system in reality. Whereas many sub-system to cover up each other are existed. Because of this to take decision and process of implementation of decision not only depend on Center or State government have mutual participation. But based on this remark that Central government to much in fronted from the capacity of national goal fulfilling in political society, sources and expectations of state governments. State governments have its own seperate or independent area, causes of unsufficient sources don't keeping up today in hard politics. Although in modern era the director of government impressed by much more factors that is not possible to say in definite way that government machine. When and from which fact it become a sensitive or effective. This is cause that also Federalism polity systems are today from many factor in mannered that in many times border of Centre or State government don't become dull but sometimes it become invisible. In such situation it can be suitable to say these patterns of federalism are unitarian.

In some previous tenures, it is clearly showly fineness inspection federal polity system of the world that all federal system have tendency of unitarian are growing. Those work done in Regional government authority area but in today they executed by central Government from the cause of internal or external situations. In democratic polity system people don't worried for this matter that his necessities are fulfilled by Central Government or State Government. His main demand is that they love all facilities

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or protection are available which they want, whether its arranged by state government of federalism government. Although the assumption of K. C. Vaihan is the importance of government to increased in the competition of regional government because all important matters of polity from which Government have mainly concerned all have with them. Social changes or obstacles of development it is seemed powerful of centres day by day. Approximately in present federation inclined to the unitarian many facts are responsible. K. C. Vaihan wrote that in all federalism polity this one common tendency showing that common government (central government) become very strong. The cause of this tendency he give the sign and write that mainly four facts helped in this system—War, Economic up—down, extensive social service and mechanical revolution in transportation and industries. K. C. Vaihan also himself considered these facts in other place accepted following headings. It is power-politics, depression politics, welfare politics and technical politics. He give special heading of internal —combustion engine and enlightened. Here party politics is described by them. Totally, following facts are responsible in modern federal system for making a powerful center.

1. Internal politics
2. War politics
3. Party politics
4. Techno politics
5. Grant in aid politics or economic help
6. Welfare politics

After the brief description of these factors its influenced can be evaluated.

In modern world limitation of national states are only become a formal. Internative pressure or efect are very extensive upon on national political systems that regional governments of federal systm naturally accepted the growth of government in its authority area. Today in international world government faced the challenged of play new role. Sources of port and communication are bounded the whole world in mutuality that there is no any country can be limited in its own. It is not over. Every expected to government make its own very effective in the world. Therefore Central government don't received special authority by its own but on state government are pressurize for that it makes a strong hand of federal government. War politics becomes very important in world, competition on current mutual opposing ideologics a cause of the natural security become very much constant, when ever there ideologies are used for expansion—efforts by great powers in new states then situation of war or cause of war to become. After Second World War cause of ideological collision. Because of this also become a important source of increasing authority areas of Central government.

Mostly party systems are a nature of nation-wide. On regional level although where-there area groups are auto crated but day by day increased political awareness in people cause of this people point of view become a national for the compulsion of modern era. Cause of this commonly support of people gave polity power to country wide political groups, regional question become too much with national questions that an elector after the arguments of Local political groups don't accept his seperate entity and national groups are become resen to power. Such groups doesn't changes the naturelity of federalism system but to be existed in one rising power of one group centre or state then whole Federalism polity system worked according to unitarian system. In India in centre or state love influence of congress group does the confirmation of this. Congress group make a control of two level governments and only federalism system keep a federal from a constitution point of view. In Russia in from of constitution only one group has to make a power the whole system become of unitarin in manner.

The meaning of Taikno politics take from the studying of political institution in which development of scientific or technical influenced on manner of polity. Modern governments very much influenced from scientific and trained public officers. Bureaucracy become main basic founder of polity system.

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The requirement of economic development too much increased in role of technical scientist that it is spreed over in whole polity system. Commonly national government have a capacity to provide all these specialized services. Its result is that Regional government executed these plans, programmes and directions who are telecast by technical scientist and assistant of Central Government. These programmes are national wide and it is work-over the state. Therefore its execution on the national base. It is editing by national officers. The states to gain a service of these technical scientist from centres because its requirement occured in any time. Its excellence from specialists or administator of state governments. These are become a vitamins of central power indirecting form. Politics of contribution seeing very much contribution to make a central government powerful. The sources of states are limited and requirement of economic development obstruction compelled them to arranged the money of dependent of control aids (contribution). Therefore, always state governments to stretch his hands in front of central government for economic help. The financial sources of centers to much extensive and central government the contribution politics state government make every policy according to them but also can be set up his indirect control on them. In planning help of centres and bis-bis multi-purpose construction or Role of central government in development of heavy industry or contribution on the place of similarity place of state become dependency on centres. Some idealism assumption that contribution politics is practical medium of the growth in central powers, it is not seen.

In the origin of welfare-people Federalism system doesn't received any type of direct shock. But determining goals and programmes by the constitution are connected for achieving welfare-people.

Today, democratic government can't neglect the welfare-people. This work of welfare people above from geographical partitioned and keep a relation with political system. Central of State government are continuous in editing of one great work, central sources are in excessed form then area of central government movements become extensive. From the tendency on the structure of federalism system cann't harmed but no doubts its practicality influenced by them. Who make the centres powerful in role of centre situation. The impact of these factors make very much powerful to these Central Government but this growth in centre powers doesn't on the cost of state powers. The state his own powers are increased from some causes of these. Execution work of planning, economic programmes or welfare people are keep on the shoulder of state government. Although from cause of population, strategic, political or economic state keep-up its continuity of independency. But according the requirement of era in which way political institution are adjusted in that way centre-State relation also keeping exchange return in federalism system and give a contribution to make lively of system. It is cause that federalism system very much hard and complicated but it is also to keep a capacity of flexibility and conformable. this system is very much constant, traditionalist, changes opposed and very much back from the demand of time. It is not special weighty. Although formal ammendment or commentary or explanation of court and from medium of traditional federal system keep a motion with time. Traditional make federalism system very much lively and flexible that according the demand of time in this system original charges are move on. Morever, history of federalism system is the sign of its special utility. In briefly the description of this system will not irrelevant.

Self Assessment

State whether the following statement are True/False:

9. New experience of newly political system in Asia and Africa make Wester federation pattern grantable.
10. Any system to keep up free and untouchable from demand of time.
11. In modern era, limitations of national state are only formal.
12. Every Government to make a expectation keep himself uneffective.

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10.10 Utility of Federalism

In present world, there have only a few 16 federalism system this conclusion to become that federalism political power doesn't a medium to present the utility structure of organization. In reality federalism system is very much favorable in modern era in which along with Regional independency national unity or policy similarity for whole politics system. In modern political system, can said that tendency of decentralization power also reinforced yet. Other side in every system have many obstructive matter from that centralization become necessary. In one political system so many or opposing demand in but best source of coordination only present by federal system. From this flexible system is established that without any formal changes, difficulty or special requirement are fulfilled by special arrangement therefore conclusively it will be suitable to say that utility of federalism is resided to be seemed. Various economic or political weakness from this suffered various countries organised with federal system newly it considered as a source from which make a possible solution of there problems.

Sikyvik write about the utility of federalism Federalism has done ended the problem of bolting of state or extension of state. This is a peaceful united method of state. Therefore not only local autonomy and self-respect protection become possible. Although can saved the national independence. By the Federalism so many small-small independent castes have meet the opportunity to be saved from economic losses. Because now they can worked in a form of organization. Power of Federalism and state government and areas in this manner partitioned that to birth polity system of them are keep satisfied. Work capacity and efficiency are increased in state. Federalism is such type of political aspect in which maximum arrangement are transferred to minimum authority federalism from this became a maximum profit of independency. After this Federalism is best medium of soldier protection, economic profit of facility, prosperity power. Unity in variety and independency form the interference of external power and peep up the sternums of cultured etc.

After the utility of all these in world has very less federalism system it raised this question, that why don't adopted this system. In answer of this, can say that for the success of federalism system. Some special situations become are very important. In absence of them, arranged federalism polity also to come on destroyed. In briefly for the success of federalism systems following pre-conditions are to be there.

10.11 Condition for success of Federalism

Are you know that Federalism is created, It is not borned.

Its mean is that federalism system is connected with goals for achieving some special motives. On the base of these achievement can say that Federalism is success or unsuccess. Therefore, satisfactory direction of federalism polity, some pre-assumtion are fulfilled. Although there have so many situations are occurred for the success of federalism polity and it can be different in every polity system, but thereafter some common necessities can be described, Federal polity direction become easy and efficient in presence of them. In briefly they are—

Democratic Nature of the Political System

Federalism system has big enemy is restrainty. Federalism system is such establishment of cooperation in duel government in which the base of co-operation is courtesy, exchange of view and compromise to be kept. Dictator is prohibited for all this.

(a) **Precaution**: Whether restrainty is of any type it become a big murderous of federalism system. Because there have centralization of power in on place become very necessary.

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Therefore in 1958, to be made Republic state of United Arabia in mixing of Mysar and Seria but it break up in 1961 where Serica had establish the dictator system after the soldier revolution. In this way in Argentina, Brazil, Libia or Nigeria has established a dictatorship created this doubt that it was federalism, polity or not. Soviet Russia or Yugoslavia has one group system cause of this Federalism governments can't say Federalism in view of net principle. Therefore, devotion of political system are very necessary in liberal democratic values for the progress of Federal system.

(b) **Unity of general goals:** When independent political system, make a common goal for cause of geographical, strategic and economic then these political system has gripped in Federal chain and base for gripping ground is ready. Such political system after organised in federal system can be kept a cause of unity or coopration and unity in same goals.

Therefore agreement on common goals by the joined states in federalism polity make a mutuality between them. If political society created by federalism arganisation then there have inequality of different parts in ultimate goals, then so many stretches or tensions are be there on this systems from which federalism system be break-up such as happened in Malaysia and Republic state of United Arabia.

(c) **Peace and Prosperity:** K. C. Vaihan assumption is, If war and economic difficulties are come repeatedly then definitely federalism system will be changed in United form. In reality war, Political-power, economic difficulties or economic unevenness give the birth to opposite tendencies of federalism system. Therefore Vaihan also said that, "Peace or prosperity are genuine condition for the success of Federalism polity.

(d) **The desire to make federal system succeed:** Excellent federalism constitution have organised federal system are also failed in that situation when its consisted unit can't make a hope to success them. Many time cause of any idea or greatness of leadership or to achieve any momentum profit purpose can be created a federalism such federalism after vanished of them no any gripped desire be left and interest of federalism polity succeed to be ended. In such situation federalism can't live long.

(e) **Presence of a Link-lnguage:** Variety of language don't put up obstacles in federalism polity. In one federalism state so many languages are occurred. In India, the limit determination of federalism unit is language and its base made by state reorganization commission. It meanly is that in Federalism equality of language is not necessary. But Federalism units have different-different languages also a very much need of such communicated language who present the medium of enchange mutuality in whole federal political system.

If such type of language don't for communication then in between Centre and State government language walls will be stoop up. Who deceived the federalism from thread of cooperation can be make a path of his ending. Therefore life circle of Federalism system in whole federalism system communication only can become a language. Federalism system of India lack of this cause joined unnecessary tensions are remaind there. Sometime such languages tension can be taken very much dangerous form that will be make a base of destroyed to whole federalism system. Therefore one communicated languages is necessary as a form of medium to gripped whole federalism system in unity.

(f) **Spirit of Nationalism:** Federalism system has establish a new national system to organised many cultures and nationalities. This is created one new political personality, created federalism is does formal directing of the new national pattern. It have naturality then enters when federalism have various-sub-nationalities are according to this new nationality and become cooperation to make it powerful.

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According to Peter Marpel, "Federalism system is one new centre of super imposition and it is above from various centers biloging political system. Which has life become power only desire of nationely.

Whenever all units can't be crosswise of such desire at that time new nation cann't be made. In federalism have dual state devotions are important. But devotions towards central government (It means) towards whole federal systems are started after the creation of federalism and desires of regionlality or seperate nationality become obstacles of its creation. In this seperatism factor is joining power become a desire of nationality. This is a base of unity in variety. Therefore desire of nationality have special importance in federalism system.

It is clear from above description that federalism system can be worked on some special type of environment. Difficulties of this system will be so many occurred from this reason but this meaning is not taken out from all of this, that these situation are available in every federalism or any federalism. The it will be constant. Thereafter also so many facts are here in which federalism system is effected.

10.12 Future of Federalism

In federalism system, from cause of expected growth in central government power on cost of Regional government power, some learner are take out this conclusion that in reality federalism polity is increased these toward unitarian. In previous twenty years, all efforts are unsuccessful to make Central American federaism are also same as Africa or Arabia states of middle-east all efforts to make federalism are unsuccessful therefore, this thought make here, that pattern of federalism system can't become popular. In Arabia states same historical background, language, culture and equality in social custome inspite of this unseccessful in establishment of Federalism chain and Republic state united arabia is mining of 14 years and Seria, break up in three year (1958-1961) and identify that days of federalism are in ending. In such situation, what is future of federalism system of America, Canada, Australia and Switzerland are federalized according to K. C. Vaihan where it have existed. Western Jerman, India, Negeria, Mexico, Brazil, Arjentina and Australia have so-called semi-federalism system is also moving on successfully therefore it is clear from that federalism is not only a form of principle conception but it is alive in from of practically or dynamic structure. It is not over some Unitarian system (Britain, France, Nepal or Srilanka) have adopted the many aspects of federalism system for the solution of explosive political variousness or unevenness purpose. Decentralization of Administrative power along with such transfer of reality power, unitarian system of many states become as a equal of Federalism pattern. Increased autonomy of local of Regional polity clarify this, that today world has big problem is variableness, where it is useful to peep-up and where their are undesirable existed cann't be erased, federalism is the medium to peeping up or cooperation but cause of hardness and practical difficulties of this system, some indication can be given to related on future of federalism. According to Robert C. Bane these are following—

1. There are very less federal polity are existed in world state system.
2. Where federalism system are established there it make the expectation to more on indefinite period.
3. In many unitarian states, some aspects of federalism organisation will become with forceness.
4. In a form of polity conception keep-up a important or continuous effective on re-organism of current government or new creative.
5. In coming years, in creation of new international or supernational organization may be this principle become a basic foundation.

In end it will be suitable to say that all superiority of federalism organism gradually it can't become popular in hard political system of present world. But in future may be only federalism will present the medium of cooperation supremacy for prosperous states.

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10.13 Summery

- In political system, centralization of polity power on one level or on base of distribution on many levels, only three patterns are accepted of polity system
- In Unitarin polity system whole power of polity existed in central government by constitution and also central government is supreme in use of state power
- Confederal polity system is totally opposite of Unitarian polity system. There have confederal polity is established by mutual understanding of jointed states in federal. In Independent state to make a efficient cooperation possible in important affairs
- Federalism polity system is mid-system of unitarian and confederal polity system
- In view point of constitution Federalism system is that form of polity in which many independent states organised in Central Government for fulfilling his some common goals and in fulfilling of goals some important or cooperative matters are to handed over for central government and peep-up safe its own independency in seperate matters be lefted.
- That constitution is a federalism, who not only established central or state government but it is a source of both powers and both of peep-up limited in own-own area independent from each other
- Marxs, F, Frede give the explanation of federalism and wrote that federalism is not a fined model or chain of political organisation but it as a continuous variable process of democratic based group extensive bureaucracy, varous types of many benefical groups and its produced from inter-action of eclected government.
- From ancient time to till today there are three pattern seeing in progress of the studying of federalism. These three are (1) Cooperative federalism (2) Bargaining federalism (3) Unitarian federalism
- Federal system is very favourable system in modern time. Where as regional independency along with national unity or policy equatity for whole political system is made possible.

10.14 Keywords

- **Federalism** : There have state power partitioned between central government and state government
- **Unitary Government** : There have whole power of polity consisted in central government by constitution

10.15 Review Questions

1. What do you understand by confederal polity system?
2. Explain the federalism polity system and principle of federalism?
3. Explain the characteristics of Federalism polity.
4. Explain the pre-condition of creation federalism system.
5. Explain the traditional principle of federalism
6. Who are the patterns of federalism? Expalin
7. Give the explanation of United federalism.

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8. Which are the conditions for success of federalism? Explain
9. Write one comment on future of federalism.

Answers: Self Assessment

1. Constitution	2. Govenments	3. Principle of Subjection	4. Coordiantion
5. (a) Federalism	6. (b) Principle	7. (c) Constitution	8. (c) Political
9. Truth	10. False	11. Truth	12. False

Unit 11: Parties and Party System

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Objectives

After studying this unit students will be able to:

- Understand the Meaning and format of Liberalism *Vs* Marxism.
- Explain format of the political party, definition, importance, determinants and work.
- Discuss scientific format of the party system.

Introduction

Study and the analysis of political parties is the new branch of science. This is the region among the social, philosophical-psychological and historical themes and can be called as an experimental branch of social science. Seeing the current development of political parties'historical aspect of this branch of science has paid great attention. The texts are written on almost every political party in the Western world,. But when we take into consideration the pattern of the team, we see that the region has not been touched.

—Robert Michael

Discussion about the political parties and nakedly manipulative groups becomes a part of the note of the comprehensive study of the political topic. It moves beyond the traditional realm of past and current forms of the political theory and practice. Much has been involved in it which in violation of traditional political theory comes under psychology and social science disciplines. In the previous years, this study becomes so much important and interesting that the new word 'Political Parties Science' has gained importance. Regarding these systems the significance of statements of traditional analysis and writers about this fact is finished because now under this subject many similar subjects are being studied which are incorporated under Political Sociology, Sociological Politics and Political Psychology or Psychological Politics. From this the fanatics of the modern political scientists understood that they ignore which was previously understood 'beyond the constitutional framework',

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besides that it ignores the adopting of rather innovative approaches and new techniques, although they are borrowed broadly and in indiscriminate manner from disciplines such as sociology and psychology so that those socio-economic powers could be assessed by understanding which affects the functioning of modern governments and explains the underlying importance of their operating and which naturally becomes the subject of secondary progressive of the formal political structures. Because of this realization great British author Sir Ivor Jennings in 1958 regretted about the parliament in the second edition of his great treatise that he cannot write a brief chapter on important subject of party politics in his country because the complex phenomenon of political sensitivities requires comprehensive investigation.

11.1 Meaning and Structure of Political Party—Liberalism Vs Marxism

Political party organization after the scandal of the past has now received an honorable place. The reason lies in the fact that now the political party is understood different from any faction or group as a destructive institution.

Example

Ideas of critics like George Washington of United States, and Voltaire of France are no longer valid who denounced political parties calling them 'The violence of factions' and 'powers swallowing the republic.''

Proficient scholar of this subject **Giovanni Sartori** believes that now the words 'team' and 'Tare' can be used for one another though its purpose is not to "rebellion". The author here even said that Distinction between them is that tare word is used for a solid group whereas team is much more analytical division, is a mental creation which is more than a solid power. We, therefore, can differentiate between liberal and Marxist ideas.

Liberal approach: Although it is true that political parties have now acquired an honorable place; its significance, nature and role are still seriously discussed. While the Liberals ideology and organical in the form of agencies of appreciate the existence of political parties and their role with the help of which serves a political party, Marxist ideology test it within the framework of class conflict. Not only this diversity also can be seen in the liberals' camp. It is evident from the fact that though the British, French and Italian writers stressed on the element of theories on which a political party is formed and works, Specific American approach is that a political party should be treated like a machine or such platform on which for the democratic currents participation in the struggle for power.

Special British Scholar **Edmund Burke** which was given in the eternal confirmation, its importance is that political parties are such organizations of people which gather to move forward nation interests on some special principles. Emphasizing more on the same thought **Disraeli** discussing the political parties says "It is a group of such people who gathers following some principles". In the same way Benjamin Constant has said that party is the group of such people who accepts one political principle. **Pioneer American** writers do not accept this thought, who intentionally ignores the holiness of principles and consider political party just a 'medium' to participate in the struggle for power. For example, superior writer such as **Schattschneider** mock over the English views given by Burke. Considering this he uses the new **dictationary** that political parties first of all attempt jointly in order to achieve power, but this is also right to say that parties are got accumulated by the power of combined booty.

Following are the important symptoms of political parties:

1. Political parties are not the baggy organization of some individuals. It is expected that members of the political party are organized a rigorous manner based on any particular

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principles or interests so that the party can be distinguished from an alptantriye institution.

2. Team members should have an intimate and close relationship; party cannot be formed on the basis of ever—while relationship of 'slaves' and Owners' .is not based on party.
3. There should be a distinction line between principles and individuals. Despite the much influence of personalities of some leaders the life of party should not be dependent on life of some team members.
4. Team leaders should continue to strive and struggle for greater support of people and to provide legitimacy to the impact zone of decision–makers.
5. Lastly to grab power, party has to take help of constitutional measures so that they can implement their policies and programs or the protection or promotion of some specific interests can be done.

Keeping all these symptoms in mind **Jean Blondel** considers that though political party is like a group, this is a special type of group. Obviously, it is not sufficient to say that they are 'political', while are not the other groups. Politics because of being a procedure, any institution is a political to the same extent as far as it participates in the working methods of conflict resolution. He further said, the reason for this is that purpose is general, membership is open, the team wanted to capture power and hence highly politicized. They do not limit themselves to only limited themes; their interest is in all the national decisions. So they cannot be limited to occasional effects, but is related to the overall effect.

Marxist approach: What we have seen above about political parties and its role, Marxist approach is very different from that. Here in the form of 'Theory' in place of liberals, ideas are placed in the form of 'class' of party that will struggle to bring a new era and whose culmination would be in the "communism" state. To clarify the Marcus idea and developing it Lenin said that'' proletarian has no weapons for power struggle besides organization ... They are constantly pulled in absolute poverty, the proletariat because of this and as the necessary cause will become an unconquerable power, by the principles of Marxist its ideological power is stronger than its physical strength so that millions of those of working class labors are gathered together.''

Thus, in the present century Lenin made significant contribution to the development of Marxism. If Marx said that working class will be forced to exploit by the hands of the bourgeo class, they will feel the necessary 'awareness', which will become the region of awakening for them, then Lenin amended that and said the organization of proletarian will play an important role in awakening and so the revolution will come. In this way, liberal party becomes a leading organization in the struggle of proletarian class for power struggle and Marxism becomes the path which collected them, becomes the fuglemen of its work and becomes that subject thereby it expands the area of its class consciousness. Based on Marxism perfect union, strong organization and discipline through physical union two were stone foundation on which to start Waif his life Lenin proposed the revolutionary movement.

Lenin said Communist Party as "vanguard of the revolution" for the working class. From the text of the resolution adopted in 1920 by the Communist International Congress it is obvious in which along with other things, it was said that '' building of communist party is made from perfect, class conscious selfless and Visionary workers... The Communist Party is a mechanism of political organization with the help of which progressive part of the workers shows the correct route to the proletariat and semi proletariat class.

Self Assessment

Fill in the Blanks:

1. ……. is the group of such people, which gathers following some principle.
2. Lenin in the present century contributed in the development of ……. .

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3. According to Marx, proletarian has no weapons for power struggle besides …….
4. ……. said Communist Party as "vanguard of the revolution" for the working class.

11.2 Critical Evaluation—Importance of Political Party

Discussions what we have done previously, on the basis of that important conclusions are formed:

Did You Know? Political parties are one of the important inventions of our age. Now they became an important part of our political life.

1. People of a developing or an underdeveloped country whether or not learn more that What is the real purpose of their political parties, but they can at least sketch a normal image of their policies and their past records. They can choose those parties which they prefer. Here it can also be noted that the party politics may not be eliminated. If any dictator declares party system non-legal, he has to restore it in a different form. Examples of Egypt, Indonesia, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Burma lend support to the fact that the parties are born again from its own ashes. ''That's the best thing a leader can do to control their number on their personnel and their program to make them control."
2. The progress which has done in the study of political parties despite of the fact that the continuous solution of the conceptual problems cannot be found. Among them the other major problem is how the party should be defined, how the classification of parties and party systems should be done in these when these teams operate and interplay of environmental impact and shaking the environment be conceived within the context of group serves to anything. About it, amazing event is that despite of all these difficulties researchers are engaged in the empirical study of party politics so that the subject of political parties' science could be sophisticated.
3. Political parties have broadened their thinking area so that now they are not just a political organization. From the study of social science of a political party it shows that other aspects such as social, economic and cultural also come under its effects. Accumulating various interests by nakedly manipulative groups the and thus and in this way by integrating its receipts any political party takes responsibility over it that the social and economic life is politicized. If such studies of the role of political parties will be done in the areas of political acculturation, political modernization and political development, it would be nice. This shows that specially in modern mass democracy, a political party has adopted the forever growing regions of commitments and responsibilities so that part of the person in the society gets fixed and he has been involved in the community.

Despite the fact that the specialty of party politics is the catch arbitrary trends that have redeemed many such wars through which some people try and hope to remove others from their posts, and they do not care at all that they bring it in the nature or not, but this is certain that party is the main medium through which the system of representative democracy could be brought and maintained in the modern world. They are the main medium from which the demands from the below and the difficulty of leadership can be mixed in a non-changing world. We can end our study from ten grand ideas of **Gene Blandel** that Parties are neither appreciated nor are entitled to criticism which they get from time to time. It will be impractical to expect from the parties that they unites a divided country, actually guides the public and provides a base for social and economic development. Oscillation between scornful criticism and exaggerated hopes shows the failure of observers to believe that a human organization in a short time can achieve limited results .

Self Assessment

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Multiple Choice Questions:

5. Political party is not a ……. but is a group of communities.

   (a) group (b) community (c) committee (d) organization

6. ……. designate a basic element that is less centralized than caucus.

   (a) branch (b) proliferation (c) team (d) system

7. Cell is the invention of ……. and Communist parties.

   (a) nazi (b) fosist (c) marxist (d) socialist

8. Caucus is an electoral and parliamentary……. .

   (a) committee (b) organization (c) state (d) community

11.3 Party System

Most authors pay attention to the structure of government, rather than people's participation which is occasionally called 'political process'. The ways in which politicians, political parties and social group achieve power and by the study of more promoted formal structures of government, main sources of the latent functions are discovered, concern for the political dynamics is made from them .

—Douglas V. Varni

The modern form of representative-democracy has presented party system as an indispensable factor in every political society in order to determine the rule that political party in some or other forms is 'Ubiquitous'. This event, in this sense, emphasizes more and more to broaden political participation that it imposes a duty on members of political elite class that they take more and more people in the belief to follow this assumption that the " Janwani is devwani' , they do so to prove the legitimacy of their leadership and authority. This event, in this sense, points toward political modernization that its evocation, in the Easton words, ' Authorized allocation of values " is the inclusion of more and more people. Whether the rule is of a person (King or dictator) or of some people (gathering or Elite class) or even of a lot of people, standards of political parties ignore the thing that this rule is to provide the holyness that people as possible should take part in political affairs.

Party System—Forms and Definition

This fact cannot be denied that party politics has become a universal phenomenon. Traditional states such as Saudi Arabia and Thailand every state in the world seek to have party system of its kind, whether it's a - party - or two-party or multi-party or a strange modulation all of these. Thus, in the study of the political party system, we have to study the mesh of political and para-political parties and except them all those organizations, which in the words of **Maurice Duverger** play the role of "off-site parties'. In such a condition study becomes much more broadened in which every political party is included whether it be large or small and this works on national level or regional level or local basis, whether its ideological commitment and neutrality are more. So Jiopani Sartori has advised us that we should include the following types of party in the study of party system.

1. Those parties, which have no interest in increasing the number of votes,
2. Responsible parties, which do not surrender their policies in order to increase the number of votes,

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3. Ideological, which primarily wants to attain votes principally,
4. Responsive team, for them to win the election by more and more votes is the most important and
5. Demagogic and irresponsible parties in pure form, which only seeks to increase votes.

Clearly, this approach is so much broader that every such political party comes under this, which has any place in the real form of party science of country's politics.

Political party is very difficult to define accurately because ''it's always a group or an interest group or a parliamentary faction, which may have life different from the views of the electors, like in France or a political movement, which temporarily study many factions and parties, such as reassemblement democratique Africaine in France, National Union of Popular Forces in Morocco, or the National Front organized in different patterns cannot be separated from them." Indeed, means of political party are so much flexible that its meaning could be any group or organization whose number of members is very low and which has the commitment towards the defense of specific interests to such organization which has a wide-basis like Frank Sorauf said in his creation '' Political parties in the American system" that they can be organized on any motivation or incentive and protection, especially from government getting homestead, advancement opportunities, economic benefits, personal Awards, ability to afford effects and ideological satisfaction. Keeping all this in mind Curtis said to the extent, '' Necessarily, as a team means such groups of people that have same belief and they are ready for this thing to support candidates of the party, to work collectively to conquer the election, gain political power and further keep it in their possession.''

What we said above clarifies one thing that what the Berck had said about two hundred years ago, we should not have fallacy from that, therefore, we should also take this in consideration that political parties are specialized institutions, whose aim is to achieve power for their leaders within the corporate group so that they can achieve their goals and physical benefits. They can emerge anywhere like associations, corporations, universities, parliaments or anywhere in the state—in the state they become political parties. Thus, the team is a specialized association, and the way any society becomes more advanced, they become more complex, organized and bureaucratization. The basic goal of political parties is to get the power—may be it is alone or with the assistance of other parties. Thus, the first and most important goal of any political party ''is to cover over other people so that power could be obtained and could be stablized in their hands. Because of such goal to achieve the political power, political parties in the political system are different from other groups, though many times this discrimination, especially in nakedly manipulative groups, is unclear.''

Thus, to distinguish nakedly manipulative political parties and groups is a laborious task. There are many such marginal topics where they both seem analogy. For example, Irish Nationalists in House of Commons before 1918 or today Welsh and Scottish nationalists groups are the examples of political parties and political nakedly manipulative groups. In the most underdeveloped countries of the world weaknesses of the party system have increased our problems.

Caution Shiv Sena in Maharashtra rather being a political party is a nakedly manipulative faction or, because of its 'open' political commitments and movements can be said as a political party.

However, on the conceptual level distinction between the political parties and the nakedly manipulative political groups can be done. It can be said that the political parties are the organization

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of innumerable people who are openly committed over the broader questions of policy and they by monopolizing the condition of political power or making the other parties participant in that wants to bear direct responsibility for their policies. On the contrary, nakedly manipulative groups try for tasking of group interests and for the preservation and protection of their specific interests, but do not want to bear direct responsibility. He plays the game of in–out in politics so Newman expressed the distinction between the two as, ''basically, nakedly manipulative group in search of the effects represents homogeneous interests. Any interests group only then becomes powerful and effective group when it has specific functions in the direct form. Unlike those political parties which want to get position and are specified at Policy related decisions, they include heterogeneous groups. In fact, among their most noted emotions one emotion is that within the political community solution should be done in different strengths. Their work is adjustment and this work does not come under the jurisdiction groups.''

11.4 Party Systems—A Form of Scientific Example—Current Formation of Sartory

The format scientific description of party systems is subjected to numerous factors such as social organization, economic divide, religious and ethnic relations, cultural differences and the format of political differences on state's internal affairs and foreign policy. Maurice Duverger's classification is now obsolete who presented the simple classification of one-two and multi-party political parties and was thus advised us that we should put all the parties systems of the world in any of these three classifications. Indeed, some incidents occurred in the previous years in the field of comparative politics keeping those in mind we can say that resubmission of format scientific description is required so that it can be given scientific form as far as possible.

Considering this, we can say that one-two and many-party systems have their respective subclasses which can be interpreted as follows:

One-party system: Thus, this type of paradigm has a feature that in this either the ruling has domination all other 'groups' which attempt to take all political conflicts in it or it in a very extreme condition repressed all those opposition groups which are considered as a Pratikrantikari or the warring factions towards the governance because they have strengths that divide the national desire.'' This main class has two subdivisions—totalitarian and democratic. One example of a one-party system of totalitarian paradigm is that in which it neither tend to remain the ruling party or faction which opposed their authority nor allow it to work this in that status is called democratic if the ruling party using its authority in such a way that it sometimes gets the assistance of other parties or there may be several parties which if mixed with each other even then they will not be in a condition to take away the power from that influential party or if there is any such party which fits all other parties in it. In this class, the ruling party permits other parties and groups to remain present as well as to work. In such a case, the dominant position of the ruling party remains. If this topic of classification is moved forward so we can say that there are two subclasses of totalitarian paradigm—committed and non-committed from the ideological view, i.e., any ruling party can be committed or not towards any particular ideology. Also this ideological commitment may be of two types—right-wing and left-wing. While the right-wing ideology supports in maintaining the status quo, the left-wing ideology wishes to end the existing situation and wants to establish such new system which is more equitable, affordable and are fairer towards the interests of weak, oppressed and exploited sections of the society.

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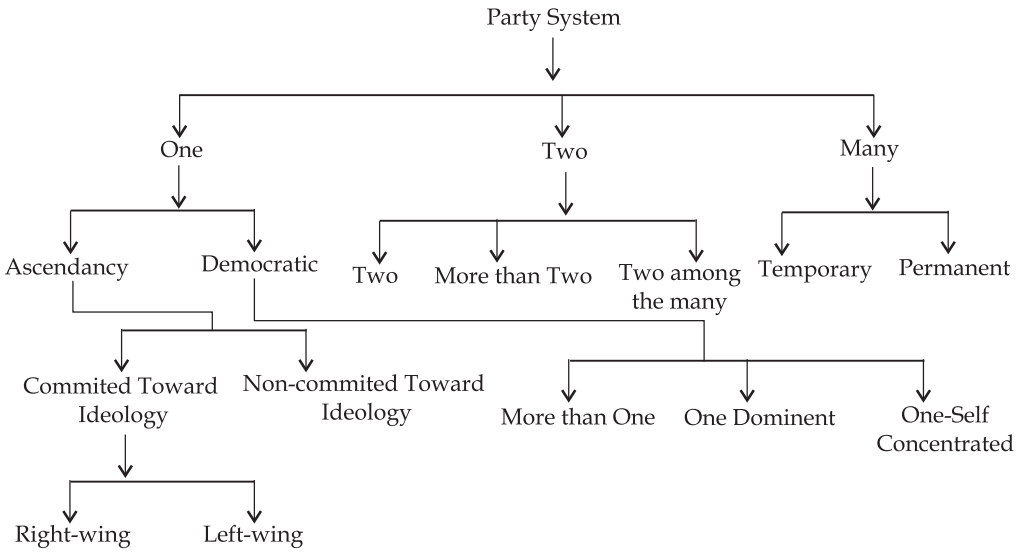

With the help of studies based on the fact we can say for the support of our classification that while the fascist and the Nazi party present the example of such a totalarian system which is committed towards the right-wing ideology and the Communist Party systems represent two-party system (veph systems represent another class where one party system is committed towards leftist ideology . Thus While we can put Italy, Germany (in the former period of Second World War) Spain and Portuguese in the first class we can put the Soviet Union, China, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Albania, East Germany, Cuba, North Korea, Northern Mongolia and Viet Nam in the other category. When we from the point of view of ideology points towards a class of party system under a non-committed team, we can refer to names Prior to 1965, Indonesia under the Indonesia national party, prior to 1975 Bangladesh under the Awami League, Egypt under the Arab Socialist Union and Burma under the lengin party.

Democratic class of one-party system has three subclasses, i.e. 'one-plus' party system, in which the dominant party occasionally takes the help of any other party like we see in the Liberal Democratic Party of Japan; one–dominant party system is that in which a party gets more authority as not including all the other parties and all other parties would be no match in terms of power and status as we see in the position of Indian National Congress. In the end, we discuss 'one-absorbing' party system where we see that a party takes all other remaining major and minor political parties into it like we see in the Institutional Revolutionary Party of Mexico, **Kenya African National Union (KANU**) of Kenya and **National renovating Alliance** of Brazil.

Two-party systems: Two-party system exists where there are two major political parties and they are so powerful that they shares most of the votes of voters among themselves and uses political control, although there are other teams and they also get some place in the Legislature. Maybe there are other teams, but the transfer of power is done between two main parties. It can be said for two–party system that it has three subclasses, i.e., two-party system, where the transfer of power occurs between two main parties and "two-plus party system in which the other parties besides two parties also occasionally get the opportunity to share their hands in the power.

Further moving ahead of this detailed topic we can say that there are numerous 'explicit and implicit 'subclasses of the two-party system. A 'clear' two-party system is that where there are fixed isolated programs and policies of the two main parties and they are different from each other and struggled to grab power. Conservative and Labor parties of England can be mentioned in this section. Situation of 'Implicit' two-party system is seen in America where in the words of Dahl there is no ' ideological

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difference' between democratic and republicans, but also 'ideological opposition and cases analogy is seen within the same'. In the two-plus party system, there are two main parties over the system which several times obtain the cooperation of the other party or parties to run the Coalition Government. The position of West Germany and Canada can be placed in this class. It is also possible that the two main parties sometimes take help of other small–small parties. So it becomes an example of ''two-party system between many parties'. Topics of Belgium, Ireland and Luxembourg can be placed in this category.

Many-party system – It is a party system in which no party is not able to achieve control on the legislature by its majority. These in the lack of such parties, which is in a position to itself get the power and run the Government, such system many times moves toward building the mixed government. Such a party system is found in most countries of the world. We can say that this many-party system is also of two types—permanent and temporary. This is permanent where many parties struggles for power but they go to the extent of making the political system without temporary government run that usually most of the bullhead system Big evil. Switzerland's position is clear about this fact where Social democrats, Radical Democrats, Liberal Democratic and Communist Party without creating a condition of political ferment struggles for power. The result is that the political system is pushed towards political disintegration and decay. Contrast to that, is the situation of France where political parties struggle in such a way for power so that the survival of the political system is endangered. There socialists, communists, liberal and republicans have reached the matter to such an extent that the matters of the existence of political system became a cause of grave concern. Therefore, in 1958 after the opening of the Fifth Republic, France provides an example of unstable many-party system. Another example is found in Italy, where the Communist, Socialist and Democratic Socialist tend to follow the streams of their French patterns.

At this stage it can be pointed toward the fact that two-party and multi-party systems are the result of any significant factors. In this direction, we cannot live without appreciating the ideas of Sigmad Neumann who says that "historic examples can give advice that following significant situations can be helpful in the development of parties: Social cohesion, political continuity, instantly accepted by the parties attempt to control the politics and an election post is oriented for them in the form of their expected reward (presidency in the USA and Prime Minister in UK). Whenever a fundamental rift arises in the social structure and persists because of national workers, regions, religions or classes or those causes that are imposed by the external agencies or irredenta movements or inter-revolutionary movements – whenever political revolutions and great social changes occur together such as when a controlled fashionable class in France, Central and Eastern Europe and close and fan east adopting a clear policy of 'share it and rule' prevents political parties to submit real policy related option that from completing real political tasks, for example was in the policies of Bismark Whenever political machine of the state expands the division of electors by different choices, when all or some complex of these factors appear on the national political scene, then became the underlying cause of the appearance of many party system."

But a more obvious classifiable example of party systems on this topic has been given in a new study of Giovanni Sartori. A remarkable characteristic of his classifiable example is that he has discovered many subtypes within one-party system; he has distinguished many party system and two-party system on the basis of '**pluralism**' and '**atomism**'. The fact of the basic criterion of his classification is that who takes part in the actual manner in the entity which he gave the name of competition. If so, then only two broad classes can be mentioned by the naming 'Competitive' and 'non-competitive ". Though a one- party system case can be placed under competitive class, two - and many party systems case can be placed in Non-competitive segments,

In Sartori's consideration, one-party system is that where the political competition among different political parties is either not or not very effective. A one-party sample can have three main types monopolistic party, when political power is held by only one-party and the existence of any other

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party is not at all tolerated. From the intensive study of such party system shows that it also has three subtypes. It is totalitarian and it has a dictatorial element when the loud and forceful volume is too high, the policies adopted by it are disastrous for opponents, only government ideology is pure. The autonomy of any other group is not accepted and the element of arbitrariness is limitless and such that cannot be predicted. It is authoritarian while the criteria of ideology is weak and non-totalitarian, forcefulness is of moderate amount, some autonomy is provided to various groups and the element of arbitrariness is within the prediction limits. Finally, it is empirical or practical while the hold of ideology is very weak rather incompatible, there is very little amount of coercio , freedom of subgroups is allowed and the element of arbitrariness is limited in other words, it is understood about the totalitarian and the authoritarian parties that they reflect a different ideological intensities; One - party pattern is the indicative of the end of behavioral continuity on which pragmatic mindset gets the place rather than the ideological mindset. We can also say that totalitarianism and authoritarianism are the different points of an ideological scale, whose lowest point is known as pragmatism.

Another kind of one-party system is its major or hegemonic situation where we see that while for the existence of other parties permission are allowed to remain, counting of only one party remains more than others parties. Other parties remain as its dependent or subordinate entities and they do not remain a threat for its influence. Universal team leader neither allows for formal nor for real power competition. But parties get the permission like the second licensed categories parties, because they are not permitted to compete with the ruling class on the basis of enemity or equality. Not only the option, in fact his permission not granted because hypothesis cannot be even thought of other teams come in power. The implication is that the ruler will remain in the incumbent, like it or not." There are two sub-varieties of the ruling class subject—Ideological and empirical. It is ideological if the ruling party is committed towards a particular ideology like the Communist Party of Poland or it is empirical when the ruling party does not have any such commitment whose example we see in the Institutional Revolutionary Party of Mexico.

Finally, we point towards the subject of predominant party system in the form of a type of one-party system. Here we see the configuration of power in which only a party rules and it does not have to be under the procedure of option unless it gets a majority in the elections. In this sample, one party is much farther from the other parties because it is lot more powerful than all other parties. The case of India, Japan, Uruguay and Turkey comes in this class. The difference between a Universal Team and a major team system can be seen in a fact that a major-party system remains under those situations which are necessary for responsible government while the universal Team System is not committed towards the real restriction for response. Whatever be its policy its dominance cannot be challenged.

In the plans of Sartori under the two-and many party systems general characteristics of 'polarized pluralism' come which have the following noticeable symptoms:

1. Along with the antisystem useful parties other parties are also present and works, and they can also go to the extent of harming the validity of governance. However, the opposition issues of arrangement of the party or parties should not be mixed with their anti-revolutionary nature.
2. The presence of multilateral, bilateral, opposition parties and anti parties is a reality. Its result is that the interaction may be dual angular, triangular or quadrangular etc.
3. Metric centre of a system is within the right of only one party which has to face opposition from both ends – left and right. In this sense, it can be said multipolar that its competitive method rests on such a centre, which of course faces both right and left. Thus, a central-wing party that wants to go ahead of its lefttese and Socialist parties will contribute among other things in the intensification of the, increase and mounts.
4. Amounts of ideological distance between the various parties can be discovered. Trenches are more likely to be very deep. Creative is certainly much less and the validity of political system can be widely objected.

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5. Axipetal movements tend to dominate centre. Centre is made weak because axipetal can successfully compete a decisive reversal of this trend.
6. Here ideological paradigm can also be envisaged. There are such parties in the governance systems which are not only disagree on the policy, but this theory is even more important about principles and basics.
7. We can also see the presence of non-responsive opposition parties in this paradigm. Desperate parties can go to any extent. Also, governmental instability and changing or fractious coalition governments obscure the fact that who is responsible for what.
8. Finally, we behold the politics of parties to commit more and promise excessive claims, by making higher commitments favoring the voters ruling party or the other party can create large imbalances.

Despite the fact that 'polarized pluralism' is a common symptom of two-party system, a dividing line should be drawn between the two. Two-party system is that where the presence of other parties does not prevent both parties to rule alone and so coalition governments are not necessary. For this the following important conditions are required – (1) Two parties which are ready to compete for the absolute majority, (2) Among those one party is willing to get more number of parliamentary ranks, (3) This party should be willing to rule alone, (4) The change of the ruling party or come of one in place of another is a reliable chance. At this stage the absolutely amazing thing is that Sartori included the situation of those countries in this class, too, such as West Germany, Belgium, Ireland, Switzerland, Denmark, the Netherlands, Iceland and Norway where governments are still mixed. Thus this sample is not only available in a country like Britain but also it can equally be applied to a country where a group of mixed parties is opposed to such groups and the political system keeps functioning smoothly. Interestingly, they expelled the subject of the United States of America from this subject. They said that it applies to a country where there is a parliament system and not the presidential rule, where there is right of one on both president and the government. Where there is no right of one on both there in the study of party systems presidential government becomes basically different from parliamentary Government.

11.5 Critical Evaluation

Party system has its own qualities and shortcomings. First we discuss its merits, it is said that parties are consistent with human nature. Because there is difference in people's thoughts, beliefs and commitments, therefore, they have various political parties. To successfully run a democracy, sucessful political party system is required. It has no opposition with the principles of democratic government, in fact, party system is one such item through which democratic government can be possible. '' This artificial and in the lack of unanimity, modern democratic state will become chaotic under the pressure of personnel votes.

Party system ignores the threats of direct legislation. If party always spoils some openions, they also suddenly stops the sudden waves of excitement... Party Organization stops political system…Because of party system election becomes possible and simple and promotion of lagislative excellence is done. This trend seems to stop authoritarianism." Within the limits of possible public vote existence of opposing teams with program is not only a autocratic ruler but also a strong wall against the torture of Practical political majority.Bryce summarized the values of party system as - '' Party keeps the mind of nation alive the way the fluctuation of tidal makes fresh the long sea costal ... Outside the limits of their work interests less people think seriously and in vague manner that public opinion would be unclear and ineffective if the party sharp light must not fall on it continuously.

Party system has some shortcomings also. It can also be called an unnatural political event. "as Lechuck said that members from different parties always remain in such a state that they do not accept the

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personal decision of any thing because they are reduced to the size of the cast and crew. From this Ddebandi arise because from this the country's political life becomes mechanical and artificial. People from opposing sides, called as 'outsiders' always oppose the ruling party."Ability of people is ignored because of party politics and the party interest is given priority over nation interests. Other 'Hollowness and dishonesty gets encouragement approach of team members gets narrow and their personality gets crushed. The result is that the evils of nepotism, favoritism and giving concessions only to love ones began to appear. Because of the quick changes in the position of the parties the arrangements of the administration gets migrated. Money is wasted, flood of opportunities of selfish comes and greater and greater good of public is played. This fear of Marriott is rightly that if the loyalty of the party is promoted then '' patriotic claim will of course be uninspiring. Party leader and manager can be lying in the solicitation on focusing more on the business of achieving more votes and they can disregard highest appeal towards the country or can postpone it."

Although the conclusion of the study of the topic of party system can be made after analyzing its merits and demerits, also two things must also be mentioned at this point. Firstly, the thought of 'partyless democracy' is completely imaginary. It has no value other than academic importance. This type of principle has no relation to remain apart from the life of political reality, though its origin is contained in the political philosophy of American unionist like George Washington and James Medison and whose logical representation is found in the writings and statements of recent Indian thinkers such as Mahatma Gandhi, M.N. Rai , Acharya inoba Bhave and Jayaprakash Narayan. As Brown said, "the demands of partyless democracy are fictitious. Parties are the main institutions, by which the accountability of rulers is enforced. If the parties are unable to complete this work, other institutions will also be unable to do it which has the same type of goals." Secondly, although much literature has been published on the subject of elections and modern representative governance, '' though there is still a lack of standard principle of political parties." as a famous scholar has said on the subject - although it it is impossible to properly describe the comparative work of political parties, but then also it is important. We find ourselves in a toxic cycle. After the end of the initial tasks of several intensive studies, general system of parties will be composed., but this study cannot be intensive in true meaning unless there is a existence of the general principles of the parties, because nature answer only those questions Who is done by it and we don't know yet what questions does this topic demands. ''

11.6 Summary

- Study and the analysis of political parties are the new branches of science. This is the region between the social, philosophical-psychological and historical themes and can be called as an experimental branch of social science.
- Political party organizations after the scandal of the past have now received an honorable place. The reason lies in the fact that now the political party is understood different from some bloc as a destructive institution.
- **Disraeli** discussing the political parties says, "This is a group of such people which gathers following principles".
- Representative - Modern form of democracy presented party system as an indispensable factor in every political society in order to determine the rule that political party in some or other form is 'Ubiquitous'.
- **Curtis** said to the extent - '' Necessarily, as a team means such groups of people that have same belief and they are ready for this thing to support candidates of the party, to work collectively to conquer the election, gain political power and further keep it in their possession.''

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- Format scientific description of party systems are subjected to numerous factors such as social organization, economic divide, religious and ethnic relations, cultural differences and the format of political differences on state's internal affairs and foreign policy.
- Party system has its qualities and shortcomings. To successfully run a Democracy successful political party system is required. In fact party system is one such item through which democratic government is possible.
- Ability of people is ignored because of party politics and the party interest is given priority over nation interests.

11.7 Keywords

- **Caucus**—Group of extremely prominent individuals which are chosen because of their personal effects and properties.
- **Political party**—A specialized institution whose mission is receiving power within the corporate group for their leaders.

11.8 Review Questions

1. What is meant by political parties? Interpret its liberal approach.
2. Deliberate the Marxist approach of political party .
3. Highlight the importance of the political party system.
4. What is the party system? Clarify the meaning and form of party system.
5. Interpret the recent paradigm of Sartori in relation to party system.

   Or

   Explain the scientific format of party system.
6. Critically evaluate the party system.

Answers: self Assessment

1. Political Parties	2. Marxism	3. Organization	4. Lenin
5. (b)	6. (a)	7. (b)	8. (b)

11.9 Further Readings

Books

1. **Comparative Politics**—*C.B. Naina, Vikas Publishing.*
2. **Comparative Politics**—*Prof. Ramananda Gairola.*
3. **Comparative Politics**—*Jagdish Chandra Jauhari, Sterling Publishers.*
4. **Comparative Politics and Political Institutions**—*C. B. Jena, Vikas Publishing.*

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Unit 12 : Interest Groups, Pressure, Groups and Lobbying

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Objectives

After studying this unit, students will be able to:

- Understand interdependent activity and internal entry of pressure groups and political party and techniques.
- Explain the meaning, forms, political existence of pressure groups.
- Know the Lobby work, Bandh and Gherao (encirclement).

Introduction

How different are the problems of public policy-making in a society where there are no effective mechanism for the articulation of public demands from one in which there is an elaborate set of structures for the formulation of demands, and for the transmission of these demands in to the party and governmental systems? The kind of interest groups which are present in a society, the specificity or diffuseness of their demands, their conception political arena and of the rules of the game, the ethos which they bring with them into—these are the raw materials of the policies—which some set of mechanisms must transform into political personnel and public policy.

—Gabriel A. Almond

The study of pressure groups (also known as in the name of interested groups or organized and catalytic groups) represents a foremost and remarkable subject of comparative politics that has been

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assigned by writers in different ways. This description exposes those inherent powers and procedures through which the political processes are utilized and are applied to the organized societies especially democracies. However, this does not mean that such groups do not exist at all in a society. The reason of this is that in totalitarian regime also these groups are present, although they are highly circumscribed and work as like those mediums of state through which the goals of state are achieved and became the parts of government offerings through which decisions are offered legality.

Notes In totalitarian regime, pressure groups are motivated in one special direction and are granted permission to do such work that is favorable for system.

12.1 Pressure Group and Political Party-Interdependent Activity and Internal Entry

One wonderful characteristic of modern political systems can be placed in the intercalation of political groups and interested groups whether it is a two-party system characteristic of America and England or is a multi-party system indicative of the France and Italy counterpart. "This interaction and interpolation also exists in the communist society where labor union and other cultural organizations operate with the support of the only one dominant political party. Power is very important in politics. For power, both parties and organized groups are dependent on each other." This is the reason, that some groups are joined with each other to support any political party or form their own party. It not only results in interaction but also in intercalation system too, when party has control over the groups the party imposes a restraint on the ability of the groups faction that, they build down to earth and specialties, when the groups has control over any party, they restrict the power of party in which they can join specific interest and broad appeal.

From this, it can be concluded that in any political system, interest groups are not only important factors, but also they have important role in whole political process. Between the two the interaction activity and interpolation are so much powerful that for the control and direction of public policy these two should be made the matter of study. However, in the process of interdependent and internal entry, there can be three stages:

1. Any group being free from the control of any party may follow his objectives for dealing with government agencies, means because of its own specialized-achieved position and favorable conditions and becoming free from party-control, it may be a medium of it for transmittal of government officers and government employees.
2. Any group can obtain its goals with active cooperation of one political party.
3. In the end, no group can neither be so much powerful that he can work becoming free from the party control nor so much conservative that he can live under the pressure of one political party, and therefore, in the absence of formality of the party-orientation consistent with their interests or the interests of any party can establish a relationship with.
4. For this reason, at the National Forum, some major pressure groups are cooperating with each other. Parties work through the tactical orientation group method and most large groups and small groups also other than several parties find one party suit of their choice.

Any political party is committed to this fact that he has a definite orientation towards a team, and this factor makes a party organization more inflexible. The case of pressure groups is totally different. If any group living its support towards the side of its narrow interest begins to support the side of public questions then also it creates its showoff to maintain its impartiality and thus the opinions and

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attitudes of the mutual relations of attack and defense have to interact with each other. Sometimes a group may stick with the same ideology or job stream, and therefore, generating intense variation with such a group comes closer to a particular party. Such situation brings the volume of cooperation between party and groups where generally groups have to end their power. According to suggestions of V.O.K. junior, "the result of this is that not only the party obeys the programs of groups but also, on the whole, according to party's expansive goals, their program can be rectified.

From this perspective, political party and pressure groups are similar to each other and both for accomplishing their goals try to influence decision-making agencies. However, one important difference between the two is that the party is a full authoritarian political organization and takes part in politics like business; groups make relation for any special purpose and take part in politics for achieving their goals. Groups are formed for any means of interest in which they can affect the decision-making methods up to limitations related to interest. Often pressure groups remain disguise and work and try for political relations according to their existence of environment means any group creates or worse its political structure.

12.2 Pressure Group

Groups are naturally the first type of structure which we encounter in the analysis of political systems. But the study of groups raises very serious practical and theoretical problems. This is because groups are not such part of the study of politics: we are interested in groups to the extent that they enter the political process, but not in the groups themselves. Some of them may be involved so often in politics that they cannot easily be separated from political life: but even these are not wholly in politics. Conversely, however, any group of almost any group is involved from time to time in the political process. Thus, we become concerned with practically with all the groups which exist in society.

—Jean Boldel

Recent studies role of the pressure groups in the sphere of modern empirical theory have appeared as a redefined version of the philosophical and deductive theories of pluralist

Here, atomistic liberalism of Locke and idealistic collectivism of Green that had their clear manifestation in the works of great pluralist like Figgis, Maitland, Cole and Laski have been replaced by, what may be called analytical pluralism of David Truman, V.O. Key, Jr., and Earl Latham who have taken inspiration from Bentlys' the process of government published in 1908. These groups are called theoretical group because they believe that society is a sample of different groups and in them interaction continues. These groups are urging their government and the government works to make a balance in the interest of social group. The result is that each of this major social group "March themselves to relate to the ideology and specific arrangement of politics.

12.3 pressure groups meaning and forms

The study of pressure group is based on psychological basis. This key element forces the person to cooperate with like–minded people in which they increase their position and power so much that they get recognition, justification and they could prove their specific interest. But this is based on this fact that "man's skin is closer than his shirt, therefore, as per rule they think more about their immediate interest than their normal interest, it is likely that they get more direct knowledge about his own interest rather than wider framework. The interests of a person are many and are of different types. He does not depend on interest of only one person he depends on interest of many people. He is not such a person who stays back from the society. Keeping this in mind this is said that the study of politics of pressure groups should be done on the matter of general framework of different interests, their interaction, inter relation and internal entry.

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As J. D. B. Miller says, "the individual is then a universe of interest; their orbits intersect, their influences on him very with time and circumstances. It is the exceptional man (in a developed society) who serves a single interest all the time."

This means that a person lives in a 'multiverse' of interest. They have many interests, and they struggle to protect them, to pursue them and to achieve them. The whole society 'is an association of collection of large groups. There are some organized institutions in them, while others are irregular groups of people which sometimes come into view. Being a member or supporter of any political party, a person may agree to reduce his freedom so much that he is considered as a part of the machinery of political organization, yet he can only keep so much freedom that they could include in the other political parties which are called pressure groups or interest groups, so that they can support and protect their interests. These basic divisions are inevitable and permanent, but the social system occupies itself and a sort of balance is maintained. But from time to time the balance of nature is altered. From the interaction and influx of various conflicting interests, through the spirit of the people of interdependent, through the perception of possibility and through the intervention of law and order people learn to live with others.

Now, the simpler definition of pressure group is possible. This is used to explain a group of such individuals who have same objectives, and to influence public policy want to get them through the political actions, in more simple words, 'an interest group can be said such groups which want to get something from the government. 'Prof. Mciver says '' when a number of man united for the defense, maintenance or enhancement of any more or less enduring position or advantage which they possess alike in common, the term 'interest' is applied to both group so united and to the cause which unites them. In the sense, the term is more frequently used in the plural, implying either that various groups or advantages combine to form a coherent complex as in terms vested interest or that uniting interest is maintained against a n opposing one, as in the expression conflict of interest or balance of interests. Interests so understood usually have an economic political character."

The definition of a pressure group is that 'an organized collection which seeks to manipulate the framework of governmental decisions without trying to place its members in formal government capacities'. In this way, the main features of pressure group activity are that primary groups are part of political process and they try to strengthen or modify the government policy but do not desire as pressure groups to become the government. They array from powerful employer organization and trade unions functioning at national level to small and relatively weak features which they split with the group. According to Henry A. Turner "pressure groups are different organizations from political parties which try to affect the aspect of public policy. They neither prepare the program of party nor do they select members for the public position. However, the pressure groups present themselves in front of the Union Resolution Committees of political parties so that they can request them to support their programs. They often try to get the support of both major parties and thus remove their programs from party dispute."

Pressure groups play a role in every political society. To highlight various dimensions and areas of operations it will be better to calculate the main characteristics of the pressure groups so that the implementation of modern political management can explain in a micro sense. The investigation about pressure groups is based on this presumption that practical or experimental politics is the matter of continuous stress and unstable balance between various conflicting interests of human beings. Keeping in mind the picture of organized groups of political system, the main features of pressure groups can be explained. The main features of pressure groups are as follows.

1. Specific interest is the base of any political groups. This means that until there is no such specific interest that forces human being to take support from the resources of politics for the improvement of the situation or for the protection against each other in a proactive manner until then no pressure group can be formed. Like choke a bole the persons having equal interest come close to each other to struggle for the protection of their interests. Because

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there is need of the participation of the members of pressure groups for strong explicitness of this struggle, thus it becomes mandatory that the members of the pressure groups have serious and stable base. That means there are no such groups that do not take seriously the problems of people or sign any resolution or after watching a football match they become separated. In real sense, an organized group claims that he represents only those persons who are true members of the group also represents those persons who are his effective members.

2. Pressure groups play their role in politics. Sometimes they show they are the active members of politics and sometimes they behave as they are not the members of politics. So they play the role of hide-and-seek in politics. It means they afraid of coming to the politics to play their role openly but in the same way they also try to hide their political structure with this argument that they are not the active members of politics. From this many times questions arise about their political characters and it becomes a matter of dispute to say whether a special group is political or not because he has limited his interests to the field of economic or sociology. For conducting any work the role he fulfills, issues also arise about that. Nevertheless, this can be pointed out that the role of a pressure group can be anything means from whole politicization of political parties to the de-politicization of economic or social groups. Eckstein is very right in his assessment that pressure group politics "represents something more than utter de-politicization it constitutes an intermediate level of activity between the political and the apolitical".

3. From the above points the differentiation between a pressure group and a political party can be obtained. Political party is a large organization assigned to certain principles and programmes and plays a open role in the politics of a country but the groups have limited number of members and attempts to play the role of either a splinter group within a political party or shifting its loyalty from one part to another and at the same time, playing its superiority from politics. However both have political complexion. A political party plays politics by virtue of its profession but a pressure group does it for the continuation of its work. For this reason informal and extra-constitutional agencies resemble each other wherefrom formal and constitutional system gets a lot of inspiration.

4. Keeping in view the measures of political intervention pressure groups can shape as section or cause groups. This can be called political and semi-political groups. They are political or section groups when they have far-reaching interests, when they try to participate in the political process for the requirements of their members and when such type of requirements of their own is not permanent. In comparison to this group cause groups are formed for a small period of time to protect or propagate a certain belief as religious or humanitarian but all of their activities cannot be called governmental.

   If we see it in a border perspective, pressure groups can be divided in to four categories. First many institutional groups (e.g., Different Governmental departments) who exist to do some work and run the process of administration. Second can be non-associational group on basis of class, race, religion, culture or gender. Third are some anomic groups, which come into existence as a result of turmoil and excitement a crisis, a specific event or issue. Lastly, associational groups which articulate the shared interest of their members over longer periods of time and try to achieve the specific and particular objectives of their members.

Self assessment

Fill in the blanks

1. Democracy along with a plurality society provides the recognition of existence to ……. groups.

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2. On national stage, some major pressure groups …… with each other
3. Society is a conjugate …… of large group.
4. …… group is such a type of group which wants to achieve something from government.

12.4 Techniques of Pressure Politics

"Individual interest groups generally function in a pragmatic and opportunistic fashion, using any method or technique which they believe will serve their purpose effectively. Undoubtedly, dictating most pressure group's activity is the criterion: What action will produce the maximum desired result with the minimum expenditure of time and resources? The tactics and techniques any particular group employs will be determined largely by such factor as size and geographic distribution of the membership, financial resources, prestige and position of the organization, quality of leadership and staff and relations with the political parties and other organized groups.

—Henry A Turner

Pressure is one type of safety instrument which is used in that situation when solicitation of political methods fails to achieve its goal. Pressure groups emerge to provide support and security to the interest, to threaten, to inform and to educate the people. In this way, now we can study the different techniques which are adopted by pressure groups. Nature of nation, boundary of constitutional provisions, availability of sanctions and according to the social and economic conditions of people the number of pressure group is many. Here we will discuss four techniques that are—lobbying, strike, bandh and gherao. The last two are the more specifically Indians whose clear figure we have witnessed over the years.

Task Give a brief light on techniques of political pressure.

12.5 lobby work

Did You Know? In every political system, one of the popular means used by pressure groups is lobbying whether his relationship with Liberal-Democracy or from totalitarianism.

The simple reason is that politics is the struggle for power in which they play their role. That means, the group that claims upon other groups or the full society, he considers difficult to stay out of politics. As in strictly laissez faire system of the nineteenth century, the government had to offer the lawful agenda within which social action takes place, so in modern industrial society (where regulation expands in some degree to almost all human activities and relationships the decisions of public officials are off vital significance. They are must be subjected to the close and incessant interest of the groups they influence. Even the most authoritarian rulers must take into account the army, the priesthood or some other politically influential elements.

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The word "lobby" is used both in narrower and wider sense. In narrower sense, it refers to the elements on a larger scale by outer organizations inasmuch as it is not limited merely to actions happening within the precincts of the parliament. In broader sense, it is an effort on the part of organized groups to manipulate any organization or group of governmental departments to look for preservation, security and recognition of their detailed consequence. That means, lobby is a political method it sole reason is influencing the government. An authentic definition of lobby in this regard can be thus delivered, in its real sense lobby is considered to the attempts of the persons to manipulate the votes of legislator. In its broader sense it means any effort by persons to manipulate the decisions of government. It is related to that works of private interest groups, often called pressure groups. The continuation of pressure groups and the implementation of the method of lobby in a free and open society where the compulsion of the government to consist the governed is identified and institutionalized through guarantees of freedom of speech, press assembly along with the right of the people to petition the government for the redressal of their accusations. Thus lobby absorbs a desired place in the constitution system because it is needed to the maintenance of self-government. It, however, does not imply that the continuation of pressure groups and the operation of the technique of lobbing are restricted to the countries having representative form of government; even countries with a totalitarian system are exception in the strict sense of the term.

The existence of pressure groups and the use of techniques of lobby are evident in free or open society where the responsibility of the government to consult the governed is recognized and institutionalized through the guarantees of newspapers and meetings, and along with the right of the people to petition the government for the redressal of their grievances. Thus, 'lobby work is provided the preferential space in constitutional system because it is deemed necessary for the government's self-test.' However, it does not mean that the existence of pressure groups and the management of techniques of lobby are limited to only those countries where representative governance system exists. According to the real meaning of this word, totalitarian countries are not free from it. Historically, this can be proved that the khalifa like Harun-Al–RashId was also going to see their people in disguise so that he could understand the feelings of their people and try to overcome their sufferings and provide justification for arbitrary rule. Recent examples show that natural groups have emerged in countries like Hungary or Czechoslovakia to challenge authority. Though they were suppressed, they provided an indication of the only means available to the people groaning the iron hold of totalitarian regime tied to the apron strings of a powerful leader. It shows that under a despotic government, the ruler must find some means to act from time to time as a politician with his ear to ground.

The management of lobby happens in the area of legislative movement in a free and domestic society. Hence we first refer to the service of this method in relation to the organization and working of a legislative body. Here it implies a very useful weapon in the hands of pressure group to accept their power over the legislator. Its most exciting form is mass lobby. The objective of this method is "to sway the member of parliament of the degree of feelings in his constituency on an issue and incidentally to put some arguments to him. In a leading case the American court interpreted that lobby should be construed in its commonly accepted sense a representation made directly to the congress, its members or its comities.

Lobby work is the technique to influence the legislative body, it may take any from

Example Personal meeting, delegations and deputations to the representatives of the legislative bodies, writing of letters and making telephone calls, etc

Along with this, support provided to the members at the time of election with man and money and warnings of removal of such support at the time of ensuing elections belong to the category. It is the constituency which provides the group with a sure way of catching attention of the members of parliament, no matter an open display of such weapons. While the removal of support or threat

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cannot the contempt of the house but the issue of threats or financial assistance breach of parliamentary privilege in offering certain sense. It is, however, that the clever groups use their threat in secret.

The members of parliament are elected by the votes of those people who keep some demands and hopes from the members of parliament. It is fair to say that the representative chosen by thousands of people cannot change his\her status as their spokesman all the time. Surely, the public anticipated from him to utilize his discretion. If he wants to maintain the integrity of its electoral area, as far as possible he should utilize his discretion. Stewart has said that "members of parliament are present in a specific environment. The ideas and principles which are considered very important for the members of parliament, the responsibility of members of parliaments towards his people is one of them. Members of parliament represent the election workers that do not mean they have to accept the ideas and principle of them in each matter."

The purpose of Lobby work is to send its agents to legislative meeting in the form of providing electoral support to the competing candidates. The support which is given to the representatives during the election campaign in the form of open manpower or the disguised financial aid that literally keeps in the pocket of pressure groups. However, the nature of conducting this technique is different in every state because of different constitutional methods and social economic situation. For example, a capitalist country which is run by presidential rule and on the basis of weak party organization, just like America, the lobby work which is done by business organization is very evident and legal however country like Britain where the ruling system of ministry of state is run by the strong organized discipline of two political parties and which is stand-up on the basis of liberal nature of people, there lobby work is provided the permission to play a secret role on the basis of tradition and not on the provision of constitution of parliament.

It is even more noticeable that a country where the blend of both parliament and presidential ruling is present and which is perverted from the hotheaded nature and multi-party system of nation in between decent living circumstances, like France, there the most important role of lobby work is done around the position of president who is neither responsible for the legislature nor responsible for the national assembly. At the end, a backward country like India in which the remainder of baronial economy is available and which is broken from the multi-party system, there lobby work takes the form of violence like bandh, strike and gherao, because western nations' peaceful and democratic methods are often not successful. Apart from that because every legislative body works with the support of committees where other measures of bills and proposed legislative is done the persons who do lobby work concentrate upon these committees where they try to provide the place to their agents.

Lobby work, in border sense, converts all departments' of government under its belt and for this reason its intercalations can be searched in administration and every area of adjudication. Because of policy making and policy-implementation executive has become an important organ of government and therefore, eyes of the persons who lobby are pinned on the actual executive members whether it is the president of counties like America and France or is prime minister of countries like Britain and others who follow the cabinet governance. Establishment of many committees for consulting and consolation creates a simile and appropriate medium. Bureaucratic is an important organ of executive and for this reason the persons who lobby tries to influence the executives who recruit the employee of administration through which the lobby persons can send their executives to the respective position. The result of this is that nowadays the eyes of the person who lobby is pinned on the administration of nation of every government. The main reason of this is that they try to enter their executive to the administrative system in which they get more benefit. An effective administration can face the pressure of these powers which attempt to hit them in any direction because they active in outside entities of the government so that according to the need their support can compose.t successful.ence like bandh, srike a position of ot also the responsibility of national assembly.

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In Judicial method, intercalations of Lobby work is done in indirect way because in comparison of legislative and executive members, members of judicial are stroked from pressure of external politics. The basic thing is that work should be achieved and if Lobby work is unable to achieve its purpose through the medium of legislative institution or his councils, and executive members and his bureaucracy, it should be understood that to win stake will hit the field of judicial intervention. Therefore, the issue of appointment of judges to fill their agents within the judiciary is become the first important subject. When a subject is before the court attempts should be made to impress the judges from away. The powers which can be used to impress legislators and executive members those powers are not considered appropriate to influence the judges. So the most effective way is to create a healthy public opinion so that the effect is put on the minds of the persons who sit in the bench of justice.

It is obvious that lobby work is one of the favorite techniques of pressure group by which they can play an important role in the governmental process. It has become a beneficial business for the vicious people. The behavior of this technique has become so much important especially in western societies that for its betterment emphasis is given to keep control on its bad effects of legislative precaution and not to nullify it, because its base is selfish, so it cannot be run on the basis of a standard principle. America did not get any useful results from the Federal Regulation of Lobbying Act of 1946. Neither its flow can be held unlawful in the democratic system, nor can it be covered by the requirements of the law, although it cannot be neglected the usefulness of legislative methods. Due to this reason social scientist hesitate to accept this thought that lobby work is not bad. They have accepted that this type of grouping representation can useful on condition that saves public welfare.

The appropriate sanction of the behavior of democratic government should be searched within the framework of democratic governance. It recognizes that every person has the right to protect its interests and to achieve these interests he openly struggle for them. Along with it, it is expected from him that for nation's interest to sacrifice his own interest. Steward gives suggestion for this hard matter, that any motion of Lobby work is unauthorized saying this will not a good sense, because to decide this matter is a work of whole group. These weapons provide a source of appeal for groups without this, such as unexpected feel they will be depend much more on government. It may be happened that mostly sources from these and methods are not a civilized and there is no any place of then in ideal political system, but in present situation they provide a source of campaign for many groups and this is a precaution of their positions. They are a part of communication in our society and because of this, they are valuable and important however sometime they become a disliking.

Self Assessment

Multiple Choice Questions:

5. Political party is one big ……..

   (a) Group (b) Organization (c) Community (d) Federalism

6. In a society, beneficial group provides outspokenness to …… demand.

   (a) Political (b) Social (c) Religious (d) Cultural

7. The functioning of Lobby work is done in an independent and democratic …… in area of legislative movement.

   (a) State (b) Community (c) Social (d) Religious

8. Because of policy-making and policy execution …… is an important part of government.

   (a) Judiciary (b) Executivity (c) Legislative (d) State

12.6 Strike

Notes

Strike is a common process of parties or groups through which they put pressure on others and compel them to accept their demands. In simple words, the meaning of strike is 'stop work'. One famous American writer Florence Peterson says that strike stops the work temporarily for any special cause and it restarts again when the problems of those who strike are solved. As far as the purpose and attitude of those on strike are concerned, they understand themselves as employees of the company but the company treats them as laborers for this reason they strike against the company. Their personal interests are focused on their own job, when they do a mutual agreement to the controversial topic then they have the right to come back on their position but in any case if they fail to solve the controversial topic they can come to their own position by obeying the conditions of the owner of the company. Work can't be stopped because of one person, so people who have same problems join in the strike to solve their problems or achieve their demands from the third party. The constitutional definition of the word strike is given in Section (2q) of Indian Industrial Disputes Act, it says, "strike" means a cassation of work by a body of persons employed in any industry acting in combination, or a concerted refusal, or a refusal, under a common understanding of any number of persons who are or have been so employed to continue to work or accept employment. Whenever employees want to go on strike they have to follow the procedure provided by the Act otherwise there strike deemed to be an illegal strike.

It is clear from the above two definitions that they are linked with industrial aspects of strike. But both have common essence—stop work—because strike is done by many people for achieving the same goals in a group form. So these definitions can be implemented on any strike, whether it is in a commercial institution or any industry or any office or factory, school or college or university etc. Therefore, such a definition of strike can be implemented in every working place, it can be said that the meaning of strike is to achieve group work by a group of people—it is related to the purpose of those person who want to leave. There is no doubt that strike is special position of use in straight pressure. Bondwart writes that strike is used to put economic pressure and to harm the factories or make the situation very stressful by which normal work stops. In simple form, the meaning of strike and investigation process is that pressure is performed as a sharp or till they change the points of strike when decision is not taken by self sacrifice or agreement.

If we want to explain the meaning of strike it becomes necessary to understand two things, i.e. the nature or structure of strike and its purpose. As far as the structure of strike is concerned, it can be said that it consists of three factors such as "The number of people that trap in the strike, effect of stopping the work and its efforts for proving own motive. Strike can't be initiated by a single person so for this number of people is required and perform this work. The practical form of strike is that there will be no work during strike period and importance is not also given to this thing that for how long the strike will be continued. Strike can be continued for some minutes, hours, days, weeks or months, but purpose of strike can't be completed without organized work. This is a single minded work, and it is done by taking a leave or enticing other people or pressurizing others. However, if any person is on leave or does not present in the strike for any cause it can be said about him that he is on strike. If this thing is needed to prove, the exchange of some general information between them will be a sufficient proof.

The essence of purpose or intention creates a difficult situation. Work could be stopped if the person who works in the respected position leaves the work from any purpose or motive, no matters, whether it relates with the nature of the job or not. A strike happens when large number of people assembles to achieve their demands from the authority of any organization or they pressurize the authority to obey their demands. But if some people, for example, stop working saying that they have to go to watch the football match or to attend funeral, it can be called a strike. However, it would be a lame excuse to keep them safe in a hard situation. If any group

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stops working or challenges to their authority, it would be called strike whether its purpose is political economic or humanitarian.

However, if for some reasons, some persons challenging the authorities stop working, when the employer provides some additional work to them, it cannot be called a strike. But the strike situation arises, when a group of people inspires others, persuades or forces them not to give any extra work in any case. Apart from this if the people stop working not fully but partly it will also be called a strike. It cannot be differentiated between work and partly work, if some persons not stopping the work fully but stops partially it is called strike. It is also called partly strike.

The test of the word strike directs us toward those varieties which the nature of master-servant relationship is irrelevant or not. The cause of this is that strike can be happened there, where the members who take part in the strike have direct opposition with the company, it can also be happened from such methods, where employers benefit can effect by relevant method. Apart from this, strike can also be seen as a source of political pressure groups whose effects are on any industry, office, institution or any working place or keep a close to whole country or its big-big parts. In this way there are many forms of strike which is discussed below.

Sympathetic strike occurs if the people involved in it stop working sympathetically getting their peers support whether they have any economic relationship with their investors or they have any special request or complaint or not. Many times it happens that the workers do not want to strike because they will have to face tightness and other consequences, so they raise only a token strike whose purpose is to stop working for a short time though it becomes a symbolic reminder of what can happen in the future.

When people involved in it strike and their purpose is to force the government to adopt or reject a special policy, to pass a legislative measure or revoked, to appoint a commission of inquiry and to dismiss a minister, etc. then this phenomenon becomes political strike. However, in some cases, when the strike zone or the entire country becomes the part of the strike and its impact is found on the country's basic governance it is called general strike. We call it 'Bandh'. Usually, such type of strike workers does against the owners. One Francis socialist Blanqui says the term general strike is not the strike of every laborer in necessary form. On the contrary, it should not be expected that a large number of workers to be animated by class consciousness kind of fiery through which they think strike is the purpose to end the capitalist system. It is expected that a large numbers of laborers join the strike and stop the work of capitalist.

Many provisions are made in labor legislation for the adjudication of labor disputes in a special point of view, and generally it is not expected from the laborers that for their pleasure and satisfaction they should strike. But the right to strike has given recognition by some constitutional provisions from some special points of view so that they can provide a justified aspect. Strike is the last option to put demands in front of the authorities. So a strike cannot be initiated before trying all the options of solving the problems in a peaceful manner. Before strike it is necessary to send a prior notice. Before giving any prior notice if the strike takes place, it is called 'lightning strike' from the public point of view. It is related to the technique of stopping work immediately, and its purpose is to tease the owners and harass them. It is called quickie in America. Since there are no limitations of human wisdom, the laborers of a public service utility can initiate a new type of strike. This strike is called 'regulation strike' or 'go-slow-strike'. This implies that workers will come to the work but they will follow rules and regulations so strictly as in fact, the normal rules of behavior to work will be violated.

One great unusual situation prevails at that time when a strike takes place in circumstances having no factor behind it. However, such a strike is totally different from another type of strike which is known in the name of 'stay in strike' or 'tool down strike' or 'chalk down strike' or 'tool down strike' etc. Considering this strike as the last option of strike, the workers stop working in the organization. They don't leave their workplace to make their presence noticeable that they are on duty and they are discharging their duty peacefully. The main feature besides denying the

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work by Sit down strike is to have possession of business property and prevent other employees' access to it through which they want to work. The people who strike in such type of strike do not blockade the owner they blockade the machinery in which they work. In this strike the workers who strike neither work in the organization nor do they allow other workers to work. Such type of strike can take the form of violation. If they destroy machinery, furniture and important documents of the organization, they will be punished according to the law of the country. If the owner uses police power to keep the workers outside, it would not be regarded as an offence.

But its suitability can be established sit down strike from cause of this facts, the factor of transgression is definitely contained here that one group of employee joined with other people, who want to achieve a special purpose in any business. They want to group forcibly on asset of such business. Teller says that this type of strike is transgression in every limit because the people who join the strike, not only they establish themselves in office but also they stop the work, deny to accomplish their duty and also try to harm business in different ways. Indian High Court has thought in different ways in the case of Punjab National Bank where the supreme judge has given the decision that such situation will not be illegal and unsuitable, if laborers always remain in a peaceful and non-violent way. In such a situation, the civil court has said that no dewani and faujdari cases will be lodged if the laborers are presented in the strike by using their rights of entering into the workplace. In this way, sit-down strike is different other from strikes.

But the most reprehensible form of strike is fasting or hunger strike where any person keeps doing non-violence without taking food and drink. Fasting is a religious ritual and this is considered as a sacred way of the self-purification. Under the law, if fasting is taken to the extent of starved or death then it is considered as a crime. But in the name of non-violence, there is political importance of keeping fasting publically and it has been seen in many conditions that some satygrahi has stayed in gangajal, some are eating offerings and some are ending their life by starving. One more thing although the nature of fasting is non-violent, sometimes it takes the form of violence. The most destructive form of hunger strike is found on the declaration of satyagrahi when the satyagrahi keeps condition he will die after so many days of his hunger strike if his demands are not accepted by the authorities. For this publicity is required to transmit information through feelings to instill in their favor. This " is called patrolling near the compound of the organization who involves in the fight and generally boards and stripes or jndon is exhibited in which the description of fight is given.

If we view the practical aspects of strike, sit-ins are recognized as the consistency of strike. The persons who involve in strike raise slogan 'shame shame' and raise strong violent voice whose intention are to stop the people who are not involved in the strike. Only strike is legal, sit-ins are illegal and some circumstances only the strike can be held fair. Peaceful non-violent protest is also considered punishable by Indian Penal Code. The main reason of this is that inoffensive sit-ins never happens some amount of force and violence are must always remain part of it. In a famous case, Mumbai High Court has given the decision that peaceful sit-ins can also create sense of fear and dread situation can stop any person to enter into the organization and reach to the concerned persons and it should be understood obviously this must be remembered that any possibility of a peaceful sit-ins should not be converted on the results of violence. But we are often seen instances where such peaceful sit-ins take the form of violence.

Example During Swadesi Movement congresses had appealed people to boycott foreign goods in India.

Techniques of strikes have their own dangers. Like one Gandhian technique strike has its own justification because it is based on the powers of trueness and non-violence otherwise it is always a violent method in the hands of laborers from which they can threaten their employers. In the

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organization stopping the work in organized and collected manners the working class wants to prove that this is one better method on their hands to pressurize the authority groups to influence them to take necessary action to solve their economic and political problems. Sometimes working class creates such a situation by which all the administration of country becomes closed. In this way, they make the government helpless to take necessary actions. There is no doubt that in the hands of labor unionists strike takes a serious form, which is understood primarily the display of the inherent social powers of the laborers, together stopping the essential services and industries they stop all the social and economic life of the country and pressurize the privileged classes to accept their demands. So special strikes no matter how detailed they are should be understood the final preparation and training of the massive general strike through which workers have to make themselves masters of society.

Strike is a favorite technique in the in hands of leftist forces and they provide it in the form to summon the appropriate emotions and means of strengthening the labor battle against the capitalists. Strike brings all the workers in coordinated and cooperative groups, and increases their desire and produce furious feelings on them. A strikes becomes radical the strike not being a function of a particular class of workers it is becoming the objectives to conquer the final act of the class. In this way commonly strike becomes a straight action for economic and social revolution. This will become such an instrument from which employees and administrative are to be compelled for this matter that will be dedicated towards laborers.

Self Assessment

State whether the following statements are True or False:

9. Strike is the hardest method to put pressure.
10. Most blamed form of strike is hunger-strike.
11. Bandh is the mischievous method to do disturbance.
12. The strike based on non- is the extension of Ghandhan technique.

12.7 Bandh

Literally, the meaning of the word 'Bandh' is to close, which can be compared with general or overall strike, whether they are the employees of office or shops, media, transport services etc. or they are in full or in partial form. This form of strike is very dangerous than strike, because for any political purpose it is the destructive form of technique of organized violence whose political motive can be to form the government and finish it, to weaken or strengthen a contract, humiliate or harass the ruling or opposition leaders. It can be identified from the example of Bandh that it is a mischievous method of performing disturbance knowingly in which people do violence or fracture in group form. In some most fierce situations it can be identified by the civil war because no matter the persons who does this continue to claim that it is a legitimate, peaceful and democratic case, this can be called blind rebellion of political parties, pressure groups, and the law students to prevent or weaken or topple the established law against which this destructive technique is used.

It is often seen that people whose vested interest is to generate circumstances of public uprising through which power is seized by the additional method of ballot box. This type of revolutionary method is their first step in the direction for obtaining their goals. It is evident that those people have regards in these democratic methods. In their hands Bandh is a modern technique of violent sources which is provided to them from a cause of democratic structure; however, their purpose is to finish the democracy. In this way this argument will be very laughable that this technique common strike such democratic opposed from can't be differentiated from other strikes.

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The bandh which has happened as violent sabotage in the big cities of our country and the way usually communists, post-communists, fascist and their sympathizers have held up it, it can be called bloody rebellion. Namely, it is wrongly stated about them that this method is the representative to show the failures of government such as language policy, food problems, increasing price, employments, etc. which different fronts put on government. The whole form of this destructive technique can be seen in Fascists and developing battle-policy of people who passing through various stages wants to bring a violent revolution. The different stages of bandh are like this:

1. Strategically, infiltrate the agents to important means of communication and organizations, manage the people, get the paper, to start work in radio, station, labour unions, and even do not leave the military people and the police.
2. From the symbols and slogans of peace, bread, civil imperialism, etc. try to win the hearts of the people.
3. Assemble the people through the publicity of news papers, pamphlets, radio announcements, and free transportation.
4. Do people excited to revolt against the police and shoulders taking risk to their life
5. For funeral rites to take out joins perform a creation of martyr, to done a memory fresh of companion soldiers death aid in this way religious struggle of environment keep living.

Unfortunately, it is found that some vicious leaders trap many people under them who are unaware from real political matters and force them to become the subject of protest. This is very strange that extremist leftist citing human welfare receive the support of political parties and groups in their break-up activities. In this way, revolutionary leaders invoke the people to do the plane activities such as raising slogan loudly while the vicious people do some extinctive activities under this mass uprising such as cutting the electric and telephone wires, putting fires on the resources of transportation, breaking the walls of the building, etc. It is found from all the ecological evidence that the leaders who are involved in this bandh closely follow matters of the protest because the protest becomes so organized and controlled that the opposition leaders also appreciate the work skill of the leaders and obeys that by them they can achieve their prior target.

So, this thing should be kept in mind that Bandh is definitely a danger source whose development is done by our leftist powers recently. Generally, this is not the expanded technique of Gandhian non-violence and satyagrah. In special form this is not an extension of Gandhi's technique based on violent resistance and non-violent powers. In practical form of this, communist literature have all motions can be utilized here. In India, mostly political parties have faced this despairing. He verified its dangerousness much more. This source round all sides with this faith of Lenin, when we have revolution group of trained labourers from special method, who have passed the lessons from institutions, then what is strength of police that they will stand front of him, In this way one criticism said that left-handed political parties and take a faith of student after this communist making the occasion of Band in every state and who was a role of his revolution and addition of the nothing else. In any state before the date of Bandh, they said with hardly voice that it will be a peaceful and this is straight simple political opposing for use of this will be take a permission in democracy, but in hidden way they make all preparation of violent and cut the wire of telephone, fracture the Railway track, government Bridges, factories, Government offices, Post office and put on fire on court etc. destroy the important buildings, attack on police, enforcement on Government equipment's planning will be fulfilled and unreality, they wearied a garment to his violent programmes.

12.8 Gherao

Like bandh, gherao is also an Indian word which has become a household by its extreme use in social, economic, political and educational or any part of our life. In straight and simple words, the meaning

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of gherao is to captivate employers or make them prisoner by the employees of the organization to meet their demands. The main feature of this method is to put the opposing party in prison for unlimited period. It means that gherao is a kind of protest by the employees to lock the managers, employers, etc. It means in the area of lock-out gherao can take place partially or fully. In gherao, the employers or the authorities of the organizations are made prison for many days in their organization by their employees till their demands are not met. The purpose of gherao is to put the employers inside the organization and in any circumstances not to allow them to go outside whether the place is office or factory or living place, in which matter of transgression be produced. Dr. Kashyap says, "when employers, factory managers, etc are encircled in their offices or elsewhere by the labourers and are prevented from freely moving about or out for hours or days together until their demands are conceded is called gherao.

Occurrences of this coercive practice observed their awful frequency in State of West Bengal, in particular after the fixing of non-Congress ministry laid by Ajoy Mukherji of the Bangla Congress. Consequently, the matter was taken to the courts. In the case of Jay Engineering Works, the chief justice of Calcutta High Court in a lengthy judgment dated Sept. 29, 1967, observed gherao is a substantial obstruction of target either by encirclement or by forcible occupation. The target can be a place or person generally the managerial or supervisory staff' of an organizational enterprise. The obstruction can be full or partly and is invariably accompanied by unfair restraint and/or unfair imprisonment in which assault, criminal-trespass, mischief to persons` property, unlawful assembly and various other criminal offences are involved. Some of the offences complained of are malicious and merciless, like imprisonment in a small space without lights and fans, and for long periods without food or communication with the outer world. The persons imprisoned are beaten, humiliated and neglected and not permitted even to reply calls of nature and subjected to various other forms of sufferings, and are entirely at the kindness of their besiegers. The thing is to induce those who control industry to present to the demands of the workers, without recourse to the machinery provided by law and in wanton disregard of it, in short, to accomplish their purpose not by diplomatic means but by aggression."

However, the technique of gherao is dissimilar from the Gandhian technique of satyagrah. The *satyagrah* is based on the truth and soul-force while gherao is related to violence on account of having no care for the plight of the other party and no regard to the sanctity of means. Similarly, "gherao' is discimilar from a violence. The gherao is a democratic right where any number of persons can hold a public exposition of their complaints or demands without resorting to violence, while the former is a disorderly demonstration where the party resorting to it forces its will upon the party under imprisonment. Then, gherao is also dissimilar from a sit-in strike. The meaning of sit -in strike is the refusal to work by the workers and also their control over the industry with a view to refusing access to others desiring to be on duty, the former is related with mere imprisonment of the management staff with or without the situation of the stoppage of work and may occur even at the hands of those who may be regarded as 'unconcerned elements'. Finally, gherao is dissimilar from picketing. The previous is a essential tool that may take place even without the prior existence of a strike, since its essential component is the imprisonment of the opposite party, while picketing is the marching to and fro of the persons in order to enhance the confidence of the strikers."

No doubt that gherao is the most culpable technique of demonstration politics and its incidence cannot be justified even by the canon of expediency. Nothing but the storehouse of ruination—moral, mental, political, economic, social, cultural and psychological is the net result. Gherao is not only a crime in it a bundle of crimes are involved criminal trespass, wrongful restraint and imprisonment and a host of other wrongs punishable under the penal law of a country.

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12.9 Summary

- The definition of a pressure group is that 'an organized collection which seeks to manipulate the framework of governmental decisions without trying to place its members in formal government capacities'. In this way, the main features of pressure group activity are that primary groups are part of political process and they try to strengthen or modify the government policy but do not desire as pressure groups to become the government.
- Prof. Mciver says ''when a number of man united for the defense, maintenance or enhancement of any more or less enduring position or advantage which they possess alike in common, the term 'interest' is applied to both group so united and to the cause which unites them. In the sense, the term is more frequently used in the plural, implying either that various groups or advantages combine to form a coherent complex as in terms vested interest or that uniting interest is maintained against a n opposing one, as in the expression conflict of interest or balance of interests. Interests so understood usually have an economic political character."
- Pressure is one type of safety instrument which is used in that situation when solicitation of political methods fails to achieve its goal. Pressure groups emerge to provide support and security to the interest, to threaten, to inform and to educate the people. In this way, now we can study the different techniques which are adopted by pressure groups.
- Strike is a common process of parties or groups through which they put pressure on others and compel them to accept their demands. In simple words, the meaning of strike is 'stop work'. One famous American writer Florence Peterson says that strike stops the work temporarily for any special cause and it restarts again when the problems of those who strike are solved. As far as the purpose and attitude of those on strike are concerned, they understand themselves as employees of the company but the company treats them as laborers for this reason they strike against the company.
- Like bandh, gherao is also an Indian word which has become a household by its extreme use in social, economic, political and educational or any part of our life. In straight and simple words, the meaning of gherao is to captivate employers or make them prisoner by the employees of the organization to meet their demands. The main feature of this method is to put the opposing party in prison for unlimited period

12.10 Keywods

Bandh: To close the office, shops, media, transport service in partial or complete way

Strike: Close the work or unfixed and make a pressure for accepting their demands.

12.11 Review Questions

1. Explain the inter-action of pressurize groups in political parties.
2. Explain the meaning and structure of pressure groups
3. What do you understand by Lobby?
4. What is strike? Explain different types of strike.
5. What do you understand by Bandh? Explain its role and influence in society and institutions.
6. What is Ghearo? Explain

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Answers: Self Assessment

1. Pressurize	2. Cooperation	3.Federalism	4. Beneficial
5. (b) Organization	6. (a) Political	7. (c) Society	8. (b) Execution
9. False	10. Truth	11.Truth	12. False

12.12 Further Readings

Books

1. **Comparative Politics—Chandradevi Prasad—Atlantic Publishers**
2. **Indian Politics—Jagdish Chandra Johri—Sterling Publishers**
3. **Comparative Politics and Political Analysis—D.S. Yadav**
4. **Comparative Politics—B.B. Chaudhari—Mahabir Book Depot**

Unit 13 : Poverty and Human Development

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Objectives

After studying this unit, students will be able to:

- Understand the concept and measures of Human development.
- Know human development indication for different states of India.
- Know National Human Development Report (2001) and Poverty.

Introduction

Describing the concept of human development,in the huamn development report (1997) it is discussed that U.N.D.P. Than it is that process by which alternative of general people is done extensible and by this obtained a index level for their welfair. This is origin of Human development. Such principles are not to be limited and not to be stable but keeping the view point of development the general people have three alternatives—one is to lead a long and healthy life, to obtain knowledge and to achieve a best life-style by increasing their reach on necessary resounances. There are also many alternatives which are consided very important by many people. There No table among these are—creativeness from political, economical and social independency and opportunity for making manufacturer and gain a profit of self-respected and guaranteed human rights. Clearingying this Human development report (1997) mentioned that.

Notes Income is only one alternative which people will want to achieve, because this is very important but it is not a summary of their whole life. Income is a source but Human development is one purpose.

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13.1 Concept and Measures of Human Development

In guidance of Mehaboob Uhal Hacq, in 1990 after the publishing of first human development report, efforts are being made to build measuresof human welfare and to netive them. Three measures are developed—these are—human development index—gender relatied developement index and human poverty index .

Human development Index

Human development Index is an average achievement of three origin of scope.

(1) For along and healthy expectancy of life at birth.

(2) Knowledge for which measurement on adult literacy rate is (Two-thirds of weight) and whole, primacy, middle and third total enrolment ratio (one-third of weight) are assessed.

(3) A good standard of living whose measure is pen capita domestic product

Before calculating the human development Index, These three separate dimensions are designed. For this purpose, Maximum and minimum values are chosen for each indiaton..

Table 13.1

For the calculation of human development Index maximum and minimum value		
Index	Maximum	Minimum
Life expectancy at birth	85	25
Adult literacy rate	100	0
Gross enrolment ratio	100	0
Per individual (U. S. Doller purchase power similarity)	40,000	100

Human development index is an average in these dimensions indices. In table 25.2 the calculation of human development index 2007 has been done taking the human development report 2009 as the base. All countries were bifurcated under three categories (1) higher human development group where the human development index was than 0.8; (2) medium development group-whose index was 0.5 to 0.8; (3) lower human development group-had those countries under them whose human development index was less than 0.5.

Table 13.2

Human Development Index (2007) for selected countris.					
S. N	Countris	Birtrh dates combined human life-expectancy year 2007	Adult literacy % 2007	Joined enrolment Ratio 2007	Human Development Index 2007
High human development Index (H.D.I 0.8 and more than from its)					
1.	Norway	80.5	99.0	98.6	0.971
4.	Canada	80.6	99.0	99.3	0.966
10.	Japan	82.7	99.0	86.6	0.960
13.	United States of America	79.1	99.0	92.4	0.956
21.		79.3	99.0	89.2	0.947
26.	South Korea	79.2	99.0	98.3	0.937

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53.	Mexico	76.0	92.8	80.2	0.854
58.	Venejzuela	73.6	95.2	85.9	0.844
59.	Saudi Arabia	72.7	85.0	78.5	0.843
66.	Malaysia	74.1	91.9	71.5	0.829
71.	Russion Federation	66.2	99.5	81.9	0.817
75.	Brazil	72.2	90.0	87.2	0.813
Medium Human Development (H.D.I from 0.5 to 0.8)					
88.	Iran	71.2	82.3	73.2	0.782
92.	China	72.9	93.3	68.7	0.772
102.	Sri Lanka	74.9	90.8	68.7	0.751
105.	Phillipines	71.6	93.4	79.6	0.751
111.	Indonesia	70.5	92.0	68.2	0.734
116.	Vietnam	74.3	90.3	62.3	0.703
123.	Egypt	69.9	66.4	76.4	0.703
134.	India	63.4	66.0	65.0	0.612
141.	Pakistan	66.2	54.2	39.3	0.572
146.	Bangladesh	65.7	53.5	52.1	0.543
158.	Nigeria	47.7	72.0	53.0	0.311
Low Human development (H.D.I less than from 0.5)					
182.	Niegr	50.8	28.7	27.2	0.340

The data of 182 countries have been collected. From which 83 were in High human development range, 75 were in Medium development range and 24 were in low development range. In 1994 India was in 138 rank. But in 2009 it developed and reached on 134 rank. In table 25.3, some selected countries developed tender is given. From previous last tow decade (1975-2007) in more time all countries are trying to develop their Human developed Index. For the period of 1975–2007 among the high perform countries are China, South Korea, Mysur and India and for some extent Bangladesh and Pakistan also . If this tendency will be maintained many medium human developed countries will be joined the group of high human developed countries and in this way many low developed countries would be joined a group of medium human developed countries. This is a praisworthy changes. India had developed their human development Index, which was 0.406 in 1975 and 0.612 in 2007. It has to complete long suffer before, before joining in this category of high human development.

Gender-related Development Index

However human development Index is a measure of average achievement. Gender related development Index shows dissimilarity between male and female in this average achievement. The three dimensions used for this, are—(i) In woman Life expectaney at birth, women adult literacy rate and total enrolment and women per individual income. If gender in equaliety does not exist human development Index and gender related development Index will be equal. If gender in equality exist gender related development Index will be less than human development Index. The more the difference The more will be gender in equality. From the inspection of data it is found that mostly gender equality exist in those country, these are—Narve, Canada, The United States of America, Japan, Mexico, The Phillipins, Sri Lanka, China, Vietnam and Indonesia. In those countries have more gender dissimilarities—these are Saudi Arab, Iran, India, Mysr and Negeria, but it will be suitable to say that, in world had so much awareness

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exist about sex dissimilarities and performily efforts for doing less sex dissimilarities and provide the best place in family, some countries are going backward due to cultural bias toward ladies but there have done the efforts for the purpose of sex equality by women movement.

Human Poverty Index

Human development report 1997 developed the concept of Human poverty Index, which focusee on three necessary parts human life that are neflected in human development, Index— long life, Knowledge and one best living level. First of deprivation is relatied to death in young age and in this index its indication is occurred from the percentage of achieving the death persons whose age is less than 40. Second deprivation is related to knowledge and its standard is obtained from the percentage of illiteracy in adults.

Third deprivation is related to best life style. It is movable of three struge—Percentage of general people in which (i) Health services (ii) water is available (iii) percentage of malnurtured child under the age of five years. It would be relevant to know tha human poverty index is not included in income. According to human development index 1997, the logic behind the system of raising economic instrument is that in human development index all national products is a mixture of government and nongovernment facilities.

To estimate Income poverty one, main problem is that poverty line for different countries can become to be very misled because in every country there is difference in necessary things. In any country on the basis of present consumption structure clothes, house and sources of communication and telecasted act Radio and telephone etc. and so many things can be necessary to understood for social cooperation in one religious community, but in other religious country there are not consider in this way, conclusion is from escape of social engagement minimum income can be diffferent in different-different religious community.

For this reason, malnutrition of child used in human poverty index whose measurement is relatively easy and their data can be arranged very easily, along with it health service and scope of safe water also be added there. Taking all these three variables to count is understood suitable to represent human poventy index.

For some selected O, E, C, D countries one separate human poverty index has been used. In which four variables are joined.

1. Birth to the age of 60 are not likely to service.
2. Percentage of adults in lack of functional literacy
3. Percentage of population living under poverty line per day 11 Dollar (work power similarity 1994)
4. Decisive of long period unemployed rate or social exclusion.

Table 13.3

Human Development Index, Human poverty Index and Gender related Developed Index—same part but different Measurements				
Index	Long-life	Knowledge	Best living level	Exclusion of cooperation
Human Development Index (HDI)	Expected age on Born	1. Adult litercy rate 2.Joinedenrolment ratio	Gross national product per individual purchase power U.S. Dollar	

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Human Poverty Index	No expectation of living till age of 40 on born	Adult literacy rate	Depression in arrange of economic sources percentage of people who use developed water sources percentage of less than weight age of 15 years	
Human poverty Index-2 HPI-2	No expectation of life till age of 60 on born	Percentage of adults in lack of exclusive literacy skill	Percentage of population living under the line of Income poverty	Long-period unemployment rate (12 month Income or more than)
Gender-related development Index-GDI	Life expectation on born of Male and female	1. Adult literacy rate of male and female 2. Male and female have joined primary, middle and third enrolment relation	Occurred income of male and female on estimated resolvness who shows its rights	

Human poventy Index is the average of these four variables. Carefully studying the Human poverty Index it is found that in these countries this index is every high—Niegr (55.8%), Bangladesh (36.1%), Pakistan (33.4%). India which is a country of medium Human development Index has also very high Human poverty Index it means 28.0% and in Mysur it is high till 23.4%. It is necessary to keep attention that 64.4% of population of nigeria were Income poverty, but according to Human poverty Index it was 36.2 per cent but in reference to Bangladesh it is totally opposite under—Human poverty Index was 36.1 but Income poverty population was 49.6 per cent.

For India, 41.6 per cent of populations were under the international Income poverty but Human poverty Index was 28.0 per cent. So Human poverty Index is one extensive measurement in which entering the different quantities of deprivation are done on the bases of three variables but income poverty line, whether is important, but it is based upon one variable.

Millenium declaration of UN for 2015

- *To reduce the ratio of world population 50 per cent whose daily earningse's less then 1 dollar.*
- *To reduce the ratio of population 50 per cent who is sufferning from starvation*
- *To obtain the purpose of applying primary education*
- *To obtain the sex equality in attainment of education*
- *To reduce the ratio of meterial morality 314th.*
- *To prevent H.I.V Aids and Malaria and to inadicate and prevent other diseases in human development Report (2001). That in United Nations millennium summit meeting all leaders of world make a agreement about development and quantitiable and moniterable abloshmenc of poverty up to 2015 .*

It is hard for all the developing countires of the world to achieve this rate SC fast. 66 countries of the world are progressing towards reducing the percentage of death rate of children below 5 years

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to two-third of the present death rate. But all those countries who comprise about 62% of the total population, their death rate is very high. Out of them, 50 countries are progressing towards having safe drinking water system. There still exists as good as 83 countries which form about 83% of the world population who still lack proper drinking water. About more than 40% of the world population are still progressing towards reducing the income poverty line to about 50% of the present situation. This is happening in only 11 countries out of which India and China alone comprise 38% of the total population. 70 countries are still counted amongst the backward countries. A part from China and India there are nine Countries which comprose 50% of the world population—who are progressing towards reducing the income poverty line graph to half of what it is now.

Self Assessment

Fill in the Blanks:

1. Income is only …… which the People achieve.
2. Human development Index of development …… origine scope of average achievement.
3. Accounts for…….which in an important……migrediant of development online of the human race.

13.2 National Human Development Report—2001

Planning commission has presented the human development Report (2001) in which Akhil Bhartiya Hunman development Index and state wise human development are presented. These data are related from 1981, 1991 and 2001. Because of non-availability of data for every state human development Index as been obtained only to 15 states.

Usually, National human development report use that dimension where compacted in report of human development. It mean, life expectation, Educational achievement and economical achievement, But a small change has been done in U.N.D.P index.

Table 13.4

Human Development Index—Differ from U.N.D.P Index		
U.N.D.P Index	Achievement	Index of Human development Report
Life expectation on born	Life-expectation	1. Life expectation on age of 1 year 2. Child Death rate
Adult Literacy rate joined with ratio of enrolment	Educational achievement	3. Literacy Rate in 7 year and more than 4. Thickness of formal education
Actual Gross local product (Purchase power similarity of per individual on base of this U.S. Dollar.	Economic achievement	5. Per individual consumption expense which adjustment done with dissimiarity

In National Human Development Report for the calculation of composite Human Development index the importance is given to different indexes. For example for health indicator 65 percent of weight is given to life expectancy whole child death rate has received only 35 per cent. In this way, for the

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preparation of acadmic literacy note literacy is given weight of 35 % and Index of formal education thickness has given 65 per cent weightage and for which enrolment will be made a bate of answerable classes from class 1 to till 12. For indexing of economic achievement per individual, consumptions are adjusted with inflation, so that on base of per individual consumption, camparison can be made in temporary and buffer state.

Example

As a manner of U.N.D.P executaion in the calculation of National Human Development Index their three indexes have provided a equal importance it means life—expectation, education achievement and economic development. For the calculation of different indexes, measurement standard of National human development Report is determined

Table 13.5

Measurement Standard Human Development Index		
Index	Minimum	Maximum
Consumption-expanses (per Individual per month	65 Rs.	325 Rs.
Literacy for 7 and more than of its age	0	0
Adjusted thichness of formal education	0	7
Life expectation on age of 1 year	50 years	80 years
Child death rate	20 per thousand	

Measurement standards are such that they start from period of 1980 can be used for temporary comparison for long time. The measurement standards which are selected, mostly they will be proved truth till 2020, although in that time motion of human development will be enough.

One excellent characteristic of this report is that human Development Indexes are prepared on The basis of date of 1981 and 1991 for villages and cities. Due to the unavaiability of data human development Index for 2001 have been calculated for selected main states.

Table 13.6

Human development Index for Villages and cities—All India			
	1981	1991	2001
Villages	0.263	0.340	-
Cities	0.442	0.511	-
United	0.302	0.381	0.472

It is worth noting , that in 1981 Human development Index for India was 0.302 which developed in 1991 to 0.381 and again developed to 0.472 in 2001. Because human development Index is less than 0.500 in 2001, according to International standards India is a country of low human development Index.

Village-city differences in human development index. National Human development report has given attention towards irregularity of village-cities in India. At all India level in 1981 Village-Human development Index was 0.263 and cities Index was 0.442. So Cities-Villages ratio was 1.68. In 1991, Villagers-human development Index was 0.340 but cities Index was 0.511. So Cities-Villages Ratio was 1.50. It is clear that from the viewpoint of human development, inequality of Cities-Village be came 1.50 from 1.68, which is

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note nough, but important and from this it is identifeed that much more attention is gives to village-cities. But there is a sharp difference in human development index at state level. The states or federal sectors in which city-village difference in low (less than 1.25) are Kerala, Goa, Pondicherry, Delhi, Andaman Nicobar, Manipur and Lakshadweep. But the states in which medium city-village difference is found are Mizoram, Nagaland, Punjab, Tamil Nadu, Maharashtra, Haryana, Gujarat, Karnataka, Kolkata, Andhra Pradesh, Sikkim, Jammu and Kashmir, Tripura, Meghalays, Assam, Rajasthan, Uttaranchal, Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh and Bihar.

National Human Development Report gave the indication to that direction in which royal policies can be executed so that in country human development Index will be developed in full way.

From human devlopment perspective in different states city-village disparity is expressed, and this has been emphasized that human development in rural areas is necessary to increase so that the gap between human development and city-village reduces.

Table 13.6

Growth in India and selected Index of Human					
State	**Annual growth Rate of net state Gross product from 2004-5 to 2008-09**	**Percentage of population under poverty line**		**Born rate 2008**	**Death rate 2008**
Punjab	6.14	8.4	4.0	17.3	7.0
Maharastra	7.35	30.7	7.2	17.9	6.0
Haryana	9.98	14.0	4.8	23.0	6.0
Gujrat	9.88	16.8	4.6	22.6	6.0
West Bengal	5.77	24.7	15.0	17.5	6.0
Karnatak	7.58	15.0	4.6	19.8	7.4
Kerala	7.81	15.0	21.0	14.6	6.6
Tamil Nadu	8.48	22.5	11.8	16.0	7.4
Andhra Pradesh	8,81	15.5	8.0	18.4	7.8
Madhya Pradesh	5.00	38.3	4.5	28.0	8.6
Assam	5.51	19.7	8.3	23.9	8.6
Uttar Pradesh	6.14	32.8	4.1	29.1	8.4
Now Orissa	9.35	46.4	7.3	21.4	9.0
Rajashan	9.98	22.1	3.1	27.5	6.8
Bihar	8.04	41.4	7.3	22.8	7.4
Akhil Bharat		27.7	7.3	22.8	7.4

Sources:

1. Compiled and computed from Handbook of statistics of Indian Economy (2004-05) for the period 1993-94 to 2003-04, CSO National account statistics (2009) Ecconomic Survey 2009-10.
2. Date of unemployment Rate on base of daily by Planning commission

Notes

3. Census of India 2001, Provisional population total purpose of 2001
4. Family Welfare and Health, Govt of India

Are you know that on base of International standard India such a country of following human development Index

Child Death Rate (2008)	Literacy Rate (2001)	
	Total	Female
49	69.9	63.6
42	77.3	67.5
59	68.6	36.3
57	70.0	58.6
46	69.2	60.2
52	67.0	37.5
11	79.9	87.9
43	73.5	64.5
59	61.1	51.2
82	64.1	50.3
67	64.3	56.0
76	57.4	43.0
83	63.6	51.0
75	61.0	44.3
60	47.5	33.6
60	65.4	54.2

Self Assessment

State whether the following statements are True or False:

1. In less developing countries poverty is unfathomable.
2. First cause of poverty is full development of country.
3. In India, cause of poverty is equality Income and wealth.
4. Even with rising unemployment problem, poverty is increasing.

13.3 Poverty

Poverty is a constant characteristic in all developing countries. Poverty is a human state of less earnings, less resources—in all a depressed state of a man . Poverty describes a person's capacity of not being able to fulfill the requirements of his family. Poverty also describes a poor child's inability to be bereft of attaining education in a good school. Poverty explains the inability of an infant's treatment which many a time leads to its death. Poverty can be described in Indian masses—in the formof illiteracy; starvation; very limited supply of the basic necessities of life.

The level of poverty in India can be better presented with reference to poverty line of Indian masses. Lord Boyd Orr was the first director of FAO, who represented the poverty level through a poverty line in 1945, which directs the use of 2300 calories per person per day. This idea has been transformed into a poverty line. Indian planning commission has defined a poverty line on the basis of 2400 calories for

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a person in rural area and 2100 calories for a person in an urban area. In India, a study group in which Dr Godgil, P.S. Loknath, Ashok Mehta and B.L. Ganguly were present, they found that the national poverty line and this group reached to this conclusion that twenty rupees is the minimum expense per person in a month. According to fifth planing commission, the consumption level the minimum 1972-1973 was rs 40.6. According to sixth planning commission, the minimum consumption level was rs 51.3 in 1979-80 for rural areas and rs 59.7 for urban areas. In 1979-80, 33.9 crore of people were below the poverty line. According to an government estimate, poverty level fell from 51 per cent in 1980 to 37 per cent in 1984. According to Prof. Rajkrishan, the number of people below the poverty line is increasing 37 million per year. According to him, if this increasing rate continues there will be 47.2 crore people below the poverty linetill 2000 which is higher than the total population of India before independence.

Causes of Poverty

In India main causes of poverty are described be

1. First cause of poverty is underdevelopment. Cause of under development is "a large portion of population is living without essential needs of daily life because total national income consumption is too low in magnitude of relativity". Lester R. Brown estimated that if we consider economic growth rate at 5 per cent, then the annual increase of 50 Billion Dollar of goods and services which is obtained in the United States of America is equal to the total production of goods and services of India every year.
2. The second cause of under development is the extreme inequality in income and wealth in India. In fact, as per the Planning Commission it has found that under development and inequality are the twin causes of poverty. Neither of the two can be ignored.
3. Low per capita Income—In India, per capital income low also shows poverty. In 1981, it was 260 Dollar. In 1951-80 per capita average annual growth rate was 1.2%. It was very less one rupees daily per capita Income.
4. Inadequate growth rate is also another cause of poverty. From (1951-81) the average growth rate was 3.5% per annum. If we make a comparison between high growth rate of population and low growth rate of economy we will find that low growth rate of economy made poverty everlasting factor.
5. In India, the population growth rate is too high as compared to growth rate of economy as a whole. For this there is no improvement in the standard of living of people. From 1951-61 growth rate of population was 21.64 per cent. From 1961 to 1971 (2nd decade) it was 24.8 per cent and from 1971 to 1981 (3rd decade) it was 24.75 per cent. When the growth rate of population is very high the growth rate of economy is low, since per capita income becomes low as a result poverty increases.
6. With the increase of unemployment poverty is also increases. The number of unemployed individulas in each five year plan is growing. When first planning commission started the number of unemployed was 3 lakh which increased to 53 lakh at the end of the plan, at the end of second plan it increased to 71 lakh, at the end of third plan it increased 96 lakh and at the end of fourth plan it increased to 136 lakh and in 1990 it reached 206 lakh. But in the final issue a growing number of unemployed individuals are not included. Thus. in families the unemployed and growing impoverishment has promoted underdevelopment.
7. Low consumption expenditure of most of the people of India also reflect poverty. Many studies have been carried out in regard to this. Dandekar and Rath in his study "Poverty in India" taking low consumption expenditure per person as base have studied, to what extent povety exists in India. They said that in 1960 to 1961 the low consumption expnditure of 6.38%

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of rural population was less than 8 rupees per month means less than 27 paise per month means less than 37 paise per day. And another 9.88% had 11 rupees per month means less than 43 paise per day. 9.82 population had low consumption expenditure per person 15 rupees per month means less than 50 cent per day. These four classes, which have been discussed, are less than 40% means 38.03 of the total rural population. In 1960-61 these people were expending their life 50 paise person. In urban area this situation is also too bad. Apparently only 21.69 of the urban population had a per capita consumption expenditure of 15 rupees per month means less than 50 paise per day. Taking stable prices as base from 1960-61 and 1967-68 they compared the various groups' per capita consumption expenditure and reached to this conclusion that low consumption expenditure decreased 5% more. Poverty 10 per cent of per **capita consumption expenditue fell form 15 to 20 percent.** Still 40 per cent of rural population and 50 per cent of urban population were under the line of low consumption expenditure per person per month.

8. Poverty is scattered all over the country. Highly territorial inequalities are there which are responsible for people's poverty. Due to their rapid agricultural development states such as Punjab and Haryana are richer from the angle of per capita income while states such as Gujarat, Maharashtra and West Bangla are developed states because their tilt towards new enterprises and investment on their part. But states such as Bihar, Orissa, Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh are still not so advanced as a result a major population comes below the poverty line. According to Prof. Rajkrishan, the states in which per capita income is less the poverty level is low.

9. Another important aspect can be categorized as a poverty indication when we come across people who are just hand-to-month busy making both ends meet, for them, gathering daily the basic necessities of life for their family, is a difficult issue. Despite more than two decades of the developmental efforts of the government for making available essential consumer goods, the per capita availability 0 to citizens is still a great issue. The net per capita grain availability in 1956 was 360.5g Which increased to 414.5g in 1982 and pulses per capita net reduced form 70.4g to 39.2g. The annual availability of per capita edible oil in 1956 reduced from 2.5 kg in 1982 to 4.1 kg and cotton clothing dropped from 14.4m to 10.2m; the availability of vegetation from 0.7 kg to 1.3 kg; sugar from 5 to 8.0 kg, handmade fabric availability from 1 to 4.2 meters, tead availability form 257g to 465g and coffee form 67g to 76g. There was a difference between the consumption levels of the rich and the poor in fact they had a very little per capita availability.

10. Continuous rise in prices is also another cause of poverty. When there is a hike in prices, the purchasing power of the common man decreases which means demand graph falls down which leads to an increase of more sections of the society below the poverty line. From June 1955 till 1972, there was an average increase in prices at an average rate almost 7 per cent annually. In 1972-73 and 1973-74 prices raised 20 per cent and 30 per cent, respectively. 25 per cent in 1974-75 and in 1976-77 raised 12.5 per cent Except the peridos 1977-78 and 1978-79, when their was a price rise only 0.3 per cent and 4.6 per cent respectively, in 1979-80 and 1980-81 prices raise 16.7 and 21.4 respectively. From this it is clear that inflation has given rise to poverty level to a great extent.

11. Technologically backward countries also have a low level of per capita income which is also an important factor of adding on to poverty level of the country. Over all the production capacity per person is very low because the technologically low production units also give low quality products which may not be acceptable in the global markets which is also hampering the income of the economy as the financial markets are down in all these countries. Accumulated capital and income do not increase to that extent which is required for the capital-building in which economy remains in a state of poverty.

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12. Non-availability of resources in the country is also another factor of low productivity in the country which hampers economy of the country as one spends more on imports. Form 1960-61, market prices in domestic construction was 12.7 per cent which increased to 18.7 per cent in 1980-81, which is much less by static prices. Savings andinvetment rates are so low as compared to much less developed economies, where their average rates are up to 20 to 25 per cent.

13. Due to the social and cultural practices followed in India people do not want to come out of their couch shell and stay in the same prevailing lifestyles. They do not support the idea of change. Low levels of income and increase of debts among the people. The same age old practices followed by them is limiting their beliefs and leading to a continuous ignorance and unawareness amog the masses and further leading to loss initiative and no advancement in the standard of living; production; lifestyles etc leading to same level of per capita income to borrow. Because saving are almost zero, so borrowing prospects are too high. The high level of borrowing is the cause of poverty. Besides this illiteracy, ignorance, fatalism and communal and religious conservatism, resulting from racist ideas and joint family system has prevented the adoption of new ideas otherwise they could increase revenue and keep away their homes from poverty.

Poverty Alleviation Programmes

Impoverishement and unemployment cannot be separated from each other. The measures which are applied to overcome unemployment are also applied to overcome poverty.

In the decades of 1950-60, the Indian organizers had a belief in 'trickle down theory', according to which it was envisaged that with economic development, the poverty would be eliminated automatically. So the emphasis was laid upon increasing the economy rate. Unfortunately, trickle down theory failed to overcome the poverty. But over the years, poverty continued to grow. For this reason, the organizers adopted these four types of programmers to overcome the poverty. These are the following:

1. Some programs of this category had started in the 1970s and some have started recently. The purpose of these programs is to improve the economic condition of the rural poor through which their income increases. Till the fifth plan, such programs as **SFDA** and **MFAL** were included in it. But these programs were not applied all over the country and their way of work was similar. Their financial structure was different. These programs were only helpful to support financial aid. For this reason, these programs failed to increase the source of income for rural poor. Therefore, from sixth plan a single coordinated program started for the entire country which was named integrated rural development program (IRDP). The aim of this program is to improve the state of the rural poor in which landless rural workers, small and marginal farmers, rural artisan and other workers are included. In IRDP, in order to increase production and productivity, originative assets and/or constructing appropriate competencies were included. The people who have some land, to improve the productivity of the land, water, improved seeds and fertilizers etc. inputs are provided to them. For increasing the income of landless farmers and the farmers who have lands, this program encourages farmers to adopt various agricultural schemes such as animal husbandry, fisheries, forestry, silk worms crib etc. Using the procedural and manufacturing activities based on local resources, and improving the post-harvest technology to provide benefit to producers and consumers is also included in it. By loans, raw materials and consumer-based design, villages, small industries and services are encouraged to increase their productivity. In sixth plan rs 4500 crore were sectioned for IRDP.

2. Special programmes such as Drought Prove Area—DPAP and Desert Development Program—DDP are also included in this category. The purpose of these special sector programes is to improve land, water and livestock position of the weaker sections.

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3. Employment Generation Programme—In this categories NREP, RLEGP, TRYSEH and other programmes for work are joined. Its purpose is to perform a coperative employment opportunity in days of less employment.
4. The purpose of this program is to improve the consumption levels of the people so that their manufacturing capacity increases. In this program primary and adult education, health, drinking water, roads, electrification, landless workers housing, nutrition and the reform of urban housing in slums are also included. Many parts of this program such as roads, accommodation, etc., are also included to provide additional employment for the poor too.

Conclusion

The above mentioned programmes have partly been achieved in their own goal over the years. According to government estimation, only 40% of the total population were able to increase their income above rs 3500 per person in 1984. This was an estimate of the poverty line of the households 1979-80 and is estimated at current prices in which the 1979-80's adjusting prices has not been added. Dr. Nilakanth Rath in his lecture "Dr. T. A. Memorial Lecture" has mentioned that in the sixth planning commission only 10% of the rural population has come above the form poverty line which was estimated to have a 20% increase, without producing sustainable social assets. But, it was also an over-estimation which avoids the cost of repayment of bank loans.

The speed and manner in which the problem of poverty is been solved, there prevails many qualitative and quantitative faults in the programmes being implemented. Under these programs only a very small part of the rural population has joined. Only few of them have lands. The rural landless and craftsman have been left out.

In development programs nothing has been done for development of forest, land and grazing fileds. The programmes relating to upliftment of forest cultures have not.

Yet taken speed. Marginal crops are cultivated by hyper-tenancy. But those are not improved by which the yield and income of farmers increase.

The aim of these programs is to expense more and not to perform well. The rural people also did not receive any benefits from employment program. These programmes are beneficial in the States where the officers are honest.

Similarly, the minimum needs program failed to increase manufacture originative capacity. In fact, these programs do not suffer form lack of financial resources but in it organizational inadequacy is found.

13.4 Summary

Give the explanation of human development concept U.N.D.P have human development report (1997) also described that, "It is that process by which atternate of general people are performed extensible and by these obtain development level for their welfare. This is a origin of human development

- In 1990 guidance of Mehaboob, Uhel. Hacq after the first publication of human development report three measured are developed for human welfare—they are—Human development Index, sex related development Index and Human poverty Index.
- In underdeveloped countries depth poverty be resided. First director of FAO Lord Boyd orr was first person who was present the conception of starving line in 1945 and it was determind less use of 2300 calories per capita per day.
- Indian planning commission has defined poverty line or base of in village area per capita 2400 calories in one day and 2100 calories for cities area in one day.

Notes

- Poverty and unemployment can't be separated from each other. Schemes of distant away unemployment in equal way implemented for distant away poverty.
- Projectors has adopted four types of programmes for distant away poverty they are following

1. Improve the economic condition of villagers poores
2. Special area Development programme
3. Employment breeding programme
4. Minimum necesseties programmes.

13.5 Keywords

1. Human development Index—Average achievement of development origin scopes
2. DPAP—Dought prove area programme
3. GDI—Sex related development Index
4. HPI—Human poverty Index

13.6 Review Questions

1. Explain human development conception aid measures
2. Clarify national human development report (2001)
3. In human development index to understand difference index cities.
4. What is poverty? Give the evident on cause of poverty
5. To understand the conception of poverty also explain schemes to distant alxy poverty.

Answers: Self Assessment

1. Alternate	2. Three	3. Process	4. Inequality
5. Truth	6. False	7. False	8. Truth

13.7 Further Readings

Books

1. **The Outline of Comparative Politics : Politics of Liberal, Socialist. Developing Nations— Gava O.P, Mayur Paperbacks**
2. **Comparative Politics—C.B. Jena, Vikas Publishing**
3. **Indian Politics: Comparative Perspective—B.B.Chaudhary , Shree Mahavir Book Depot.**
4. **Comparative Politics— Jagadish chandra Johari, Sterning Publishers**

Unit 14 : Gender Related Questions

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Objectives

After the study of this unit, students will be able to:

- To understand Gender related issues and issue based on this discrimination
- To know United Nation Federal and Women and World Confefence related to women
- To understand New dimension of Reservation policy and 108th Constitutional Amemdment for Reservation for women in Legislative.

Introduction

In 20th century one wonderful characteristic is flowished state of Feminism today this is a principle and energetic to done in preparing structure of organization. So in form of powerful movement his future possibilities are brilliant. Women empowerment can be divided in two parts from view of development (1) Liberal feminism (2) Terrible feminism

1. Liberal feminism—Liberal feminism word is used firstly, in 19 century of eighth decade. His strength was on lawful—political rights of women as a equal of man. In this category can kept the thoughts of John Lock, J. S. Mill, Charles form, Marx Ajelis.

   Initial feminism was started from concept of natural rights of John Lock. Mary Burston craft in 1792 wrote a book vindication of the Rights of Women, in which interception in relative of women all traditional concepts described then in a category of Male. Chanles Fora give the explanation of Sociolism, draw a picture of such family and man-women in which will be repression and oppression. In 1869 published own Book 'the subjection off women J. S. Mill has give strong support for giving equal opportunities to ladies as man

Notes

on the base of incontrovertible arguments. According to Mill this argument is from ancient times man because owner of women, therefore also nowly woment has should lived under the dependency of Man and this is too much wrong, because these ruins of history las no harmony with future. Parking Gillman of America told in their published Book in 1898 women and Economics that imprudent jail of family and to deprived her for give the contribution in Human civilization development. According to Ajles, "economic power is keep close in list of man. Family, not but marriage is real obstruction. After communism revolution private assets will be ended and take care of house and child mutuarty will be done by the society. Buboyas and Betti Freder such writers make women movement very sharp in future. Freden told that sehhal equality is very necessary for man class and welfare for society and summond that means of education and communication are play a role for chafing thoughts of people.

2. Terrible feminism—After 1960 feminism, take a form of women empowerment and women freedomness. To make a powerful of this women movement play a very important role by national and international organization of women. In supporter of Terrible feminism Korte Millan, Jerman Green, Shulamith Fiastrone are main.

Notes Karte Millan influenced from new left has and said that patrianchal is main cause of women subordination and repression. Green said the matter of women freedom.

According to Farispne Male is a real energy of women. Main cause of inequality is reprension of women by man. Freedom of human is not an tear of capitalism but it contained to act in sexual revolution. Sexual repression is a root of women slaveness. Millet effort is concentrate of women and to understand. In briefly, to root up Male supremacy, gave them challenge is a goal of terrible feminis. In this way where Liberal feminism with mean of traditional politics done the demand from state of authoritative rights and facilities for women. Where they want to change state of urind with mean of terrible feminism movement.

14.1 Gender Issues

From previous year Issues related discrimination of Gender are influenced to national and international politics and United Nation Federalism and their means also showing effectiveness in this direction. In 1980 organised Kopenger World conference of women report indicate this that in world from total number, so percent are women and one-third women are labour power, total work of hours two-third work done by women, by tenth part of world income is received to there and one percent of total asset of word is give to them.

Example Kuwait such country women has no right of voting till today. In president seat of America no women was elected till today.

In legistative of France and Japan percentage ow women member of parliament are low from 7 and 5. Leading country of Democratic system as in parliament of Britain present number of women member parliament is limited to 18 per cent. From decades, girls, adolescent girl, young women, old ladies are hurint on this base of discrimination that they are women. So today on national and international level campaign is continuous for ending the all types of discrimination towards women.

Self Assessment

Notes

Fill in the blank:

1. One wonderful characteristic of twentieth century is ……. leading form.
2. Main cause of Inequalty ……. by repression of women.
3. According to Ajles family ……. power is close in male first.
4. America……. seats no women elected.

14.2 Issue based on Gender Discrimination

From entire form of various searches, studying and articles in whole world to identified that articles in whole world to identified that issues which are related to discrimination towards women. In briefly these issues and area are following.

1. Ferlisation labour and observation after post
2. In foetus investigation become foetus is girl then performed a miscarriage.
3. To become their determination that foetus child is girl, don't done suitable take care of pregnant lady.
4. Girl child death
5. On born of girl expectation of mother and sufficient take care after post-natal.

On born of girl don't organised any type of occasion.

Childhood

- Caressing and cherishing of girl child with limited and unsufficient happiness and prosperity.
- Don't give complete education to girls or to read in common school.
- To gave responsibility of feeding to small brother and sister.
- From studing child girl in school performed such work clearing the cocking or eating area, preparing food, and sweeping etc.
- Don't celebrated the birthday of girl child and not gave them gift.
- Don't send their to school with out completing study.
- To motivate the girls for performed more sacrifice in comparison of brother

Adolescence

- To deprived from obtained their liking education
- To stopped them for liking playing.
- In comparison of boys, set free incoming and outgoing meeting with friends liberty of going in fair and market are be provided very less or hot provided.

Marriage

- To performed marriage without maturity in physical form.

Notes

- Don't give the freedom to girls for selected their choice. In most of affairs, mother and father performed their girl marriage in form of own facilities and from desire in a one authority.
- To became a capable from all types but take dowry on performed marriage with girl. For dowry gave physical and mental suffering to daughter-in-law and also kill has from life
- In several society man has right to keep much more ladies, but deprived the women from such type of rights.
- After the death of Hasband women has no right for second marriage, but man has liberty for second marriage after the death of his wife.
- To put the restriction on widow for wearing good clothes, good food and on participation in festival occasion but widower set free from these type of restriction.

Did You Know? Before of marriage seeing the girls in this way by bridegrooms relatives that they are one thing ownership on assets and other economic resources.

- In asset of father, daughter has no acquired right equal to sons.
- In assets of husband, wife has no complete
- Don't right take care of fied-house, Bulls-Buffalo, Motor-Truck, sale and purchase of constant house material and women has desire to keep in pledged or not, liking and disliking etc.
- In use of public assets creation, maintenance exerting of women is refused.
- In constitutional form, house of own owership, Factories, can etc. in such has no right of women

Political and Administration

- On main political seats, women has less selection from view of proportional,
- In constitution women has less representation of their proportion number.
- In election of parliament and legislative to done the expectation of women in division of tickets by political parties.
- Commonly not elected the women on important seats such as main secretary, Pradhan secretary, Home secretary, Accountant controller, Main election commission etc,

Employment and Income Creation

- In most of countries on constitutional way to be existed equal opportunities of employee but in a practical form also provide less opportunities for ladies.
- In most of private institution don't put to the women in job because married ladies has to give the salaries holidays on become of pregnancy.
- In unorganised area women has meet a less wages in comparison of man.
- To done physical and mental oppression of women on worker.
- On name of sales promotion performed shameful exhibition of women in advertising and publicity.
- Tourism in such industries performed

Notes

- Compacted perminity as a form for attraction of more customers.
- To performed more work from women labour in comparison of Male.
- In few countries women has compelled for virginity test before came in employment.

14.3 UNO and Women

Present efforts of obtaining a victory on profit has stated the greatness of important role to be able in played by women in development of social and economical.

Example In developing world women has managed 60 to 80 per cent production of food, processing and marketing and 70 per cent part of small enterprise.

UNO has performed the support of women strength and with mean of developing help movement consumption of human rights by their own programmes of poverty abdishing sex equality and development of women are relevant matter for all aspects of ratio.

The commission on the status off women

It is supervising under ECOSOC and its performed to done the investigation in progression of women equality direction in whole world and also supported that increased the women rights in area of political, economical and social, 45 members commission has organised four conference on related matters of women in which fourth conference (1995 Bijig) also be joined. As a result of this conference commission has supervision on execution of organise platform for action

Commitee on the elimination off women discrimination has meet the support of economic and social department of 'Division off advancement off women. This council keep the supervision on all types of discrimination towards women and also on protection of UNO. The recommendation of 23 specialist council has give the contribution very intentionally on women economic and social rights, their political and citizen right and also defined the performed resources of the matter for consumption of these matter.

- United Nations Development Fund for women UNIAIA is and autonomic fund who give the support to innovative programmes of motivation for women human rights, economic and political strength and sexual equality and also technical help. UNIFM has performed the work on there area.
- In a form of enterprises and manufactures make strong the economic capacity of whom.
- Increase the participation of women in process of Leadership, Governing and Decision.
- To encouraged the women human rights for making the development very equal. UNIFM is giving help in the hundred countries for making well development quality of women and their family. It also due the support of innovation programmes that, they provide profit to women and also give the direct technical and economic support of women initiatives. It provide the information to women related well behavior and views and learning lessons of success and unsucced programmes. International Institute for the advancement off woman. It done the work of women progress and giving the contribution of availability of their in informative technology society and used new information and communication technology performed investigation and training. This information is extensive on that time in 1999 when general meeting give the verification in establishment of ENSTRA as a form new working method, sexuality awareness information and networking system.

Notes

Self Assessment

Multiple Choice Questions:

5. In most of countries as a constitution form ……. become but in practically women has not provide the employment.

   (a) difference (b) equality (c) (d) changes

6. First international women conference by UNO is first effort of women ……. .

   (a) welfare (b) equality (c) decline (d) rights

7. Second World Women conference ……. in Kopheangon.

   (a) 1980 (b) 1982 (c) 1970 (d) 1985

8. Today International women movement become very ……. .

   (a) slow (b) general (c) aggressive (d) finished

14.4 World Conference of Women

In whole world conference of UN achieved the support of National women movement powers and protected the advanced work and interest of women related.

First world conference of women

First world conference was first effort for welfare of women by UNO. with this efforts women society has created the awareness for their advancement. In years 1975 from 19 june to 2 july first conference of women held in Mexico city and Government representative of various countries take the participation. The UNO greatful achievement of movement is year 1976 announced a year of international women and decade of 1975-1984 is announced a women decade by meeting of UNO and make first five year plan for women welfare. In the conference announcement are done for women education, increase the opportunity for woman employment, eliminate the sexual discrimination, involvement of women in policy-determination, equal political, social and citizenship rights.

Second World Conference of Women

In first international conference of women to be created first five year plan evaluation and making the plan for next five year the occasion was organised in Kopheag on year 1980 from 14 july to till 31st july this conference. The following goals are be kept qualitative goals for next five years.

- To determine the quantitative and qualitative goals for next five years
- To make a such office room or commission for women who have a relation with women
- To become a lawful participation in political and decision process.
- To studying the women problems and methods of presenting the used by means of news and performed the improvement in their.
- To establish the cooperation in government and non-government.
- To provide physical and mental facilities services to all for whole development of social and economy and give a equal rights to all or training and education level.

Notes

Third World Conference of Women

In Narrobi years 1985 form 13 to 26 july to be existed third conference of women and present a report by 12th countries of UNO form which found that inecades women has meet a partial success to achievement was pre defined goals and this factor came in front from direct way is that in many countries women place is very low expected Man and it was a hard social problem on world. In Narrobi represented cirle has stated Narrbi developing policies for woment progression. This document will be make on base of report 124 member of UNO. In this document structure is prepared of working motion and policies in field of becomes advanced. Today international women movement become very aggressive. This matter is identified from here that secretary of International World conference Mr. Girtrood Myela said that wee will decide in paiching that what can be done for eliminatly social sex discrimination and in 21st century one new partnership in man and women. It means now woment are also awared for their social rights and social or economic condition.

World Conference Women

- First world conference of women held in 1975 Mexico city.
- Second world conference of women held in 1988, Kophetgan.
- Third world conference of women held in 1985, Naabi (Kenya)
- Fourth world conference of women held in 1995, Pachij (China)

Fourth World Conference of Women

In Paichig 4 to 15 september, 1995 occasioned fourth world conference of women and 185 representative members countries of UNO take the participation, which have full right of voting. With its ECOSAWK connected non-government organisation has also take the participation, which have right to giving advise. The preparation of this occasioned is harried by organised women of state commission by UNO and its introduction is prepared by secretariat (Platform for Action) and which was presented to ECOSAWK and UNO for last acceptance.

- The main purpose of Paichig world conference of women in 1995
- To reviewing the achievement of representatives developing policies.
- To create such situation in society from which women has meet motivation for forwarding.
- To arrange the sources for facing 21st century scientific technical, economic and political development related challenger and need.
- To make a plan for making women capable.
- To make a such sketch of work in which Narrobi developing policies are be implemented. In fourth world conference of women (Bijing 1995) representatives of government has done cncouragement for Bijing announcement and work platform and which purpose is to ended all coming obstacles of women contribution in all area of public and private life. This platform has identified the leading area of anxiety.
- Continuous increase pressure a women.
- Unequal and unsufficient opportunity of education
- Unequality on health position and unsufficient health facilities.
- Transgression towards women
- Struggle effect on women

Notes

- Unequel contribution of women process of production and definition of economic structure and policy.
- Unequel rights and decision process
- Unsufficient area for women encouragement
- Lack of a warness towards women human and devotion on International and National level.
- To published the contribution of women in society unsufficient role of general communication.
- In management of natural resources and protection of environment towards women contribution has unsufficient assumptioin and unsufficient support.

Precaution

In Balika year 2000, in special meeting of general has many countries take the bequeeth for doing new initiative, such as to make lawful strength against every type of domestic violence and arrange a suitable lawful system for stopping forcibly marriage and women circumcise etc.

Goods are determined with purpose of free necessary education for both boys and girls and publish the programmes of health take care and prevention and improvesation of women health etc.

Self Assessment

State whether the following are true and false:

9. Forth world conference of women become in Narrobi (Kenya)
10. Central Government has present the parliamentary bill to give 33 per cent reservation for women in Lokh Sabha and Rajya Sabha.
11. UFam worked in main four area.
12. Women discrimination elimination council keep supervision on UNO convertion towards discrimination of women.

14.5 New Dimensions of Reservation Politics: Women Reservation in Legislative body

From 1960, this matter was discussing in Indian politices that in legislative body one-third place should be reserved for women. Indian political parties has this terndency is their eyes are always on election. Whenever they feel related to any matter that, they will be achieved the profit in election politics then without adoption the process of serious enchanging views, give the place to him in their manifesto. This situation also be maintained in eleventh election of Loksabha. All main political parties (Congress, BJP, Janta party, Markism party, Indian communism party, other left handed parties and other some parties) has give the promise of this matter, if they achieved the power then, they make a law in legislative body for one third reservation of women. From which some political parties had adopted this situation probably not for restriction but as a election political form but from of all political parties some such type of member are here who keep a mental obstruction for women reservation in legislative institution and also think about is that as a Borm of political step also it have appropriateness.

Women Reservation parliamentary bill had presented four times 1996, 1998, 1999, and 2008 in parliament till now. But in four times this bill has to facing aggressive apposition till the limit of unserenity. In december 1999 this bill was present in between of heavy enthusiasm, but can't be discussion on this matter. In March 2003 in general meeting, Sappa and Rajad member are member are stand still for opposing the bill and as a result bill can't be passed.

Notes

Women Reservation Bill 1998—in 14 december, 1998 central government has present the bill in Lok Sabha related to gave 33 per cent reservation in Vidhansabha and Lokh Sabha. Aa a form of 84th amendment present consisted all those recommendation which was blame by United parliament council in 1996, main provision of this act these are—

- Section 330 of continents (1) of constitution place will be reserved for women in Lok Sabha
- Under section 330 continents (2) total number of reserved place where as possible one third place, situation for backwards casts and backwards tribes women will be reserved.
- Any state or federalism state area for the direct election of Loksabha filling places of numbers.
- Whereas possible one-third place (33 per cent) and also its consisted the number of reserved place for backward tribes women and such place in area of that state can be alloted by circulation are reserved or women.
- From which area number of election places are less than three there has reservation will be done for women turn by turn.
- Provision of suggested reservation implemented till 15 years.
- Section 332 (1) places will be reserved for women is Vidhansabha of every state.
- For reservation in Rajyasabha, Vidhan councils and Delhi Vidhansabha sperate provision be needed. In this bill no separated provision will be made for other backward classes and under developed classes women.

This bill was present in Loksabha by immidiate system minister M. Thambi Dure, then Baspa, Sapa and Rajad or all members of parliament opposed this bill very much and said that "Women reservation of this system bill will not be passed in that time, when other backward classes and under developed classes of women are not reserved in this bill.

In 22 December, 2000 members of Samajbadi party, Rashtriya Janta Dal and Bahujan Samaj party to be create a commotion for women reservation Bill and parliament execution also be stopped by them.

In Loksabha where these parties were make a demand for women Reservation of all backward classes and under developed classes, where women member of Rajyasabha were make a demand to pass the present form of this bill. From cause of all political parties are to be stuborned. a meeting was arranged by immidiate lokhsabha chairman G. M. S. Balyogi for all different political parties to make a common opinion giving one-third reservation women in Lokhsabha and Rajyasabha. Government has supported that proposal of election commission for efforts of taking out solution is that will political parties gave the ticket for election fight to 33 per cent women but it was opposed by Congress and Left hand parties.

Task Give some views on third world conference of women.

14.6 108th Constitutional Amendment for Reservation for Women in Legislative

Government has present a disputed women reservation Bill (108th Constitutiona Amendment) in parliament 2008 inspite of heavy resistance of Samajvadi party Janta Dal (U), Lojpa or Drumke . In this bill has made a provision to provide the women reservation in Vidhansabha and Loksabha for fifteen years. Alongwith Congress, Left-handed parties, Bashpa and Bhajpa give the support to this bill.

Notes

It is mentioned that women reservation bill was present also in Loksabha 1996, 1998, 1999, but in three times before of passing this bill it was cancelled from cause of Loksabha working period to be closed. In this time, this bill was present first time in Rajyasabha so that no hope for this cancellation because high parliament doesn't to be broken in any time.

Women representative form first to Fourtheenth Lokhsabha (1952–2004)

Lokhsabha	Total Place	Number of Women members	Percentage of Women Representation
Ist	499	22	4.4
2nd	500	27	5.4
3rd	503	34	6.7
4th	523	31	5.9
5th	521	22	4.2
6th	544	19	3.4
7th	544	28	5.1
8th	544	44	8.1
9th	517	27	5.22
10th	544	39	7.18
11th	544	40	7.18
12th	543	43	7.20
13th	543	49	9.02
14th	543	45	8.29

14.7 Summary

- **One wonderful characteristic of 20th century is rising form of women leminism. Women feminism can be divided in two parts from view of development.(1) Liberal feminism (2) Terible feminism**
- **From some previous years issues related sex discrimination are influenced to National and International politics and UNO or their agency showed effectiveness to in this direction.**
- **In report of world conference of women it was identified that in world 50 per cent are women of total population and one-third women are labour women. In total working hours two-third word done by women. But tenth part of world Income is received to them and are of total world asset to their home. In Kuwait such country women has no right of voting till today. There is no any women was elected for president seats of America.**
- **In whole world all issued are identified from different investigation, studying in entirely for and all these are related to women discrimination. In briefly these issues and areas are following**
- Conception labour—take care after post-natal
- Childhood
- Adolescence
- Marriage
- Ownership on Assets and other economic resources

Notes

- Politics and Administration
- Employment and creation of Income
- From 1990 this matter is discussing in Indian politics that in legislative body one-third place should be reserved for women. Women Reservation Bill had presented four times in parliament 1996, 1998, 1999, 2008 till today but in fout times this bill has to face heavy opposition till the limit of badly behaved.

14.8 Keywords

- **Liberal feminism:** Demand of women lawful political rights to equal of man
- **Sex related issues:** Its relation of discrimination towards women

14.9 Review Question

1. What is a sex related issues. Explain the issues related to sex discrimination
2. Explain the different efforts of rights related by UNO.
3. Explain the World conference related to women.
4. Explain the appropriateness of women reservation in Legislative body.

Answers: Self Assessment

1. Empower	2. Male	3. Economic	4. President
5. (b) equality	6. (a) welfare	7. (a) 1980	8. (c) aggresive
9. False	10. Truth	11. False	12. Truth

14.10 Further Readings

Books

1. Comparative Politics— *Prof. Ramanand Gasok.*

2. Comparative Politics and Political analysis— *Dr. D.S. Yadav.*

3. Indian Politics: Comparative perspective — *B. B. Choudhury, Shri Mahavir Book depot.*

4. Comparative Politics— *C. B. Jena, Vikas publishing.*

Notes

Unit 15 : Environment

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Objectives

Introduction

15.1 Environmental Degeneration

15.2 Environmental Pollution

15.3 Role of state in Environmental Protection

15.4 Environmental Protection: Role of Public and Environmental Awareness

15.5 Summary

15.6 Keywords

15.7 Review Questions

15.8 Further Readings

Objectives

After the study of this unit, students will be able:

- To understand environmental degeneration and environmental pollution.
- To understand environmental planning in India.
- To understand the Role of publication State in environmental protection and awareness.

Introduction

The meaning of environmental degeneration is such process of environmental degeneration in any area, in which degeneration is become in original tendency and quantitative one or more factors of physical environment. It means defect is formed in factors of environment. From cause of unbalance relation in Human and environment many environmental problems is formed. Human is done disorganised to all environmental balance for fulfilling their different desires. In this way, environmental degeneration is become due to undesirable and unforsighted transgression done on environment by Human.

15.1 Environmental Degeneration

Meaning and process of environmental degeneration, Environment is a group of biological and unbiological factor. These factors are interacted to exlothes. Environment is directing by definite process of these factors. For environmental balance existing a definite ratio of these factors by very important. When changes come in ratio or quantitative of any factors from cause of naturalism or Humanism or obstacles are formed in this automatic theory, then environmental degeneration is become. Auto retraining system of Natural is performed a compensation of this changes till one limit, but human interference become much more existed then environmental degeneration is become, it means environmental degeneration is become when human done a enmity manner.

Notes

Notes When factor of environment to put down opposite effect of their natural or original futures, then life of all possessing life become dangerous on earth. This changing situation of environment become a environmental degeneration

Many problems are formed due to environmental degeneration. In these have environmental pollution, lack or natural resources, Ozon erosion, growth in equator or heat, environmental changes etc. are main

Circumstantial degeneration

Environmental degeneration has straight effect put on circumstantial. Disregarding towards environment become cause of difficulty for every possessing life. For example, from use of insecticides in field along with harmful germ other living creatures also be destroyed. These insecticides soluble in soil and reached in whirlpool with rain of water. Whole biological factors are influenced from this circumstantial system of whirlpool. From polluted water influenced fishes are used in a form of food put down bad impact on humanism. In this way, due to water, air or soil or from pollution naturally circumstantial difficulties are formed. Circumstantial difficulties are a result of imbalance. From humanism or other causes, when natural environment or quantity of any factor are increased of decreased form of their original ratio, that as result of this balance of other factors of environment be destroyed. From this entire creature of life become in dangers.

Example From cutting of forest changes will become in environment. From this violent of dried up be increased, soil erosion of deserters will be extensible.

In this way, responsible causing for environment degeneration will be make a cause of circumstantial imbalance or circumstantial difficulties.

Causes of Environmental and Circumstantial degenerations

Environmental degeneration will become from two causes natural and Humanism factions. Natural causes have effected on limit level and nature only done its adjustment slowly-slowly and second other humanism functions effected on extensive level. Natural and humanism functions are inter-releted to each other and influenced to each other. Both are give the contribution for environmental degeneration in many situations. Only for studying it can be divided.

Natural causes

Many functional nature become a cause of environmental degeneration. In these functions of nature have driedness, rise of flood, earthquake, volcano, soil erosion, desertness etc. are consisted. These type of action are be happened in coming of obstacles in nature balance. These natural violent agitation chain came from immorial time, but in future there repetation, although these violent agitation have more relation with nature, but in some violent agitation can't denied from role of Humanism actions. From of which world of living creature become in difficulty, environment is polluted, fertilization of soil be ended, atmosphere is changed, desertness be existed and make much loss of man power.

Notes

Humanism causes

Notes

Natural cause of environmental degeneration has effected on limit level and they are not controlled by Human, but effect of human actions are on extensive level. Human is done a such type of work for their physical facilities or development and they was a man cause of environmental degeneration. From of human actions efectiveness of many natural violent agitation be increased. Today man is so much responsible for environmental degeneration. In these function of human has consumption seeing or cultural, forest destruction, destruction of forest animal, agriculture and cattle breeding, more irrigation, growth of population, industrialization, citizenship, make of big dam, more consumption of mining and energy etc are be existed.

1. **Consumptionable Culture:** In recent time, presence environment difficulties or environmental degeneration are a giving form human consumptions or psychological cultures. In effect of western luxuries culture human has started the done expolitation of nature with lack of judgement form for arranging a much more facilities human performed a eneminess manner with nature on place of friendly manner. In running of development and for immediate profit he has done a uncontrollable exploitation of environment.

2. **Destuction of Forest:** Forest are important factor of our environment. Cutting of trees and become a deficiency of forest area due to other causes are also said that destruction of forest. Destruction of forest is a main cause of environmental degeneration. In primitive time so much extension of forest in earth. Human has all needed was fulfilled from forest. Cutting of forest has started form cattle breeding and constant agricultural. From cause of growth in population and human requirements forest area will be decreased on earth, Forest are not only natural resources although basic factors of living creatures. These are basic directions of circumstantial theory. All living creation have fulfilment of oxygen form these, Atmosphere to be resided in system, soil eorsion alos be existed, land water also be generated. Many living creation are be resident and various forest production are available. In realty forest are controlled the whole atmosphere of world.

   In main causes of forest destruction has growth in population, cattle breeding, industrialization, mining and creation of big domes are also be consisted, beyond of this driedness, rising of water, valcano whirwind also from other natural disaster are also a cause of forest deficiency. From attached fire of forest all types Big and small lord of the forest are destroyed. For e.g. In 1995 to be attached fire in kamyu, Garhwel of India in 8000 wided area will be destroyed.

3. **Destruction of living creature wealth:** Living creatures have also a so much important in circumstantial theory as a equal of atmospher. If any class of living creature to be fall in difficulty then their effect put up on all factor of creation life. Destruction of forest animals are a cause of environmental degeneration. By food rationing and flow of energy have dense relation be made in living creature and human. Many insects are eating a fungus and Birds are cating a harmful worms dome the protection of plants, Many living creation are a cooperative in dispersing of plants. Many movements of living creatures are keep up a regualated to circumstantial theory. So all type of living creatures have own importance to maintaining a natural balance of all living creatures.

   Because of many atmospherical situations much more variability will be found in living creature of India but there have many classes are continuously decreased. According to historical museum in India 137 forest dwelling are in invisible and difficultive situation. They class whose are invisible very fast, in which Asian leopard, Red wolf, Mountainer Gorilla, Peacock, are main. Main causes of living creatures have residence are of living place.

   It means destruction of forest, growth in agriculture area, Industrialization, pollution, planning of River mining, hunting, increased human interregna in forestance, illness and rising of water, storm of wind are such natural disasters are contained.

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4. **Agriculture:** Extension of agricultural area and dense agricultural production from artificial sources both of love role in environmental degeneration. For fulfilment the needs of increased population to performed clean natural grass areas or clean the forest are extensible for agricultural land.

   From dense agriculture and extension of agricultural area many environmental problems are format. Harit Kranti has desired goal growth in food rotioning to be achieved. but from of this environmental degeneration will be happened. From cause of forest destruction environmental unbalanced will be formed more use of organic fertiliztion and insecticides soil become polluted. Natural teste of fruits and vegetables also be destroyed. Deficiency of organic parts in soil their quality has also be destroyed. In primitive areas, shifted agriculture, agriculture on mountainous inclined and from agriculture on desert hill of desertness from of all these soil erosion be increased.

5. **Cattle-Breeding:** Cattle Breeding is a most responsible factor for environment degeneration. From beginning human is performed a cattle-Breeding for milk, meat, skin etc. materials and agricultural or transportation. Cattle Breeding has continuous extension most of forest are changed in grazing round. Grazing ground is extensible in situated parts of densed forest. In north America or south America forests are cutting down in a large scale and grazing ground are developed. In turki, Unan, West Asia, Africa Beach, Himalayan area of Bharat or south plateau has destroyed and soil erosion is increased.

   India such a developing country has struggling problem of population growth and alos number of increased animal is another main problem. Due to increased growth of animals more feeds or water are arranged so cause of this environment pressure is increasing.

6. **Irrigation system:** Human has developed a sources of irrigation for regulated water purpose of agriculture works to making dam and take out canal from rivers much more growth is increased in agriculture area or agricultural production but lack of water management in irritated areas salvity, perishing or water thatching etc such problems are formed.

Example In area of Rajasthan canals, because of most of irrigation water thatching or water surpassed are became a main problem. In locality form it is known as problem of sem.

In Sem affected area has water is filled on lower and nearest hard become a marshy and pershy. Land become a barrened. All economic or social activities are influenced from this, and local natural atmosphere to become a destroyed. Underground water is also done on large scale for irrigation as a result of this agricultural are is increased but level of underground water is decreased on fast motion. In area of less raining used a such type of agricultural system which has needed more water and cause of all these water problem is increased much more.

In Rajasthan so much area has most deficiency of underground water and these area is announced a 'Dark jone' by Bhujal Department. In this way, defected irrigation system or most of water exploitation is happened in some areas because of environment degeneration.

7. **Population growth:** The main cause of environment degeneration is population growth. The population of world has to reached up on first 100 crore so many decades are applied. In starting of 19th century world population is mostly 100 crore but is was reached to 200 crore after 123 years, and reached up to next 100 crore it takes 33 years. In this way, in 1960 world population become a 300 crore. To reach up on next 100 crore it takes 14 years and after this it takes only 13 years. Till 2000 world population is increased on 6 Arab it means hundred crore population is increased only in twelve years. Population is increased on this

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last motion, pressure is increasing on natural resources for fulfillment of their food, residence and other requirement.

One another danger side of population growth is mostly growth as a economic form is occurred on backward area. On world level population growth rate is 1:57 per cent but in developing country it has 1:88 per cent. In India population growth rate is 1:99 per cent. Because of growth in population land, mineral, water etc. availability of natural resources per capita are decreased on continuously. Excessive exploitation of natural resources droughts, rise of flood and other natural difficulties tendency is increased.

8. **Citizenship:** Citizenship is world conquer process, various problems are obtained from citizenship influence the environmental degeneration. In world after Industrial revolution citizenship motion is increased. For achieving the employment and other facilities population performed a last flow to cities from villages area. Because of increased citizenship transgression on agricultural land, bad huts of pollution, collective water problem of remaining rubbish, pressure on general facilities are so many problems are obtained.

9. **Industrialization:** Because of increased industrialization evil effects, environmental degeneration is happened in all developing and under developing countries. After industrial revolution, firstly on Europe and after this establishement of industry is on large scale in other parts of world. For fulfillment raw material in Industry, natural resources ecploitation is become on last motion. Form increased industrialization people living standard is increased but environment meet a most of losses. From Industrialization, destruction of forest water pollution form dropped harmful material of industries, water problem, more citizenship such problem are formed. In industry of paper, Rayon, plywood has fulfillment for raw meterial cutting of trees on large scale and from this forest area contiguously collected.

   Developed countries has no provided developed technique to developing countries and because of this environment degeneration problems are so much increased in deficiency of inferior level machines. In a time of Liberalism performed the neglection of environment in developing countries by multinational companies so many industries are established. By Industrial nation, cause of increased growth of joined energy sources one another energy problem is obtaining, then second another is carbon dioxide quantity is increased in atmosphere. From which atmospheric pressure is increased and problem is formed for many living creatures.

Did You Know? Uncontrollable development of industry is become a main cause of environment degeneration.

10. **Minerals:** Because of excavation minerals various environmental problems are formed. After the industrial revolution for fulfillment of raw material and power resources, mineral exploitation is done on large scale. In modern time use of developed automatic machines speed of dropped out excavation from mineral is invested. As a result of this minerals warehouses are decreased on fasting. If excavating is done on this speed then many mineral warehouses will be ended till 21st century.

    Excavating in forest areas so many forests are destruction. In excavating places has make a huge pitch and heap of rubbish from of this that hard become a barren for always. To remove the upper side of land for excavating from this soil erosion is increased. Explosions are performed in mines from of this land stumbling is also increased. Environment is polluted form dust particle dropped in excavating. From various method of excavating,

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"Open excavating"is give more losses to environment. In area level of underground water is gone to very low level and their water problem is created on nearest areas. Labours who worked in deep mining their life is very unprotected. Become accidents from sinding of land and harmful gases are dropped out from mines so many general losses accidents also be happened. In coal areas is very difficult to control over underground fire, so dropped gases from this and increased in temperature are very harmful to environment. Because of mining movement people who lived in nearest forest their natural activities also be effected. In this way unplanned and uncontrollable mining is also responsible for environmental degeneration.

11. **Creation of Big Dam:** Big dams are created on the river for purpose of irrigation, electricity etc. It is no doubt that from of Big dam creation motion is received to process of economic development but so many environmental problem are formed. To seeing the evil effect of this on environment a fast opposition is started by environmentalist and social organization. Problems are created from creation of Big dams are displacement or resettlement of drowned area population, fertilized agricultural land, Forrest and immersed in water. Difficulties on forest creation life, expectation of earth quake from water pressure, from sediment fullness fertilized soil don't reached in fields, water thatching, increased a alkaline or acidic in soil form canal irrigation, expectation of extensive destruction from breaking of dams, spreeders of many illness from fined water of dams, changes in natural atmosphere are main. After making of dam creation changes are come in all nearest areas and whole circumstantial system is disrupted. Become a environmental degeneration from making of big dam example of Tihari or Narmda sagar dams are given. From Tihari dam project total 37,600 hector water is thatched in which 36000 hectare water is thotched in which 36000 hectare on forest area and 1600 hectare for agricultural land, In this way, two big dams of Narmada Gheti, Narmada Sarobar and Narmada Sagar are in total drowned area 13 lakh 482 hectare, 54,066 hectare on forest area and 55,681 hectare agricultural land are consisted. Because of two dams total 459 villages will be displaced. So before of creation big dames becoming environmental degeneration has extensive evaluation will be performed.

12. **Technology development:** In twentieth century human has done those progress in area of technology that is known as a technological revolution. Its benefit is received to industries, agricultural, transportation, medical and other different areas, but created various consumption material from new technology put up a bad impact on human health and environment. As a result of technological development plastic, artificial fibre, artificial rubbers, artificial fertilizer, artificial glass and many synthesised materials are used in daily life. Where using of this pressure is to be less on natural residences, but many environmental problems are obtained. Because of no unhappening in nature disposing of plastic rubbist is become e challenge in front of human. From Severest to seaside spreaded plastic rubbish give the loss to environment, from which bad effect is put on human healthe. Virus of computer reached a hamness to human health. Refrigeration industry and an aircraft has inhaled such smoke that reached a loss to upper surface atmosphere. World environment has much dangerous from atomic explosion or killing weapons.

Self Assessment

Fill in the Blanks:

1. Environment is a group of Biological and …… factor.
2. Environmental degeneration has straight effect on …… .
3. Environment degeneration is happened from two cause one ……and Humanism factor.
4. Forest are important …… of our environment.

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15.2 Environmental Pollution

Such unexpected changes are happened in biological features or psychological, chemical of air, water and land (It means environment) and those are harmful for human and other possessing life, their life situation, industrial process and cultural achievement all they are known as pollution. Mainly pollution has four following types—

(1) Air pollution (2) Water pollution (3) Soil pollution (4) Sound pollution (5) Radiation pollution.

15.2.1 Air pollution

When pollutors are present in atmosphere and changes are come in favourable quantity of atmospheric organ, then it known as air pollution

Sources of Air Pollution: It has three sources

(1) Stationary combustion sources

(2) Mobile combustion sources

(3) Industrial sources

1. **Stationery combustion sources:** If fuel is burned on any special place then its is known as stationary combustion. Palaeortology fuel is mainly coal and petroleum. Coal is a combination of carbon and uncombustible mineral, sulphuric acid and nitrogen are also be existed. Petroleum is made from Hydrocarbon, sulphuric acid and Nitrogen. From combustion of palaeentology fuel oxides such as sulphur Dioxide (SO_2), Sulphur Trioxide (SO_3), Nitrogen oxides (NO), Nitrogen Dioxide (NO_2), Carbon Monoxide (O) etc. are formed. From these SO_2, SO_3, NO are doing a functions with environment water and performer a creation of sulphuric acid or sulphurus acid and Nitric acid. With rain of water these acids all came into the earth. Therefore it is known as Acidic rain. From acidic rain harmness is recorded to plants by soil erosion nutritive factor are be taken out. Fish procuration is also stopped. Life become a very difficulty full from life in pond of lake, Co is very poisonous gas, who create the obstacles in breathing from sulphide combustion of minerals, mercury is to be take out. Half-blunt Hidrocarbon performed so many pollution and those are Gases or a small fragment. Small fragment pollutors are create a cancer disease, therefore it is known as carcinogen.

2. **Mobile combustion sources:** When combustion sources are inconstant and procedual, such as —Car, Motor, Scoter, Motorcycle, Bus, Aeroplane etc. when mobile combustion sources are celled. In big cities automatic vehicle are a main source of pollution. The main pollutants of these sources are—Carbon monoxide (Co 77.2%), Nitrogen oxide (NO 7.7%) and (Hydrocarbons 13.7%). In addition of these from combustion of petroleum so many small fragment particulate lead particles, such as—Tetrathyle land Pb (C_2H_3) and Tetramethyl Lead Pb $(CH_3)_4$ are produced. Creation of haemoglobin is stopped from these composition.

   When Nitrogen oxide and hydrocarbon are taken out from automatic vehicles, then, these material done a mutual action in presence of sunlight and performed a production of Nitrogen oxides, Ozde, Breathin system of an animal and one composition of persoxyl-acetyinitrate PAN. Ozone is influenced the breathing system of animal and influenced the art of eyes also taken out tears. It reaches the loss to clothes as a equal of rubber. Special PAN reaches the hrmness to plarts. (NO_2), O_3 and PAN are called a photochemical smog in a group form.

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Government Restriction of Scattered Pollutors Vehicle Announcement of Policy

Central Government give announcement on 6 october 2003 that in 11 cities, EURO-III rules are implemented from 1st Apri, 2005. These II cities are—Delhi, Mumbai, Calcutta, Chennai, Bangalore, Hyderabad, Ahmedabad, Pune, Surat, Kanpur and Agra.

In Delhi vehicles are protected EURO-II till now. From IST April, 2010 vehicles have most the protection of EURO-IV. To till that data (1.4.2010) EURO III rules will be implemented on other parts (Additional of these II cities)

EURO-II rules will be implemented from 1.4.2005 to all two wheels vehicle and three wheels vehicles. From 1.4.2005 preferably EURO-III rues are implemented for them, but necessarily from 1.4.2010 these are implemented.

After 1.4.2007 Inter-state Bus/Truck would not be stopped in Delhi, it their little by little capacity is not according to EURO-I rules, necessary all vehicles have achieved the capacity of EURO-II to till 1.4.2005.

New Emission Norms

For Passengers Cars (Gram/Kilometer)

EURO	I	II	III	IV
Co (Carbon Monoxide)	2.72	2.2	2.3	1.0
HC (Hydrocarbon)	0.97	0.5	0.20	0.1
NO (Nitrogen oxide)	-	-	0.15	0.08

Notes HC + NO = 0.97, in EURO-1 and 0.5 EURO- in II. Today most of engines petrol can are according to EURO-III. But diesel car is not a such of this type,

3. **Industrial Sources:** Air pollution is also spreed from our industrial business. From Industry Gases such as Carbon-monoxide, Sulphur oxinide etc. and particulate materials are extracted and polluted the atmosphere. Gasses are produced from heating of carbonic metrical chlorine and choloro fluoro methane are joined in environment. From moving of achieve, from crushing, cramming of materials, from coloring and incision hard particular are joining with atmosphere.

Atomic Experiments

In modern of today, atomic energy is used in different forms. Its test is performed before use of this and from which atmosphere is polluted. In addition of this from explosion of Valcano those gases are taken out they also polluted the atmosphere.

National Environmental Engineering Research Institute NEERI

Three environmental pollutants—SO_2, NO_2 and SPM (Suspended Partical Matter) grasping information to related this. SPM has mostly quantity in Delhi and Calcutta and mostly quantity of Nitrogen Oxides

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are found in Ahmedabad and Kanpur. In addition of this carbon Monoxide, Hydro carbon, fluroi de element particle, pestcides sulphur or oxides of Nitrogen are present in Delhi, Calcutta and Mumbai also polluted the atmosphere. Such cities, where have a factories of clothes cotton thread are also found their air.

Air Pollution Effect on Human

1. Hard particle whose measurement is more than 2mb, they are obstacles in hair of nose, commonly they are taken out, small particle are reached in ALVIOLY of Lukgs by breathing activity and their on its was absorbed by special cells.
2. Sulphur dioxide are absorbed by soft tissues, from which eyes, nose, neck are influenced and they have reached harmness.
3. So, No and Co reached in haemorrhase united with Haemoglobin, as a result of this obstacles are come in oxygen transportation.
4. From No has mostly similarity harmness is reached to lungs possibilities of cancer from Hydrocarbon.

Air Pollution Effect on Plants

1. From sulphur dioxide treas of forest have harmless effect.
2. Fluride reached the harmness to tissues of betal.
3. Nitrogen and Fluride oxides are performed less production of harvest.
4. From hydrocarbon (Ethyless) leave are fallen before of time and a betal of flowers are turned and buds are fall down before of blooming.
5. From light chemistry smog color of leaves are disappeared.
6. By Air pollution obstacles are come in growth of licken on trees.

Air Pollution Effect on Animals

Air pollution have effect on animals same as human.

1. Nose, Ears and Eyes have soft membrane are effected
2. By Flurodide mostly calci are happened in teeth and bone, its disease is known as Flurosis.
3. Flurorsis have lose the weight, Dysentery are stated and leg broken also be happened.

Air Pollution Effect on Materials

1. Ligh-chemical smog and acid rain have put down the effect on Rubber, cloth, metal and buildings.
2. From acid rain water pool and soil are polluted bad effect of Acid rain put down in countries of North America and Scandianvian, where rain water is ph4.0—4.4 some where it is found till 2.8.
3. From Hydrogen sulphides colour of Silver and points of Leads are disappeared.
4. Ozone is done the oxygenetion of rubber materials
5. Acid rain and Hydrogen sulphur are influeced to also white stone. It is believed that from waste material of Industry colour of famous Agra Tajmahal also be disappeared.

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Air Effect on Climate

1. The quantity of carbondioxide in atmosphere because of mostly combustion forsil fuels and destroyness of forest. From this cause, the temperature of earth is increased by green house effect.
2. If temperature 2-3°C is increased on earth them mountains are melted from which rise of flood are came in rivers. The quantity of water is increased in sea and water is rise-up in sea-side and in island. In recently according to the report of situated wealth science of research centre 'Hedle Centre' if on present rate of CO_2 has polluted existed in Air then till 2000 temperature of earth will be increased up to 6°C. To attach a dersed forest no profit will be achieved. If today, immediately 60-70 per cent CO_2 pollution is closed but it will be growth to 10°C. Trees will be taken out CO_2 instead soaping the CO_2 because of more breathing.
3. From increasing the temperature Rain level is also be disorganized.
4. In indirected form its unfavourable effect put on harvest, vegetation and forests
5. From effect of light-chemical smog the level of Ozone is destructive and radiation ultraviolet rays are increase on earth, which was very harmful for living creatures.
6. Rain from radiation of ultra-violet rays skin cancer and mutation are formed.

Effect Control on Air Pollution

1. Prakash-Resyan smog should be far away. It will be possible then when, electric motors, Battery movement and movement by sunlight etc automatic vehicles are invented.
2. Productive particles of Industry should be controlled by scrubbers, precipitation and filters
3. Following steps will be taken for controlling on SO_2

(a) It should be used a such type of fuel which have less sulphur.

(b) It should be necessary to seperated sulphur before of using the fuel.

(c) From performing the scrubbing of gases SO_2 can be far away.

15.2.2 Water Pollution

The main sources of water pollution are

(a) Human (b) Nature

Pollution of water caused by man

Water is polluted by human in following way.

1. Water is very important to us, its need mostly in all industrial business. Chemist are disolved in it very easily, water is needed for cooling, washing etc. After the using in industry, polluted water, in which particle of harmful metal, colder and other toxic substances are mined up are set free in water following and rivers, canals etc. All polluted and poisonous material are productive in the factories of fertilizers, sugar, garment, patents refinery, energy will are released in water.
2. **Community waste substance:** Such as rubbish-garbage, sewage etc. are disposed in water by human. Till now only in sight cities of India have treatment plants are implemented for sewaging.

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3. Form modernization of agricultural, the use of fertilizers and insecticides is increased. Those water is flowed in these fields, they was wash away tonin materials with himself and in this way underground water is also be polluted.
4. In nuclear and energy heat machines here also the more need of water for cooling. This water is polluted and human is set free. This water is straightly in stream and which was spreaded in surface of water, from which water livings has meet a less oxygen, from accident and knowingly oil is melted in water (IRAN 1991) of it can be mined from which water will be polluted and life of living is very suffering and bundensome.
5. Discharged Acid water from miles is also polluted to Rivers and Seas.
6. When pesticides are prinkled from airplane, then they rain water join with ground water make its polluted.
7. From excessive use of soap or biodestructive detergent are polluted the water.
8. Scientist are used many chemicals in their experiments and without purification, it set free in water. In this way we seeing that scientist are also spread the pollution.

Water Pollution by Nature

Water is polluted from audic water rain, from mining of carbonic and uncarbonic materials, form soil erosion, from litchial of minerals and destruction of carbonic materials

Effects of Water Pollution

1. In Industrial waste materials lead, cadmium, mercury, iron is also be existed form which water is not able for bathing and drinking.
2. Mercury is a heavy metal which was slowly-slowly increased in food rationing. Waste materials to be taken out from paper factories, mines and factories of electric making machines are polluted the water by Mercury. From Mercury hand, feet, lips and tongue are also senseless. From which deafness, blindness or mentalness is also be existed.
3. From mining of Oil in water, aquetic livings has no meet oxygen, oil is attached in wings of birds then birds are not able for flying and they were died.
4. From increasing the temperature of water livings are died or their life will become very difficultive.
5. **Eutophication:** Abundance nutritive materal is also the influenced of living life. Naturally its happened in constant water such as—pond, lake etc. Carbonic materials are very much abundant in waste materials of paper factories, waste materials of slaughter-house and in excrement and urine. They reaches in water and increase the productivity of water flow which aquatic plants such as water weed are much more increased and cover up the surface of water. Water week are used most of water oxygen in their brathing action and deficiency of oxygen is remained for living.

Controls of Water Pollution

For stopping the water pollution following steps should be taken.

1. Bathing in ponds, lakes and sitting in water stream, washing clothes, bathing with soap are should be stopped.

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2. Waste materiels which can't be combustible or bio degradation can't be existed that materials should be filled in lower land or pits.
3. Sewage purification machines should be used and after the treatment of sewage it should be spreaded in water.
4. We should have less sulphate quantity soap or detergent.
5. Root destructive, pesticides, fertilizers materials are only used according to necessities.

(A) Treatment of waste water can be performed in two types—

1. **Primary Treatment:** In this method filtration sedimentation, flotation are existed. From this method discarded particles are distant.
2. **Secondary Treatment:** In this method waste materials are oxidised by microbioal action. By sewage purification machine carbonic phosphorus and nitrogen are changed in uncarbonic phosphorus and which are perfectly used by water-weed and other plants.

(B) Reverse Osmosis

This is best method for arranging the driking water. In this method pressure is formed on solution, which soluted water performed a osmosis against water similarity. In this method energy is very needful. In this way pure and drinking water is achieved.

(C) Recycling of water

In additional of this, anaerobic digestion is very much profitable accomplished. From this method best fertilizers are achieved and fuel gas is also be taken out, such as—Cow dual gas or organic gas. By comfort method is also used for treatment of waster material from this method pathogen are destroyed.

15.2.3 Spoil Pollution

Sources of soil pollution

1. Acidic rain water and acquired water from mines, are main pollutants of soil.
2. Soil is polluted from mining the rubbish garbage and waste materials mining in soil.
3. Fertilizers and pesticides chemicals have abundant use is also polluted the soil.
4. Industrial waste materials when reteated in soil, then soil pollution is existed.
5. Heavy metals such as Cadmium, Zinc, Nickel, Arsenic are mined in soil from mines, These metals are harmness for plants, along with its these are harmful for consumer.
6. Bones, Paper, decayed meet, decayed food, Iron, leaf, copper, Mercury is also polluted the soil.
7. In our villages many women, man and children are performed sewage reunication in fields. Because there has no toilets and therefore soil is polluted.
8. Pesticides such as (D.D.T) are very harmful metal when these product are screening in human body then their similarity is increased because it has no destructive, therefore they are lived in environment for fifteen years.

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9. Salinity of soil increase abundantly from more harvesting and no full flow of water. In summer seas on salinity is coming from lower level to upper level by capillary action. From which productivity of soil is unfavorable influenced.

Control of soil pollution

From following methods soil pollution can be stopped

1. Excrement and urine should be stopped in land and water.
2. Dense material such as—Copper, Tin, Iron, Mirror are not pressed in soil.
3. New object should be made by dissolving the solid materials or by circulation.
4. It should be adopted a bio-control method on place of pesticides.
5. Human and animals defecation should be used in making of fuel gas or (Bio gas)
6. Clean rubbish bin should be made in cities.
7. Small plants and grass should be grown for stopping soil erosion.
8. Land management should be done.

Caution For collecting the waste materials and their renunciation a empty but enclosed pipes should be used.

15.2.4 Noise Pollution

When any time noise is very fast from requirement then it is known as noise pollution. This pollution is totally different from water and Air pollution because it's unfavorable effect existed is very quickly and constant loss is existed.

Sources of Noise Pollution

1. Industries such as—Cloth Mill, Steel factories, autometic vehicle factory, printing firm have much more noise is produced from which working employee of these factories has achieved big loss.
2. In dynamite explosion, in practioning of shoot in bullet by police employee or military. In flying of helicopter or in landing time also noise pollution be existed.
3. Automatic vehicles such as car, bus, motorcycle, scooter, tractor and in time of harvest cutting noise pollution also existed.
4. Loudspeakers, radio, television, vaccum clearers, flower mill, miner, cooler, exhausted fans have rapid noise is also a noise pollution.

Effect of Noise Pollution

1. From rapid noise curtain of ears are and human become a deaf.
2. From noise pollution irritation, headache, angryness are be existed.

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3. Suddenly noise pollution have unfavourable effect put on heart. Heart rate is increased, human become a relaxible. Haemorrlage cell are central, maemorrhage pressure is also changed.
4. From noise pollution don't take sleep and don't taken rest.
5. Emotional disturbance is become from noise pollution and bad effect put on heart, mind etc.
6. If any person is continously lived in 80-90 dp noise then their has deefness in standard.

Control of Noise Pollution

1. To make a 2 control machines for stopping the noise pollution.
2. To maintain a machines in a suitable way.
3. Machines of noise pollution are set up in noise less rooms
4. Working employee of factories has used a cotton in their eyes.
5. Residence should be far away for factories.
6. Loudspeakers should be used for sometimes.
7. Restriction should be mode for horning in the automatic vehicles.
8. Trees should be set up in the sides of roads from which noise pollution is existed very less.

Control of Noise Pollution in India

Day by day increased danger of noise pollution and their harmful effect in india law process control of noise pollution and arguments related of noise pollution problems has removed purpose many laws are retained Indian Government has environment minister of central pollution control board in year 1889 one technical council is organized, who present the suggestion for created damage from noise pollution and suggestion for created damage from noise pollution and suggestion on their control so government is worked suggestion the execution according to them.

15.2.5 Radiation Process

Sources of Radiation process: As a result of atomic prevention protons (a-particle) and Gama Rays (g particle) has known as self formation of radioactivity.

We are always lived in presence of lower level of radiation, these are lower level of radiation. In sun and dryland radiation has present Radium-224, Uranium-238, Thorium-232, Potassium-40, Carbon-14 etc from happened.

Bacteria in Nitrogen circulation: In starting changes is come by Nitro Bacterial from Amonia to nitrate. After this, Nitrate changed in nitrite by nytrobacteria. This all process is known as nitrication. Nitrication rate is down in less humidity and deficiency of air in soil.

In addition of natural sources, radiation is also formed by human and which was very danger, such as purification of plutonium and thorium, atomic energy production of nuclear energy, test and experiment, creation of nuclear fuel and radiaactive isotobes.

In 1945 American had done the explosion in two main cities of Japan Herosima and Nagasaki, as a result of this everything is destroyed, may be any living is alive there. But its effect is also put on living of nearest cities. Even this, mostly after 59 years their child have a features of radiative pollution are present, because in nuclear wastes has radiation factors are existed and which was effective for one

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thousand years. Therefore its faith have the radiation pollution is very much harmful. Radiactive pollution is changed the radiactive materials to Gases and small particles. These small-small particles and Gases and existed in atmosphere. These particles are coming with rain on earth and mined in soil. From soil these particle are reached to human from in particle feet and in food retioning.

Radio active materials are used for scientific researches. It flows with waste water reached in rivers seas and from there by food rationing to human.

Effect of Radiation Process

1. Radiation has thin quantity is also influenced the parts of body. Capacity of parts become very low.
2. Radiation has relation with body for more time, formed a cancer type disease. Sometimes it influenced to saddle and formed a unformed changes.
3. From more radiation pollution death is happened.
4. Radiation process is also influenced the future generations. Therefore its known very harmful.

Control of Radiation Pollution

1. Restriction should be made on tricking of reactors, Radioactive fuel and consumption or use of Isotopes is very carefully.
2. Energy machines has waste materials should be dissolved after the treatment.
3. Atomic reactor should be established in far away from living area.
4. For precaution of accident safety related rules should be adopted is very necessary.

Self Assessment

Multiple Choice Questions:

5. Environmental degeneration has a main causes……. growth.

   (a) Source (b) Transport (c) Population (d) Problem

6. Citizenship is world wid……. .

   (a) System (b) Process (c) Changes (d) Revolation

7. Hydrocarbon has possibilities of ……. .

   (a) Tuberculosis (b) Temperature (c) Cancer (d) Jaundice

8. The main pollutants of acid water rain and acquired water from mines is……. .

   (a) Soil (b) Water (c) Air (d) Noise

15.3 Role of State in Environmental Protection

State has play a very important role in environmental protection. Government in purpose of environment management can play a effective role in make a capable or practical construction Tau, to attach a pollution tax, forest management, forest living management. soil management, water maintenance, mineral wealth management and other natural resources management, evaluation of environmental effect, give the encouragement to circumstantial development, create a awareness and sensitive in people for environment problems, educated the people related to environment and

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establish a coordination for purpose of environmental protection in self services institution etc. From increased population problem worried countries of world performed a possible efforts in related to environment management.

In India efforts of environmental protection

In India, the responsibility of protection the nature to be found from long period in heards of among men, for e.g. In Yogvalkya Smriti it is clarified that human has performed the protection of plants and animals.

In modern era, before of independence many laws will be made for purpose of environmental protection in India. Before of Independency first time the matter of environmental protection was presented by Forest Act 1927, After this Indian Fisheriaes Act 1897, Bish Act 1917, Indian Bialana Act 1923, Msour Destructive and paste Act 1917, Bihar Best Lands Act 1946 are passed.

After the independency obtained in Indian constitution many provision of environmental protction has gave the place in constitution. In direct or indirect form it can be seeing in proposal of constitution, basic rights, policy directing factors of state and main rights.

- **Environmental protection related provision in constitution:** In proposal of Indian constitution don't say about environment but the matters of socialism is discussed here and it can be possible when, then all have living level is high in which special role of clean and without pollution environment.
- **Environmental protection in basic fundamental of constitution:** Although Indian constitution has part 3 described fundamental no matter is discussed related to environment protection in direct form, but in direct form some fundamental rights consisted a environment. In this way article 81 of constitution described death and belonging to body existed judicial decision precaution of smoking is also joined.
- **In constitution environmental protection in policy directing of state:** Section 47 and 48 it is related to environment protection. Section 47 give the direction in use of narcotic drink and harmful medicines of stopping with some exceptions. In this way, section 48A is sold that state is doing the efforts for environment protection and fortering and protection of forest and forest animals.
- **Environmental protection in constitution original:** Section 51AG of constitution is said that every citizen has this duty is that—

1. They done the protection of natural environment
2. Fostering the natural environment
3. **Protected the forest of forest animal:** Here in natural environment natural and artificial environment both are joined. In this section which duty is described, his fulfillment when possible, when environment is protected and there fore no any type of pollution. Parliament can make a suitable provision for obeying this duty, motivated form this desire Section 253 power from Air pollution act, 1981, environmental protection 1986 act are passed.

In 1980th november in country environment protection and for their fostery environmental department is established. For giving the importance to environment department. In 1985 a separate ministry is organized in state environment and forest minister.

- **Indian penal code and environment:** Indian penal code has section of 1860 make the provision 14 public health area facility, matters related to offence which but on effect education and well-manner. Further performed a violence 6 month jail and fine both are systemized.

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- **Penal process code and environment:** Penal process code, Section of 1973 10 public system and make a provision for making a peacefulness. From section 133 to 144 lok nasens are described here which are related to environment.
- **Indian vegetation supervision:** In year 1890 established this organization performed the supervision and listing of related to animals of the country. Its head office situated in Calcuttal.
- **Indian Zoology supervision:** In 1916 established this organized country performed the supervision and listing related to animal of country. Its head office is also situated in Calcutta.
- **Indian Forest supervision**: In year 1981 established this organisation make a matter central map in every 10 years. Its head office in Dehradun, Bangalore, Calcutta, Nagpur and Shimla has its regional offices. According to India 2004, 55% total Geographical Area of country are forest less.
- **Indian forest policy and other laws:** Indian first forest policy amended in year 1894. Amended forest policy 1988 is the foundation of forest protection, fostering and development. It was also re-amended in year 1990 and 1998.
- **National forest lift work plan:** It present working policy for forest life protection and make a forming structure programme. Indian Forest Life Board is a leading advisory organization of executing various plans of protection, controlling and direction. Prime minister is a chairman of Indian forest life Board.
- In India saving their prosperous organic variety from vanishness that communities are identified and efforts are performed for their protection. These efforts of protecting the organic wealth are classified in three squares.

1. Protection of Forest Animal
2. Padad
3. Forest protection

Protection of Forest Animal

In india, forest life protection Act 1972 on hunting the notified animals penalty execution be provisioned Inspite of this, National Forest protection policy passed in 1992 special attention is give for forest life protection and efforts of environment protection are rapid.

In India fro protecting the organic variety efforts are performed on two levels.

1. Organic Variety gave the protection on their place,
2. Communities are taken out from their natural resident give them protection, fostering and preservation.

Forest life protection Act by 1972 lawful assumption many national parks, indictment or established a safety areas and provide them constitutional protection. In India 89 national park 490 indictment which was spreaded in area 37,761 square km or 1,44,164 square km.

Forest life protection Act 192

For protecting the forest life protection following provision are made that—

1. Hunting a forest animal is considered a penal offence and provided a 25000 rupees economic penalty and imprisonment for five years.
2. Restriction on keeping the any part of the forest animal or keep a material created with them and done a business.

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3. Restriction on catching a fish on indictment area.
4. Restriction on protecting or hunting of a peacock, deer etc, It meet a certificate of main forest Animal guard then it is permitted, but here have a exception of related to stamp.
5. To seeing the losses of farmers harvesting from NeelCow give them permission of making a correct barbed wire entanglement in around of their field for protecting the harvesting.
6. Restriction is also keep on making the show of muiberry without licensing.

Conception of Biosphere Reserve

According to the policy of UNESCO it will be thought that for protecting reared communities make original Habitat for them and provide the Bostering situation for them with whole environmental circumference situations. Its known from Biosphere Reserve and it was given by 'Bahardshi as a rust of this. It has meet a constitutional consumption in 1972 years.

Forest Life Investigation

In matter of forest animal investigation work is to bring a successful condition is done by Indian Forest Life Institute. In different parts of country for this which investigated projects are execute in their have main are—

1. Gradually development of forest life residence.
2. Going and coming of elephants
3. Circumstantial of crocodiles and tortoise.
4. Investigation on disappeared almost livings.
5. Worked on animal manner, and health of animal

In India policies of controlling the pollution: In 1992, environment and forest ministry is used a policyful manifesto of controlling the pollution. In projects of ministry many international institutes also helping with the World Bank Industrial controlling pollution project is started. Water and Air pollution related matter has planned by supremacy Institues of Central pollution controlling Board. Many Industrial units has creative system is to changed in scienfically in under of 1986 environment protected.

Minimum controlling Minas are determined, in which various standards are determined for controlling the pollution environment ministry extified such 19 area in which country in which pollution problem is very serous for which special awareness is needed. In these areas some main are Vapli in Gujarat, Singro in U.P., Hawra in West Bengal, Digboi in Assam, Pali in Rajasthan, Dhanbad in Bihar, Najafgarh in Delhi and Manali in Tamil Nadu. By central pollution controlling board one other projects is proposed. In under of this project identified. Such areas of country, which are endured the pollution in difinite limit and estiblished their new industry NATMO (National Atlas and Thermonium Map Organisation) and NRSA (National Remote Sensing Agency) completed with their cooperation, In 22 districts of 17 states this work is started. For Chindwala (H.P.), Pallakad (Kerala), Solan (H.P.), Vishupur, Imphal, Thauvel (Manipur), Ghaziabad (U.P.), Panchmahal (Gujarat), Massour (Karnataka), Sundergarh (Orissa), Singboom (Jharkhand) has the types of maps has been prepared.

In supreme court of Delhi has gave the order for removing mostly one lakh industrial units from residential areas. In 20-21 november 2000 a big revolution is started for carrying this. Lakhs of labour, businessman are come for against of this. In 1997 supreme court has also ordered and gave the time for 1997. But no execution is done by administration so its was extended to till 31st december, 1997. Inspite of this nothing will be happen on 14 nov, 2000 supreme court has folded the aims of main

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secretary Delhi Government then Delhi Government taken out the ordered of closing those units. In under of pollution controlling policy following programme are started.

6. Software on Pollution: Industrial units has preparing environment related reports for purpose of providing facilitation environmental named one software package is prepared. With its for analysis of present information also necessary execution is distributed to all state pollution Control Board.

(B) Eco Mrk: In favour of environment for purpose of separate identification consumer objects, ECO mark system is started. For labelling of this 19 types of product are selected. Bathing soap, detergent paper, paint, in construction of house used paint and washing soap of clothes in such affairs giving the mark lebel are notified. Indian standard Bureo/Mark and inspection directorate are the agencies of this implementation. This ECO Mark definetly play a effective role in direction of bring a environmental awakness 12 the market.

(C) Environmental Division : In 1992-1993 by central environmental department organised a environmental division for the purpose of atterching a common people and causes of environmental protection reforms and environmental pollution. In first step of programmes its organised in 100 districts of various state, which has predefined the work is performed in direction of distric judge, in which members students, businessman, members of voluntantry organization or other owned persons are joined, which number is kept 20. First of all they are introduced from various aspects with mean of meetings or traking programmes, from which members first of all present the report to their director and then give cooperation in solution of environmental problems. These division has all expenses is performed by central forest and environmental ministry.

(D) Haritima Programmes: In decade of 1970, Haritima Programmes is implemented. Under of this provide a greenful atmosphere to all cities campaign is started. Green Haryana programme implemented in 1990-1991, Green Delhi campaign, Green Rajasthan programmes are implemented in 1991-1992.

(E) Rain Harvesting: The purpose of this water management programme is collected the rain water and its used in that place where it is fallen, It reach up to in their underground water, increased the avaibility of water and rising up the level of under ground water. This method is adopted in Chennai and efforts are performed for water problems. National capital area has 50% fulfillment of water can be completed only with rain of water. This method of water management is known as Rein Harvesting.

(F) ECO Club

1. In creative time of life in adults have adopted a favourable habits for environment protection, Central Government has started ECO Club one important plan.
2. ECO Club are started in 2000 schools for making the students awared for environment.
3. In these clubs students have provide the study material and kits for inspection of drinking water and sampling of Air.
4. ECO Club members love environmental protection and investigation knowledge is provided with audio visual equipment, questionnaire programmes, explanation test of pollution in water etc. with the help of easy scientist investigation.

(G) Deprived será petrol and catalatic cover: One important programme is started for the purpose of improving Air-level cities of country and improved the fuel which is used in Motor Gasoine and Diesel such vehicle. In under this programme from 1st April, 1995 four great cities Delhi, Mumbai, Calcutta and Chennai has selected some petrol pumps and deprived sesa petrol is started in Motor vehicle. From 1st april, 1996 less Sesa petrol (perlitre 0.15 gram Sesa) is obtaining. This type of petrol can be used in such type of vehicles, in which have catalytic converter is attached. From this 50 per cent pollution can be controlled which is spreaded by these vehicles.

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Till now imported catalytic converter is used, but quickly by National Environmental Engineering Research Institute developed Swadesi Converter are used instarting, which was very cheaper. From Ist april, 1996 in four great cities plan of 0.5% Sulphuric Diesel is also prodided. In nearest areas of Taj 0.5% Sulphuric Diesel is fulfilled form 1 sep 1996. From 15 august 1997 0.25% Sulpher Diesel also provided in Delhi. In capital Delhi one "Vehicle Pollution Controlling Mission is also started for controlling the pollution by vehicle on Roads.

Compressed Natural Gas is developed in a alternative fuel form which will be used as a fuel in Motor car, In 15 august, 1995 this alternative fuel is beginning in limited scale compressed natural gas for using this one additional kit is used in car, which process is very easy and minimum price-level. Chief Minister of Delhi gave this assurance that discount will be given on CNG based four vehicle and also gave the discount on Interest Rate so that its used in maximum.

Inderprasth Gas Limited (IGL), New Delhi by made CNG Kit Rate 30,000 rupees is kept on 30 Dec, 1999 , In using of this pollution doesn't happened and fuel rate of car is saved on 50%. After attaching the kit CNG or petrol which even fuel can be used.

(H) Deprived sesa petrol and catalatic cover: In 2 December, 1999 Delhi Government has passed one bill for seeing the pollution of polythene Bags, which is effected on 24 Dec, 1999. In under of this colour polythene bages are totally restricted. Only 25 Microphone have thick which bags can be used. Which can't be used for food products. For breaking the restriction fine can be imposed 10,000 to till 1,00,000 and five years imprisonment can also be occurred. But bill is limited on Recycling of plastic.

(I) Central Pollution Controlling Board: For Evaluation, Inspection and controlling of Air and Water pollution one high level National Institute is Central Pollution Controlling Board. On this Board has responsibility of performing execute. 1974 water pollution stopping and controlling act 1981 controlling Air Pollution and controlling act and 1977 has water appliance act, 23 states and Union States has adopted this act and in these states, pollution control board has been organized, in under environment protection act 1986 Central Pollution Control Board work area is become very extensive. In under of this 61 Industries affairs has created standards are notified. 84 labs have provide the assumption as a form of environmental related labs.

Self Assessment

State whether the following statement are True/False

9. From very fast sound membranes of card rum is turned and Human become a deaf.
10. From Air pollution irritation, headache etc. are come.
11. State can play a effective role in environmental protection.
12. Only artificial environment is joined in natural environment.

15.4 Environmental Protection—Role of Public and Environmental Awareness

In constitution for protection of Environment has very important factor inspite of provision, act and creation of law that is created the awareness in people towards environmental protection, give the whole and extensive information of harmful effect which is spreaded by environment pollution. Give the whole and extensive information of harmful effect which is spreed by environment pollution. For environment protection awareness is executed as a complained and which have different side should be existed, such as seminar, educational institutes non-government institution and occation a different programme of environment awareness by vollunter organization of environmental protection requirement and environment awakens. Inspite of this on pollution has harmful effects

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need of environmental protection, present a small short story, film, attach a big-big headings on main places of cities, publishing of environment article in news papers and provide the information of environmental awareness and related to protection a interesting and knowledgeful information is telecasted by means of activeness, these all word in definitely form can play a very important role in environmental protection and a provide a beautiful and clean environment for future genertion

Role of General People in Environmental Protection

Who is the corrupted cause of environment? This question is not very much important, but it is very necessary that one common people in which way can give the coperation in environment protection. Because for environment protection inspite of government efforts participation of general citizen is very important. In real way when we assumes that running manifesto of environmental protection is succeeded. Some facts are described related to environmental protection and which is fostered by every persons. Performing such type we can saved our environment from unlimited losses and can protected a beautiful and clean environment for future generation. In environment protection general people should be give the attention on following facts from which they can fulfilling their role towards environment and with its give the contribution in environmental protection.

- Saved the water sources from pollution, purified water is used for drinking.
- Stopped the destruction of forest for industrial development and citizenship
- Identified the alternate of petroleum material and wood for energy, such as solar energy, wind energy, water energy and natural gas etc. which is cheeper and long period in view of environment.
- Attach a more of trees in side of opened houses, corner of roads etc.
- To keep beautiful and clean of their house, streets, villages and cities environment.
- Don't performed a sound pollution only keep it a mean of discussion.
- Use of loudspeakers or horn when it has much more needed.
- Regular checking of vehicles and switable maintance should be kept and performed Air pollution very less.
- Motivate the Industrial for establishment less pollution equipment.
- Performed deficiency in population growth because growth of population has straight effected put on our natural resources and environment.
- Give the cooperation in stopping the citizenship
- Give the cooprative in protection of whole animals.
- Avoid the used of chemical feeds of insecticides materials in their harvesting.
- Used the organic food and organic insecticides
- Don't wash the animals and clothes in rivers.
- Protected the forest
- Spread the awareness in people towards environment and around them effect of pollution towards environment.

In this way one several people can play a important role in environment protection

Environmental act 1986 was established for protecting the environment. In this act, violation of these provisions also hard penalty provisioned be existed. In first type violation can give a five years imprisonment or one lakh five or both are also provided. In under of this act central/state government

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has right of closely regularizing or restriction of any unit or industry which movement become a daya for environment protection.

In under this, that industry has all services electricity, water are clossed on immediately effect. In under this act general people has also right that can give the report in high court of which persons or other who is performed violence.

Environment and Forest Ministry

By Government of India one campaign is performed a 'Par ya Verne Valine' for the purpose of environment awareness, for protecting the forest and forest animal joined the people on national level in purpose of firmed environmental awareness. One National Environmental awareness campaign is executing from 1980 by environment and forest ministry of Govt. of India.

The main foundation of environmental protection is managing the natural resources of human utilization so that long-period profit is available for future generation and expectation of future generation can be fullfilled. Incept of Government participation and law human participation and environmental awareness is very important contribution then environmental protection can be performed because environment is polluted by human, and its solution or protection is done by human. Human has made a proportion with nature, then conception of life can become advantageously on the earth.

15.5 Summary

- Meaning of environmental degeneration is such process of environmental destruction in any area, in which original tendency or quantity of physical environment or one or more factors are degenerative. It means impairment is formed on factors of environment.
- Many problems are obtained from environmental degeneration. In which environment pollution, lack of natural resources, Ozone distilling, Geographical temperature is increased, atmosphere changes are main.
- Environmental degeneration is happened from two causes—Natural and Human activities. Lack of natural causes is on limited level and nature adjusted its slowly-slowly. In second way human activities effection extensive level.
- Air, water or land (It means environment) has physical, chemical or unexpected changes of organic features which are very harmful for human and other living creatures, their life situations, Industrial process or cultural achievement, known as pollution, pollution has three types (1) Air pollution (2) Water pollution (3) Soil pollution (4) Sound pollution (5) Radiation pollution.
- After the Independence in Indian constitution has various provision meet a place in constitution its seeing in direct or Indirect from 12 proposal of constitution, rights, policy factor of state and origin duties.
- For environment protection inspite of provisions of constitution, act and creation law. One other important factor is create the awareness in people for environment protection, give the extensive and whole information towards environmental pollution.

15.6 Keywords

- **Environmental Degeneration:** Such process in which physical environment factors has original tendency or features be degenerated.
- **Noisy pollution:** When sound is much more rapid from need.

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15.7 Review Questions

1. What do understand by environment degeneration? Exlpain
2. Give the clean clarification of environmental or circumstantial degeneration causes.
3. What is environment pollution? Explain the type of pollution.
4. Explain the sources and effects of Air pollution
5. Explain source of water pollution, effect and scheme of their control.
6. Explain the sources and control of soil erosion
7. Writ a Note (1) Noise pollution (2) Radiation pollution
8. Explain the role of general people in environment protection

Answers: Self Assessment

1. Non-organic	2. Circumstantial	3. Natural	4. Factor
5. (c) population	6. (b) process	7. (c) cancer	8. (a) soil
9. Truth	10. False	11. Truth	12 False

15.8 Further Readings

Books

1. Comparative Politics— *C.B. Jena, Vikas Publishing*

2. The Outline of Comparative Politics : Politics of Liberal, Socialist , Developing Nations— *Gava O.P, Mayur Paperbacks*

3. Comparative Politics — *Jagdish Chandra Jauhari , Sterling Publishers*

4. Comparative Politics— *Chandradev Prasad, Atlantic Publishers*

Unit 16 : Science, Technology and Politics

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Learning objectives

After studying this unit, students will be able to:

- Explain Technology and Social Change
- Discuss Impact of Science and Technology on Society
- Know about International Communications

Introduction

In Today's era, science and technology is an extremely important factor of social change. In the last five hundred years the major change that has occurred can broadly be put as the change in science and technology. The progress in the field of science has given rise to several inventions. Increased inventions have increased mechanization and as a result of the revolutionary changes in technology there has been an increase in production of quality products and services. There has also been an all together change in the society as such. There has been a drastic change in the social networking structure. Starting with the invention of wheel and later on being carried forward by the new modes of transportation and communication and invention of new technological and electronic media like -- radio, television, cinema, computers, PC LDCs, laptops, tablets, high profile mobile phones and many more to add to the fact of new technologically empowered era—all of these have a significant role to play in the changes of the past years. In one hand, where these inventions have contributed to increase the amenities of life on the other hand, these inventions have generated some problems, too. Where the new technological inventions have accelerated industrialization and urbanization, on the other hand, labour issues and problems relating to urban life have occurred, too. Improvement in science and technology has brought about a modernized society--- both in the western countries

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and also in India. India has also seen drastic changes in its cultural scenario. Joint families have split itself into numerous nuclear families. Population of the villages have majorly shifted to cities, the economy is changing from an agrarian economy of the past to a service class economy and business class economy of the present. The society is changing in terms of dressing styles; food habits; use of computers by majority of people may it be in the students class, service class; business class every has an access to telephones and internet. Even individualistic views and values and the individual ideologies have faced a massive change due to this modernization. Now people are becoming free from the shackles of religion and race. Industrialization and urbanization have played a significant role to reduce the limiting beliefs of the past. The cultural scenario has also changed the women of today in a massive way. Today's era has witnessed women act hand in hand with men in all spares of life there is not a single profession or field where today's women has limited herself. Be it the students, the female students are high scorers of marks in all examinations, the female candidates perform in many cases better than the male candidates of today and also mane their social life along with their professional life. So, women create a balance in the social and professional life of today which is much greater than a man's contribution in the society.

16.1 What is Technology?

Under Technology those methods are taken that help us in achieving goals. Various types of equipment and processes come under the human knowledge. Signification in technology does not mean the rapid mechanization in modern age. The technology is in each era and society. Whether a society is easy or complex, civil or disrespectful, traditional or modern, every society has its own technology that plays significance role to achieve different requirements of people.

Carl Marcus clarifying the meaning of 'technology' has written, ''Attitude and behavior of humans with technology-oriented production tells the process by which human beings remain alive and set nature of social relations and mental concepts. From this definition it is clear that technology and technique are that measures which contribute for the fulfillment of various needs of human beings and on the basis of these the nature of social relations remains fixed.

According to Prof. Saran, technology is the ultimate means of production to utilize the available resources so as to achieve the desired results. The following are few examples to explain this definition. For example, to build a house we would need certain raw materials which may be the prime ingredients in the construction of a house. So, in this case the equipments necessary in the building construction and the planning and the organizing and the total art of constructing that building ---can be categorized as the technology of a building construction. In other words the technology is the means of production to achieve the construction of a building. For a writer, a good quality pen is the equipment and his knowledge both accompany him to produce a write up, and so on.

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According to Lapier, "technology means the methods, the knowledge and the skills with the help of which man utilizes the physical and the natural resources available on the earth in its evolutionary process each day."

In other words the ultilisation of the available resources in the best possible way with upto date means of production so as to achieve the desired results is known as using good technology. This definition shows that physical and biological facts are handled with the help of technology and meet the requirements. In other words, technology is that method that contributes to achieve the target of a human mind.

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According to Agvarn, technology refers to the various technical aspects involved in the production of the goods and services, the knowledge involved to utilize the various inputs so as to produce the desired outputs.

Maciever and Pez discuss the qualitative as well as the quantitative aspects of production technology. Technological advancements is a continuous process in the historical evolution of man. So if we look back we can get a systematic analysis of the technological progress in every era of human civilization.

Self Assessment

Fill in the blanks:

1. In Today's era, science and …… is an extremely important factor of social change.
2. Nowadays man's …….. status is more important than his qualities.
3. For achieving any target in today's world, technologically advanced……is a prime factor in fulfilling the requirements of any production house…… has changed the strands and thought of human being.
4. ……. has changed the total lifestyles of human beings majorly in urban areas and partially in rural areas.

16.2 Technology and Social Change

A close nexus is found between innovation or technological factors and social change. In present time, the root cause of rapid changes in various societies is the innovative methods, new inventions and developments in the new methods of production. Both Maverick and Pez have said that in modern eras, the most important aspect is the technology and not capitalism. The modern technical know-how is the matter of prime concern. Now we feel that this mechanization has changed our standard of living, our lifestyle and moreover our way of thinking in a major way. Today's innovative technology has played a significant role in changing the society as such completely, making it a technologically advanced society. This change has a significant role to play in the total personality development of modern man as compared to a person just few years down the lane. The rapid changes in the society is a total ongoing process for years but the recent changes in just few 4-5 years is also very significant. We say this because previously changes used to be significant in decades. But now the changes are noticed in 3-4 years. He following is a brief discussion between science and technological factors and the social changes in response to it. Here we will try to find out how science and technological factor play a significant role in different areas of life.

1. **Mechanization and social changes:** In today's era of science and technology, inventions and research has its own importance. The invention of iron, wheel, engine, aeroplane, motor car, aircraft, tractor telephone, radio, electric power, type writer, computer, gunpowder, and atom bomb have brought radical changes in different areas of human life. The view of Maciver is that invention of steam engine has affected the social and political life of human being so much so that even the person who has discovered the machine would have not imagined the impact that a steam engine has created in the societal changes. Argboan has discussed 150 changes that have started due to the invention of radio. Spicers has discussed several such studies which suggest that by the use of small instruments detailed and unexpected changes have happened in human relationships. Automation of new machine in the car has also brought so many social changes. By this innovation, the freedom of women grew and now it is easier for them to run the car, they used to go Club, their influence and dynamics grew, it also affected their family life too. Opening of new factories in India and production with the help of machine influenced many people to go various places for work. It also

helped them to work with different tribes of people. With it the dissolution of caste system and joint family system happened, untouchability became less and the freedom of women increased. Momphone has a belief that for the creation of the modern age mechanization is important. Mechanization has changed the life and thought of human being. Because of Modern technology for industrialization and capitalist system changes happened in the rural masses.

Many social changes have occurred as a result of mechanization. With today's busy life Humans have tried to adjust with machines and as a result, this has impacted man's every sphere of life. With this try the importance of all types of work, the timing of work, the happiness of life and standard of living has reached to a high level and with this, human beings are also able to replace old fashioned methods with new methods. With the technological advancements taking place there was a major change in the total societal structuring. Nowadays people behavior nature and their activities are governed mainly by the type of lifestyle they are leading. A major point of difference is also that the majority of families residing in the cities are 90% nuclear families and also few in small cities and villages the changes in the lifestyles are being noticed by people. Presently, due to mechanization the people who are engaged in business have the opportunity to organize themselves; several Union and societies are made through which people want to protect their interests. People have the power to get wealth or race. Capitalism has spread.

Did You Know? The invention of engine has influenced the human, social and political life so much that even its inventor would not have imagined themselves

2. **Mechanization and changes in social values:** Mechanization has played a significant role to change social values. Social value is especially important in our lives and we will try to accommodate this behavior. Importance of personal wealth and power at present has increased and the value of togetherness is weak. Now, because of growing wealth and political power more importance and respect is given to those people in the society who are wealthy, businessman or industrialist, politician or administrator. Now special importance is not given to mechanization that it was before.

Example Today's well educated and sophisticated youth has more importance than people possessing high idealistic values and qualities and religious minded people.

Mechanization has paid importance of enhancing the acquired properties. Mechanization reducing mutual dependence between various individuals and groups has helped to acquire personhood and narrow point of view. Now people do not worry about others as much as they worried about themselves. They have been neither conservatives nor progressive, but became an opportunistic-not-in-kind to your selfishness-system and have obeyed his religion values.

Advancement in communication and social changes: New advanced means of communication which is an impressive technological factor of development has given rise to many complex social changes. New advanced communication has so many techniques among them radio, television, telephone, etc. are very important. Communication is the basis of social relations. Communication between individuals would not be long, if it is not possible to establish social relationships. Cinema or film has contributed significantly for the changing the ideas, beliefs and attitude of the people's along with this have also affected family, social and caste relationships. With the help of radio now any talk, information or idea can reach the millions of individual in a few moments. Radio is a healthy means of entertainment.

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The communication media – the radio TV (television), the internet, e-mails, computers, tablets are all part of a healthy means of entertainment. Radio and television have encouraged members of family to sit down together and spend their leisure time. And internet connects people globally with strong networking. People sitting abroad can talk and work with you because of the excellent global networking. Due to this advanced communication tools the distance of communication became less and the distinction between standard of living of rural and urban people became less. Through various means of communication different groups of people got a chance to understand each other. As a result of advanced communication means large-sized parties proclaim become aroused.

3. **New technological and sociological changes in agriculture:** Using innovative methods in agriculture is such a type of technological factor which contributed many changes in life in total. With the improvement in Animal breed, the use of fertilizers, seeds and labor-saving machines for variety of cases the production quantity and quality both have improved. Advanced means of irrigation has also contributed significantly to enhance agriculture production. This is not only affected the economic life but also affected social life too. In past to operate effectively the irrigation-work there was need of peoples' cooperation by which the togetherness was found between them. Now in many countries production of agricultural has increased so much that there was the problem of finding markets for them. Now, innovative methods have changed the approaches to social interaction, the thought of people quite a bit. Now in rural areas, instead of relationships and Intimacy, affinity and formality is increasing. With increase in production of agriculture production in rural areas, people's incomes have increased and their standard of living has lifted. Thus, new methods of agriculture have affected the lives of villagers in many forms.

4. **Production system and social changes:** Production system is also a major technological factor which from time -to -time has changed social interaction and social structure quite a bit. When there were no machines, people used to work manually and family was the only unit of production. In such a case all family members had similar interests and relationships. At that time due to small-scale industries there were no industrial and labor problems. People exchanging their goods made by them between each other were fulfilling their requirement. In the same way they used to exchange their services too. For this there was unity and perseverance in rural communities; but now the production system has changed. At present, in urban areas, with the help of machines production in factory has increased extensively. Now the importance of people doing job by hand has reduced and the importance of trained individuals for running machine has increased. Division of labor and specialization is increased. Banks and large business organizations have established. Importance of publicity increased. Large cities have established and labor and urbanization related issues have arisen. In this age of machines people's life became machinery and formalities of social relation have increased. Rather than primary relationships and groups, the importance of secondary bonding and groups has increased. New methods of production have changed the social, economic, and political life to some extent. This new system has influenced different organizations, marriage, family and tribes and has increased the pace of social changes.

5. **Control over atomic energy and social change:** Achieving the various needs of human motives and necessities, the use of atomic energy is an epoch-making discovery. Like other discoveries of modern science, the use of nuclear energy is essential in many fields for both constructive and destructive actions. Macwebber and Pez have said that like an agent of peace he could bring unprecedented development age. On one hand, atomic energy can be used to bring happiness in the life of man; on the other hand, this can be used for the destruction of human being too. The use of atomic energy will increase in various sectors of human being the rapid pace of social change will occur.

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16.3 Impact of Science and Technology on Society

Because of science and technology, many changes come in various areas. Among them some may be called direct effect or result and some may be called indirect effect or result. Direct effects are those which as a result of technological change bring changes in society quickly and compulsorily. These changes appear clearly. Indirect effects are those which as a result of technological bring changes in society through indirect methods. These changes come through changes resulting from technological change.

The following are the direct effects of science and technology.

1. **Labour –division and specialization of work:** As a result of science and technology, at a large scale, production began on large factories. In these factories, different works distributed among different kinds of people because individuals with different qualifications and training is required to accomplish the work in right way. Doing the same type of work for a long time they acquired knowledge in that field and they became professional. In this way, along with labour-division specialization also increased. Now, in order to complete different types work properly special training institute is established.
2. **Labour union**: Before the use of new technology, there were no labour issues in the production field. Previously, people, for fulfilling their needs, used carry on production of goods in their own houses. Nowadays with the latest technological advancements goods are produced in factories, with the help of machines. So now artisans were converted to workers. Previously, there were no working hours, salary for the artisan. Now working hours, salary, and working condition are fixed for the workers. Mill owners to earn more from the workers paid less salary and forced them to give more work. So the workers faced problems and to overcome this problem workers began to organize and kept their views in front of the mill owners and government through labor union, with this their standard of living changed.
3. **Urbanization**: When the production was commenced by the factory system, many people started to come to the urban areas for work. From various reasons, the establishment of factories in urban areas invited many villagers to work in these factories and force them to settle down in the cities. As a result, the population of city increased. With the rapid increase in population of city, many problems started in cities such as problem of slums, etc. In the crowed environment of cities people started feeling lonely. Here it can be said that as a result of industrialization urbanization intensified.
4. **Growing mobility:** Science and technological changes have played a significant role in enhancing both local and social mobility. Local mobility means to increase the tendency to go from one place to move to another location. Social mobility means to acquire one social status to another social status and access to a group or class to another group or class. Nowadays because of science and technology, there is a sharp increase in transportation and communications. People knew about various places, groups, sections, businesses, etc. They became familiar with different people and civilization. People also got opportunity to increase their class position increasing their ability. From this it is clear that science and technology played a significant role to mobilize the things.
5. Changes in social relations: As a result of science and technology, the form of social relationship has changed quite a bit. Now from the angle of family, society and economic relationships, a great change has happened and complexities have increased between relationships. Earlier a person was generally associated with adults in his family, some relatives and some people in his community but now a person has extended relationship. Now he depends on school for education, factory and business organization for job. For entertainment he has to become a member of a club, society and mandal. In today's age of specialization, the number of committees; and their alternative groups have increased

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significantly and a person representing them needs to coordinate properly to fulfill the needs of both the parties.

6. Spread of urban lifestyle in rural areas: A society is basically composed of two types of lifestyles—the urban and the rural. These two types of communities present different forms of social life. Today, Science and technology has made the process of social change intense in urban areas. Rural areas and rural life also feel this impact. The concept of urbanization is growing day by day. Now the people of those villages are beginning to use physical tools which enhance the amenities of life such as yoga, power, fan, heater, radio, transistor, television etc. It is clear that differences between rural and urban life gradually is becoming less.

Self assessment

Multiple choice questions:

1. Communication is the …….. social relationships.

   (a) base (b) control (c) change (d) means

2. Previously when machines were not invented, people used to work manually and the family used to be the …… unit for every business.

   (a) change (b) production (c) society (d) goods

3. The shifting from a particular social situation to another …….. situation is known as social mobility.

   (a) political (b) economic (c) sociological (d) religious

4. In this era of industrialization competition has a wide area of …….

   (a) Importance (b)place (c)emotions (d) oppurtunities

16.4 Social Responsibilities of Science

Knowing about the meaning importance of science it becomes important to analyze what are the responsibilities of science towards the societal requirements. **Today's era is a scientific era and that** science has a very important role to play in human life. An important role of science is to make human life easier by providing man with technologically advanced facilities. But in this process an important aspect lies in the fact that man should see the positive and the negative aspects of science in the making.

The period of the 19th and the 20th centuries has seen drastic improvements in the field of science and technology. With the new discoveries, science has become an indispensible part in the life of man. From ancient times man has been in the continuous process of making these new discoveries. One major responsibility of science is to increase the comfort level of human beings and to improve their standard of living.

Inventing new machines in agriculture sector, science has made irrigation very simple and beneficial. With the help of machines man has able to produce more. Increasing the production in agriculture it also played a significant role to get rid of appetite. Inventing new type of fertilizers, seeds, pesticides, etc., in the field of the agriculture, man has achieved success more than of his hope. New inventions of science also increased the production of clothes. It helped to make beautiful and chief clothes in a short period of time for human being. Increasing the production of clothes and providing beautiful and cheap clothes to human being has played a significant role to improve the standard of living of human being. Wonders of science have also played a significant role in the transport sector too. With the help of new inventions in transport sector man not only is able to go from one corner of the earth

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to another corner but also is able to cover distance in water and space too. For this work he used scooter, bus, truck, and aircraft too. Now man is feeling, earth is very small for him because of science. Science has also played a very significant role in health care sector too. With the help of science man is able to invent new instrument for health care. With the help of science he is able to make medicines and with the help of these medicines he has succeed to eradicate very harmful diseases. He has also invented medicine for diarrhea, plague and other epidemic diseases. So at the end science has played a significant role in changing the life of human being.

The technological advancements in the field of communication and media field, inventions such as telephone, telegram, television, teleprinter, satellite and wireless have astonished the human being. In terms of education and entertainment, radio and television are proved to be very useful. Today to run small-big engines electricity, petrol are used. This use has made our life very easy and simple. Science is able to educate human being and now man is able to acquire unlimited knowledge with the help of science. With the help of science he is proceeding to achieve every goal of his life. Science has provided man healthy and long life. Science, by enhancing the scope of media and entertainment has attempted to enhance human life. Although science is able to accomplish his responsibility to achieve person's physical comfort, but because of unemployment, poverty and other social ills, in the true sense a large part is unable to achieve these benefits.

On one hand, science has done a lot of obsessions for human being; on the other hand, it has provided many devices of destruction, too. Science has given many destructive inventions to mankind, such as atom bombs, hydrogen bombs, powerful missiles, machine guns and submarines. The inventions of all these destructive devices have increased the level of insecurity in man. Every country today is living with insecurity towards life. Science has forced human being to maintain distance from nature and made human being lazy. Due to scientific inventions, severe imbalance has formed in nature. Today the carbon dioxide gas from motor, bus factory, and train has become very harmful for human being. Atmospheric ozone layer is gradually becoming damaged by which the crisis is going to happen to exist on earth.

16.5 Contribution of Science in Social Control

Some sociologists have divided the society into two categories (1) formal social control

1. Informal social control. The formal social control means the control which is done as per the categorically defined laws by the state government or any formal organization to control the behaviour of its members and these laws exert a binding impact upon the members. Informal social control is that by which person's or group's behavior is controlled through the medium such as customs, trend, etc. These social rules are followed in keeping the benefits of masses in mind.

In today's era, one very key role of the state is to maintain social control. State makes the people familiar with the cultural trends providing them training make them responsible citizens if the society who are able to earn successfully for their livelihood. Education is a powerful tool for the socialization of children. Children through education absorb those things by the help of which they behave in cordial manner for the customs, trends etc. of the society. Today's age is the age of publicity and publicity is one important means of social control.

Example Several tools are used to promote publicity such as paper, magazines, television, radio, cinema, etc.

With the help of publicity, we are able to know about social evils such as dowry, child-marriage, untouchability, widow-marriage and superstition. Through publicity people able to know about

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sages, politicians and great men. Publishing the views of sages, politicians and great men, harmony and control are bread in the society. For publishing economic policies and promoting education to the people, the help of publicity is taken. By publicity, people are suggested to follow a particular type of conduct. In this work of publicity, science has played a very significant role. In today's era, state making rules for the people inspires them to follow the rule. Similarly, public opinion is one important informal means of social control. In every society, public opinion keeps eye in the peoples' behavior. In the polite society, public opinion is one very important social powers to keep an eye on the government's policies, social behavior, etc. In democracy, public opinion is an important tool of state, government, public, and for this the direct or indirect help of science is also taken. Publicity, public opinion, television, radio, cinema etc. all are scientific devices. Science by these mediums maintains social control.

Till the mid of the 20th century and after the Second World War, there was a growing awareness of this among people, that democracy is the most important and desirable political system. Friendly nations, who had defeated the unions of axis power, the members of these unions were Japan, Italy and Germany. Before the big battle in the home war of Spain democracy was killed. To defeat Nazi Germany and Japan even though for the time being there was a treaty between the USA and the other western countries with the Soviet Union. With cease fire these countries demonized the Soviet Union saying that imperial communist system is oppressive dictatorship and can be considered undemocratic. This arrangement was imposed by Maoists upon China, Ho Chi Minh upon the Soviet Union and Kastro upon Kuba. Even though the claim of all the socialists was that these countries were more democratic than the capitalist countries. Just the nature of their democracy is different from the democracy developed in Europe which they called centralized democracy but to support this recognition there were only few. In this way, democracy on the basis of universal suffrage, according to results of fearless-fair elections the representatives of public the government is understood as its test. This criticism is considered as an integral part of the party in power.

Self assessment

State whether the following statements are true or false

1. Science and innovative technologies have lightened the work of women.
2. Inventing new machines in agriculture sector, science has made irrigation very simple and beneficial.
3. Education is not intensive socialization of children.
4. For the publicity of economic policies and awakening education to the people the help of media is taken.

16.6 InternationalCommunications

Many decades ago, Canada's communications' expert, Marshal Macluhan had given a statement that the world has been converted into a small village. This imagery of global village, in the world of communication, seemed to be true first. When the short wave radio started, from then the geographical boundaries of nation-state was understood to be useless. For any country, it became possible that he neglecting the government of another country can address directly to the public of that country. During the Second World War both Britain and Germany used radio plentiful. Nazis during his uplifting year to spread provoke used film very successfully. In retaliation of war, friendly nations used holly hood, for fun of Hitler to destroy the influence of his charismatic personality, used the film Charlie chaplin. After war proliferation of television made both the words of radio and television proliferates

This can be understood the revolutionary proliferation of communication in international politics.

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Since then, many revolutionary inventions and changes happened in the field of communication. The revolutionary inventions and changes somewhere-up are associated with television broadcasts. First trough only mediums, then via satellite it became possible to connect whole world with one communication network. So on any broadcasting; no nation-state can apply any influential prohibition and censorship also. For making conspiracy against the government or the promotion of terrorism by communal separatist this medium has been used strategically. Communication today is not only a universal issue for this reason that the communication network is in worldwide but also for this reason that the ownership of this Technology is in the hands of a few countries and transfer of Technology is a highly profitable business. In this era of geo-Mandalisation, because of telecommunication a geo-regional, harmonious development and promotion of consumer trend became possible which pressurize the small states and even big states are feeling to loose their identity. Once again, because of this reason their sovereignty, independence, unity and integrity seemed troubled.

In addition, some more things should be mentioned. Often it is believed that in western countries and society in democratic polity the media are fair and independent. The organization such as BBC and Washington post is deemed to be more important than any party, in terms of mobilizing public opinion. Recent experience has been spreading the hollowness of this pragmatist and cocky recognition. For these famous organizations even in times of crisis their national benefit is considered the most vulnerable and in large manners it becomes self-restrained. Here it needs to be reminded that entrepreneurs like Rupert Mrduk to maintain their lucrative empire are not inhibited from changing their nationality and in order to expand in China feet happy in your nose, beautiful own right, hook are ready to wear and getting right amount of London times is also ready to sell in the hands of Rupert Mrduk and Waal Street Journal too. The reality of this biggest risk is that the international media which are considered fearless, fair and independent they like all other multinational corporations they are seemed to be one nation-specific and capitalist- philosophy. Finally, communication is important to analyze the role of the Internet in the universal issue. At the end to make communication a universal issue it is important to analyze the role of the internet. Until recently it was thought that internet is not only a democratic technology but also a chaotic technology-network the use of which everyone can do according to their needs. After the terrorist attacks on the US the US has tightened the reins. India self is not against to make the internet disciplined. The Indian government has expressed deep concern over the fact that democratically making the maps public can increase the risk of any countries' strategic security. Today Internet or satellite telephones are badly connected with each other. It is named as convergence. Here, it is not possible to discuss this technical issue but it is worth remembering that universality of media and communication network cannot be deemed helpful for the salvation of mankind all-time and in all-places.

16.7 Summary

- In Today's era, science and technology is an extremely important factor of social change. The progress in the field of science has given rise to several inventions. Increased inventions have increased mechanization and as a result of the revolutionary changes in technology there has been an increase in production of quality products and services.
- Technology is the ultimate means of production to utilize the available resources so as to achieve the desired results.
- A close nexus is found between innovation or technological factors and social change. In present time, the root cause of rapid changes in various societies is the innovative methods, new inventions and development in the new methods of production.
- A major responsibility of science is to enhance and improve the life of human being.

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16.8 Keywords

- **Technology:** Technology is the ultimate means of production to utilize the available resources so as to achieve the desired results
- Social Mobility: Achievement of social situation to another social situation.

16.9 Review Questions

1. What do you understand by technology? Discuss it.
2. Discuss technological and social changes.
3. Discuss the direct and indirect effect of science technology upon society.
4. Explain in detail social responsibility of science.
5. What is the contribution of science on social control? Discuss.
6. Write a short note on international communication.

Answers: self Assessment

1. Technology	2. Acquired	3. Sources	4. Harmonization
5. (a)	6. (b)	7. (c)	8. (a)
9. True	10. True	11. False	12. True

16.10 Further readings

Books

1. **Comparative Politics and Political Analysis — Dr. D. S Yadav**
2. **Indian Politics: Comparative Prospective-- B . B Chaudhary, Shree Mahavir Book Depot**
3. **Comparative Politics — C. B Jena, Vikash Publishing**
4. **Comparative Politics — Prof. Ramanand Ghosh**

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Unit 17 : Decentralisation and Participation

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objectives

After studying this unit, students will be able to:

- Understand the difference between centralization and decentralisation
- Understand the difference between Panchyati Raj and Panchyati Raj institutions
- Understand the working of the Panchyati Raj Institutions and their problems and challenges

Introduction

In present time, the government is facing a knotty problem of whether to centralize or to decentralize. Centralization is essential for the economic planning, defense and national integration, while the claim of democratic governance is that of local autonomy where more and more of people's participation is encouraged in the process of decision-making. This clearly means that to reach the roots of democracy, decentralization is necessary.

17.1 Centralization *Vs* Decentralization

The essence of centralization and decentralization resides in distribution of decision-making power. The lower the decision-making power the higher is the centralization. In any organization, if the centre of decision-making lies in the hands of many smaller units, it means each unit of an organization is focused and it has such an administrative system in which more power is laid in local executive bodies by law and legislation is called decentralization system. On the contrary, the administrative system where excessive power is laid on the hands of the central government authorities, where power and discrimination of employees of lower level reduces is called a "centralized" system.

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Notes According to Belobi, in highly centralized system, regional agencies work only like acting agencies, they have no power to act on their own… all work is done on behalf of the central office.

Difference between decentralization and delegation of authority

Here, one thing is noted that the policy of decentralization is different from the theory of delegation. The fundamental difference between the two is that the powers which are assigned to regional agencies in a decentralization system are often autonomous and, the work which is done in this area, the responsibility of this work falls entirely on the shoulders of their own. But in the theory of delegation there is no such situation. The works that are assigned to regional agencies for those works neither they are autonomous nor can they be held liable. In fact, they consume those powers in the name of the main office. In this regard, the officer may issue order from time to time or may change the decisions taken by subordinate office.

Determinants of Centralization and decentralization

In what way an organization should centralize and decentralize its powers that depend on various factors. Fezler has described four factors of consideration while deciding whether to centralize or decentralize the process of an organization:

1. **Sense of responsibility:** It restricts decentralization and supports centralization. In an organization, the head or CEO is accountable for all activities going on in an organization. So to take important decisions it is always necessary that the powers in an organization vests in one single person. So, that he can take responsibility and make immediate decisions.
2. **Administrative elements:** there are many factors that affect influence the centralization or decentralization of powers in an organization. One of the factors among them is – the 'tenure' of an organization. If it is an old organization, centralized system of working will be utmost suitable to such an organization. This is because the internal working system of an old organization is thoroughly deep rooted and strong. In comparison to this a new organization will, for every small reason, need a strong decision-maker. Secondly, the company policies should have stability. Otherwise in a state of constant change the administrative policies become unstable. Thirdly, the area managers should be extremely capable, because if the area managers do not possess professional expertise decentralization will be thoroughly unsuccessful and centralization will be the only way out.
3. **Functional elements:** Functional elements affect the issues of centralization and decentralization in many ways. If the work of a department is versatile and technical, the department will be decentralized, because the department would not have either the time or technical skills so that he can manage them all. He has to assign every important task to a division or branch; which under his guidance will independently responsible about the task. But if the work related to any department's defense, traffic, etc., is assigned, under which the symmetry is necessary at national level, to establish the symmetry centralization will be mandatory.
4. **External elements:** Many external factors also impact the centralization or decentralization. if any developmental activities are to be carried out, decentralization of process is a very good way of implementing such programmes. An organization should also concentrate on social issues apart from internal matters of an organization.

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Example

To include the citizens in the administration matters like demand cooperation of citizens in union issues, provincial and regional matters and taking care of political pressure on regional issues all these issues can be elect easily if there is decentralization of powers.

Causes of strong trend towards centralization

In the present day world majority of countries are concentrating on centralization of powers. These are also many developmental activities going on in this regard

(i) **Development of transportation and communication facilities:** if the transport and communication of a country is strong enough, this helps in creating good network of interactions with people in other countries and the work going on there and establishing a system total control on the work activities taking place in other countries. it is called that in 1969 after the opening of the Suez Canal and there after the Britishers had maintained total control over the administrative issues of the people of India because due to a strong communication network they could keep an eye on all that is happening in India.

(ii) **Financial grant procedure:** in the present situation the sources of finance of the regional agencies is very less in comparison to the central government. So the regional agencies need to depend on the central government far a lot of matters. So in a way the regional heads have very less power and so system of centralized powers have an important role to play.

(iii) **Increase in efficiency and economy:** in a centralized system where the powers are vested in one central head, the administrative supervision and control can be practiced very well. By this, problems of financial wastage; low work efficiency; incompetency and employment through influence can be controlled. However report emphasized the centralized system of working in many place of America. Centralized system of working enhances the level of working on a central level which is very eminent generally applicable in a massive way.

In a centralized system of working decisions can be taken in an organized and effective and the decisions can be successfully implemented, thereby.

(iv) **Economic planning and the need for defense:** Economic planning and need of immunity also emphasize in favor of centralization. For countries' economic growth and development planning also the guidance of central government is deemed necessary, so that, schemes are made with a view to maximizing the interest of all nations rather than benefitting a certain territories.

In addition to these reasons, the origin of the expert class in the administration, complex nature of the administration, distrust in the ability and integrity of the local officials and employees, etc., reasons the trend in centralization is expanding.

Merits and demerits of decentralization and centralization: a comparative study

Properties of centralization: Nowadays, centralization is very popular because of its qualities.

1. **Adequate control of the central authority**: The central authority has adequate and effective control over all the units of administration in the centralized system, therefore, regional or local employees cannot do their self-will in any work.
2. **Uniformity in administration:** Uniformity exists in centralized system. In this system, all administrative organizations work according to the policies set by the centre, as a result, continuity is found in governance.

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3. **Parsimony:** Parsimony exists in centralized system. In this system, all sources can be mobilized simultaneously. The purchasing of goods is done simultaneously by all means. The maintenance of factories is also done according to this policy. Therefore, this system is less expensive than the decentralization system.
4. **National interest is foremost:** National interest is foremost in centralized administration. In this system, local politics does not dominate the governance, therefore, corruption, favoritism, nepotism, etc., do not occur.
5. **Convenient for citizens:** In centralization system, citizens have to concentrate on only one administration and it is becoming easy for them to understand the work of public authorities and take necessary decision.

Demerits of centralization: Centralization has many demerits along with merits. Some of them have given below

1. **Delay in work:** the first demerit of centralization is that centralization gathers work at higher level because of transmission of records from and to the central control room. Quick decision is not possible which also results delay in decision-making.
2. **Possibility of mistake in decision making: in centralize system, there is possibility of mistakes in the decision-making process because** central officers do not keep in touch with the public, and they are also not familiar with local conditions and problems due to different conditions and problems of different locations.
3. **Irregularities in administration: Due to centralization, irregularities is found in the administration. In this system,** the formation of the whole policies of government is done by the central government, therefore, no flexibility is found in the administration. Local officials are bound to follow the permission of central governmenteelicies of whole ohe publicblic. they tralisation.. They cannot change decisions according to local conditions.
4. **Unpopular regime:** Due to centralization, the opportunity for the public to participate in the administration becomes less. As a result democracy becomes weak. Due to the less public relations and public support the governance becomes unpopular.
5. **Ignoring local governance:** In this system, the opportunities to obtain cooperation from the local people are very less so the public do not take part in the administration.

Merits of decentralization

Decentralization has the following merits:

1. **No delay in work**: in decentralize system the local and regional authorities do not have to wait for the prior permission of the centre to take any decision so they take quick decision and the work does not delay.
2. **Reduces the burden on top executives**: In decentralize system the work load of top level management becomes less so they get relief from the work.
3. **Flexibility in administration:** In decentralization system, local authorities have freedom to take decision in the work of central government. The local authorities and the officers who work for the public have the facility to change the program according to the situation.
4. **Lack of red tape**: When the power of any government decentralizes many defects removed from the administration as a result delay of work, red tape, etc. is not occur in government.

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5. **Appropriate solutions to local problems:** In centralized system, appropriate solution to the local problems is not taken because local bodies have to wait for central commands so work becomes late, but in decentralized system, immediate and quick action are taken because the local bodies do not have to depend on the permission of the centre.
6. **Side effects of local politics:** In decentralized system, the government keeps in touch with public. If the public relation and support to the administration will be more, the government will be more comprehensive and realistic. Such system always inspires public to cooperate in the administration.

Demerits of decentralization

1. **Inadequate control of central authority:** in this system the centre has inadequate control over the administration by which the local employees act on their own and behave in an indiscipline manner.. Budget, taxation etc. many government policies can be done in a better way by a centralized form of working.
2. **Lack of coordination:** in a decentralization system of working, proper coordination of the plan of action is difficult to achieve.
3. **Wasteful expenditure:** in decentralized form of working, two types of employees are needed—employees under central government and local employees. Obviously, the numbers of employees in such a system are quite more in number. So a decentralized system is more expensive.
4. **Local interest in the place of national interest:** in decentralize system employees can forget national interest because the emotion of employees towards local interest is very strong so they tend to forget the national interest and devote themselves to achieve the local targets.
5. **Lack of uniformity in the administration:** uniformity of ruling is not found in the decentralize system. Though centre appraises common policy, the employees of different sections bring changes or amendment in the policy according to their local interests. They adhere to different types of work procedures and as a result uniformity in the administrative procedures is destroyed.
6. **The negative impact of local politics: in a decentralized working system there always lies an insecurity of local area politics which has a negative impact on the working process. Problems like corruption biased attitude of employees get stabilized in the system.**

Self Assessment

Fill in the blank:

1. ……. system is the best example of centralized system.
2. The Top authority in a French working system is called …….
3. India and England follow…… systems of working.
4. In India ……. state is an example of a decentralized form of working.

17.2 Panchayati Raj

Aryan civilization was the civilization of villages. A village consisted of a group of families and the villagers were called the rural people. A village 'head boy' was called the Mukhia of the village. The Mukhia used to slave all the issues of the village. When a king used to throne, all villagers used to

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be invited in the ceremony. Gradually, in the Doab region of the Ganga and Yamuna many estates started being established. The powered of the came to be known and emphasized but the villages had their own complete consistency. *Manusmurti* gives a detail explanation of the working of the village Panchyats. According to Dr Bhagwan Saran Upadhyay, many issues which needed the king's intervention used to be solved by the village panchayats itself. Buddhist texts shows that '' There used to be a village gathering, without the permission of whose the land and life could not be sold. In Gupta period and the later ages also the detailed description of the village organizations were found.

After the establishment of British rule, gradually the situation changed. The new administrative system brought in the new rules and regulations and the law making bodies got identified. The passing of new laws and courts ended the importance of Village Panchayats. In the first half of the twentieth century, the government again felt the need to reestablish the village panchayats. In 1908, in Punjab and Uttar Pradesh Gram panchayat laws were introduced. In 1935, under the Indian Government Act, Provincial autonomy was announced. In 1937, the Act came into force. The provinces in which the Congress committees were established, in those areas special attention was given for rural development.

Three-tier Structure of the Panchayati Raj

In 1947, India got independence. It is said in Article 40 of the Constitution that the state shall take effective steps to set up village Panchayats. In 1952, first Community Development Programme and then Panchayat Raj initiated in the state. A committee was formed in the chairmanship of Balvant Ray Mehta to investigate the enactment which was introduced by different governments to form Panchyats. In 1958, the committee submitted its report. The Committee set some basic rules for the establishment of Panchayati Raj and recommended a three-tier structure. The three-tier structure emphasizes to form committees as per three levels i.e, Panchyat, Block and District. In other words, a block consists of a group of villages and a district consists of a group of blocks.

The recommendations of Mehta committee were first accepted in Andhra Pradesh and Rajasthan. After that Panchyats were established in Tamil Nadu. Odisha, Karnataka, Punjab, Assam, West Bengal, Uttar Pradesh paid more interest towards the establishment of Panchyat. Except Meghalaya and Nagaland now every state of the country has Panchyat.

Did You Know? Presently, whole country has 2 lakh 26 thousand gram Panchayats, nearly 5,700 Panchayat Committees and 457 District Councils.

What is meant by Panchayati Raj?

Panchyati Raj means to conduct the local administration by the people elected by public through councils or Panchyats. Panchayati Raj institutions are responsible for many programs such as development of agriculture, village industries, medicine, cleanliness, and roads, maintenance of ponds, water supply arrangements and child welfare. To implement these programmes, Panchayati Raj institutions provide administrative framework.

17.3 Panchayati Raj Institutions

Panchayat or Panchayati Raj is a system of governance in which gram panchayats are the basic units of administration. It has 3 levels: village, block and district. In 73rd Amendment Act of the Constitution of India, emphasis is given to build panchyats as per the above three levels. The states having population

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less than two lakh will be provided a two-tier structure. Here it is understood that there is no need to make the chain between districts and villages. Here we will discuss the tri-structure of Panchyati Raj system.

At village level, we can discuss three bodies which are interrelated to each other--- (1) Gram Sabha (2) Gram Panchyat (3) Nyaya Panchyat

1. **Gram Sabha:** Every citizen of a village, means every man and woman, whose age is 18 years is assumed a member of Gram Sabha. Gram Sabha in the sense is a general body. Only a minor or a person who is disqualified by the court cannot be a member of Gram Sabha. The head of the village is called Gram Pradhan. Gram pradhan is elected by Gram Sabha. He is elected for a period of five years. The assistant of Gram Pradhan is called Vice Pradhan who is not elected by Gram Sabha. He is elected by Gram Panchyat. The meeting of Gram Panchyat is held twice in a year. First meeting is held after the summer harvesting and the second after the winter harvesting. If there is any necessity Pradhan can arrange a special meeting of Gram Sabha. Approximately, if one-fifth members of Gram Sabha approach for a meeting then the meeting will be arranged. The corum of meeting is one-fifth of total members. If these numbers of members are not present in the meeting, meeting will be abandoned.

2. The functions of Gram Sabha are (i) to pass the budget for the whole year (ii) to take into consideration the new tax regime if Gram Panchyat wants to impose (iii) to review the reckoning of last years' account examined by auditors. The audit report of income and expense of gram Panchayat is sent to Gram Sabha which is checked by Gram Sabha. (iv) it elects the members of Gram Panchyat. (v) if it is found that the gram pradhan and vice pradhan are not working well they can be separated from their respective position, and it is only possible when two-thirds of the members of Gram Panchyat support the resolution. (vi) Gram Sabha formulates development schemes (vii) Gram Sabha also supervises other development work

3. **Gram Panchyat :** The members of the Gram Panchyat are elected by the Gram Sabha. The post of pradhan and vice-pradhan of Gram Sabha is given to the ex-officeo members of the Gram Panchyat. The members of pachyat may be five or more. The number of members of Gram Panchyat varies in different states. For example, in Uttar Pradesh the members in a Panchyat vary from 10-15 people. In Punjab, the number is even less than 5 to 9 including a sarpanch. In Bihar, the members exceed 9 including a Sarpanch. In Rajasthan it exceeds in 5 in number sometimes including a Sarpanch. According to the 73rd Amendment Act, for scheduled castes and schedule tribes, reservation is provided for less than one-third seats to ladies.

4. The tenure of Gram Panchyat is different in different states. In new Act, there is a term provision of five years. If in any circumstance Panchayats are broke down, it is the responsibility of election commission to held election within six months. To perform the election in a transparent way the responsibility of election is given to state election commission. Any member can resign from his post when he wants. To fulfill the vacant place the members are elected by the process of election.

5. There is necessity of one meeting every month for Gram Panchyat. This meeting is held under the supervision of Sarpanch. The majority members of the meeting take all decisions. In case, if the votes of ruling party and opposition party are equal, the Sarpanch can solve the issue by his own. It is the duty of the Sarpanch to keep an ok record of meeting and enroll all decisions in the register.

6. **Powers and functions of Panchyat:** Commonly, the work of Panchyat is divided into two categories—obligatory and discretionary functions. 11th schedule is added to the constitution by 73rd Amendment Act in which the description of some such work is found which is not accomplished by Panchyats till now. Thus, we can divide the work of Panchyat in three categories.

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7. **Obligatory functions:** The following work comes under obligatory functions. Panchyats accomplish a lot of work in the health care department such as establish medical and dispensary centers, prevent infectious diseases, clean wells and ponds, carry dead animals and arrange cremations, cemeteries, etc. Panchyats also handle the responsibility of child labor and child welfare. Panchyats also arrange drainage system for water.
8. Panchyats establish primary and middle schools and manage markets and malls. Panchyats are also responsible for the agricultural development. For agricultural development they arrange fertilizers and good seeds. In the work of cattle breeding Panchyats also provide necessary help to the villagers. Another responsibility of Panchyats is to help the police to find out the criminals. They also keep inhibition on patwari, amin choukidar and give the information to district officer for their unsuitable work.
9. **Discretionary functions**: Some functions are dependent on economic sources of Panchyat. If the resources of Panchyats give permission to them, they can perform many functions such as (i) plant trees on both sides of the road (ii) establish belly centre for animals (iii) help villagers in the time of flood and drought (iv) arrange radio and television in Panchyats, house for the enjoyment of villagers (v) establish library and reciting house. In some states, the collection of tax is also done by panchayts.
10. **Development activities**: Some new responsibilities have assigned to Panchyat in the 11th amendment schedule of the constitution, such as enforce land reform laws, develop forestry and small industries, establish electricity, mobilize technical and vocational education and assist government to streamline the public distribution system. In addition to that Panchyats can play an important role to enforce poverty alleviation programs.
11. **Nyaya Panchyat: How the villagers will get cheap and quick justice is also** an important responsibility of Panchyats. In some states, Panchyats are also played this role by themselves while other states have separate Nyaya Panchyats to accomplish this work. Nyaya Panchyats settle the small deewani and faujdari cases.
12. In Uttar Pradesh and some other states, every district is divided into many groups or villages. Three representatives are selected to the nyaya Panchyats from every village. In some groups, only two representatives are taken from every village. The members of Nyaya Panchyats are called Nyaya Panch. They select one Sarpanch and an assistant Sarpanch from them. The tenure of a Sarpanch is five years.
13. Sarpanch forms a five-member bench for the settlement of the cases. In these five nyaya panchs, one Sarpanch is taken from those villages in which the villagers have some conflicts.

Caution Those persons cannot sit on the bench who has any close link with the party fighting for the case.

Nyaya Panchyat can settle small cases of faujadari such as minor robberies; if someone enters the house of any one without permission, illegal possession of public places, if someone threatens any one for forced labour, violent and fraudulent behaviour. Nyaya Panchyats cannot give the sentence of imprisonment, only they can penalize. The penalize fines are different in different states. The Nyaya Panchyats have right to fine rupees 50-100 only.

In terms of civil justice cases Nyaya Panchyats can be divided into many categories. Panchyats can settle the affairs up to 1000 rupees. To avail quick and cheap justice to the village people Nyaya Panchyats are formed.

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Sources of Income of the Panchayats

The importance of Panchyats can be increased, if they have a strong financial base. In 73rd Amendment Act, efforts have been made to make Panchyats more comprehensive. Panchyats can collect revenue from many sources such as imposing tax on house, fields, sell of animals and goods. Panchyats also collect revenue by selling garbage, dead animals and cow-dung. Building marriage halls and giving them on rent Panchyats can collect revenue.

It is the responsibility of the state government to collect land revenue. The total land revenue which is collected by the state government, one percent of the total land revenue is given to the Panchyats. In 73rd Amendment Act, there is provision to build a financial commission in every state. The responsibility of the commission will be to provide suggestion for the tax regime that means to provide suggestion that which tax will be divided between state and Panchyati raj institutions. The fine which is imposed by Nyaya Panchyat is also a source of income of Panchyats. Panchyats also get charity and gifts. Panchyats get the grants from state government. In 1989, under jawahar rozgar yojna Panchyat got direct benefit from the central government. It is decided by the 71th Amendment Act, that the grant which is to be given to the Panchyati Raj institutions will be from the consolidated fond of the state. They can take loan from the state government.

Task Give a detailed note on the income of the Gram Panchyat.

At Block Level

Above we discussed the organizations at village level. Panchyat Samities also have been established at block and regional levels. Intention is that, there is a development block to supervise all the Panchyats that come under every development block. Initially, the development block was consisted of 30 villages and a population of about 2 million. Later this format is changed. Now, a Community Development Block consists of approximately100 villages. Presently, the whole country has five thousand and seven hundred Panchyat committees.

Block or Panchyat samities have different names in different states. In UP it is called sector-committee, in Madhya Pradesh it is called "janpad parisad" and in Gujarat it is called taluka panchayat. The following members are present in the committees —(i) all the Sarpanch under the block (ii) elected parliament members of the block, and members of the legislature. (iii) The head of the Town Area Committees and notified area committees that come under the block (iv) Elected district council members from the block (v) women's representative of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. There is provision of reservation for scheduled castes and scheduled tribes according to their proportion. At least one-third of the seats have been reserved for women.

The tenure of Panchyat committees is five years. In any circumstance if the situation comes to break down committee, it is necessary to form the committee through the process of election. That means to form the committee the election will be held within six month of the break down. The president of Panchayat committee is elected by itself. The chief administrative officer of the Panchyat committes is called block development officer. In Rajasthan, he is known by the name of Development Officer. Under block development officer some ADOs work who are experts in agriculture, cooperatives, and livestock.

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Functions of Panchayat Samiti

Rural development is a comprehensive program which includes a lot of things. The purpose of Gram Panchyat is not only to encourage development programs but also to interconnect various ongoing programs in the regions. Panchyat Samiti handles a lot of functions. Some of them are -- arrange improved seeds and chemical fertilizers distribute pesticides and improved agro-instruments. Now, Panchyat Samiti can launch minor irrigation schemes. Samiti also tries to provide loans from agricultural-bank to the farmers. Under the supervision of development block, most of the 90 million hectares of barren, fallow or of other quality lands lying in the states have already been distributed among the landless peasants. Development committees are helpful in the development of hi-tech animal-bird and fisheries, and are also helpful in the management of artificial conception of animals. In rural areas, micro farmer development agencies have been developed that offer financial assistance to small farmers.

Under health and sanitation programmes, we want to discuss these actions--in rural areas, making of toilets and permanent drains, distribution of smoke-free stoves and biomass plants, and building hospitals and health centres. Panchayat Committees arrange primary and secondary School. They also provide technical and vocational education. In addition, they accomplish these functions too---establishment of adult literacy centres; opening of sewing centres and providing training to women in sewing centres.

To increase employment opportunities handloom, handicraft and cottage industries were promoted. In spite of this, landless guarantee scheme and jawahar rojgar scheme introduced. In 11th Amendment Act forestry is also discussed. This list refers to the socio-economic development programme, in which these things are included--women and Child Welfare, development of disabled and mentally challenged people, welfare of vulnerable groups, particularly the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

The following are the main source of income of Panchayat Committees-(i) the grant that is given by the state to fix this, the responsibility is given to state finance commission. (ii) Finance Commission will suggest that which income will be distributed between state and Panchyat that is collected by state. In this time certain percentage of land revenue is given to the Panchyat committees. (iii) Panchyat committees also collect many taxes.

At district level

In most states, the District Councils have been retained. District Council is the supreme body of the PRI. The District Council coordinates between various Panchayat Committees and connects them to each other.

These people are usually work in the District Council- (i) the head of the district panchayat committees (ii) Elected member of parliament and members of the legislature of that district (iii) a representative of each of the district co-operative (iv) representative of women, scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. There is reservation for schedule caste and schedule tribes. At least one-third are reserved for women. (v) The president of nagarpalika. In Uttar Pradesh and Bihar magistrate has the right to participate in meetings of the District Council, but he does not have the right to vote. In Maharashtra and Gujarat, the magistrate has no such right.

All the district council has same period of five years. For any reason if the district council dissolves it will be necessary to do election within six months for the new district council. There is a president or a chairman who is elected by the members of election commission.

Functions of the district council

The functions of **district council** can be expressed as follows: (i) to coordinate between the functions of Panchyats and Panchyat Samiti (ii) to monitor the functions of Panchyat samities (iii) to organize

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activities such as agricultural development, economic and social development of land and rural planning, public health and literacy (iv) to trigger rural employment programs (v) Development of land, water and human resources (vi) Implementation of plans for the development of tribal and hilly areas (vii) to promote the development of poor farmers, the disabled and vulnerable groups, especially scheduled castes and tribes (viii) to prepare special program for the drought and flood prone areas and (ix) to develop forestry and small enterprises, promote micro irrigation schemes and enabling public distribution system.

Sources of Income

73rd Amendment Act provides that the district councils have a strong financial foundation. State Finance Commission will suggest appropriate suggestion to Panchayati Raj Institutions to strengthen the resource-base. These are the main sources of income of district council—(a) state government gives grants to district Council. (b) Through State Government's permission, District Council can collect some funds from all the panchayats. (c) Providing the property of district council on rent can earn some money. (d) in land tax too district council has part

Integrated Rural Development Programme is also run by 'District Rural Development Agency. There is a management committee to guide the agency. Along with others, chairman of the District Council is also included in the committee.

Self assessment

State whether the following statements are true or false:

5. There are four bodies at village level in the Panchayati Raj system.
6. Usually, the functions of Panchyat are divided into two parts.
7. The meetings of the Gram Panchyat are chaired by the head of the village.
8. District Council has a chairman, who is elected by the council members.

17.4 Working of the Panchayati Raj Institutions: Problems and Challenges

There is no doubt that the development plans boosted under Panchayati Raj. Many development projects such as advancement of agriculture, animal husbandry, health, medicine, education, rural sanitation, etc., introduced under this pan and implemented also. Unfortunately, these projects could not give desired results as it was expected. So in 24 April 1993, 73rd Constitutional Amendment Act introduced. While implementing the Act, many challenges and difficulties are bound to arise.

1. **Question of Active Involvement:** It was expected that by Panchyati Raj the power will be decentralized, and people would feel they are operating their work by themselves. In fact, it did not happen. The domination of some large farmers and some specific sections' people continued upon Gram Panchyat. As a result, the Gram Panchyat did not become a symbol of manpower. It is hoped that under the new Act, the structure of each level of scheduled castes and scheduled Tribes will get proper representation. For the first time, one-third of the seats have been reserved for women in all three levels of Panchayat. Thus, many millions of women will be added to the village development plan. A major challenge in this regard is that to ensure how such a large number of women will come forward? The intensive training system for selected women is important, so that they can be made aware of their responsibility.
2. **Problem of Peaceful and Free Elections:** The infiltration of political parties is also seen in Panchayat elections. Infiltration of political parties deprives many eligible candidates to

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be part of the elections. As a result, eligible candidates who deserve to be elected for the positions did not get a chance for the positions. Provide a fair and peaceful election for all levels of panchayati raj institution is an important issue. So to minimize this problem state government has to take strict action. He has to introduce such strict laws so that the corrupt and loose character people stay away from election. Further, election expenses have to decide at each level.

3. **Undue Interference by District Authorities:** Another problem that arises on the working of the Panchyati raj is the undue interference of the district authorities**.** The surveys which have been conducted show that unnecessarily district magistrate and other officers are interfering in the work of Panchyati raj. It is observed that often the members of parliament and members of the legislature come to meet district officials to achieve their work. They put pressure on them that so and so Panchyats have to be broken up or so and so decisions of Panchayat have to be applied. Officers often do wrong work due to these pressures. Therefore, the 73rd Amendment Act provides that if Panchayats were broken up, there election will be held within the six months.

4. **Illiteracy and Ignorance: Illiteracy and ignorance of people also put break on the working of panchayati raj.** Due to illiteracy and ignorance, people of village do not find themselves free from mutual conflicts. Always there is possibility of violence environment in the villages. Many people due to quickie and laziness are not taking special interest in the development works. To remove such type of problems government has to run campaign for the village people but it is not an easy task to run a campaign of educating people in a vast country like India. The first need of poor people of India is their daily uses i.e., food, clothes and shelter. As the report shows the maximum number of people in India is poor means even they are not able get their daily uses. So to avail their daily uses they do many things even they send their children to earn money. To avoid all these problems they have to understand why education is necessary for the development of a person.

5. **Inadequate Sources of Income: Inadequate sources of income are also a problem of panchayati raj. T**here are no limitations of the work of Panchayats and Panchayat committees. If we consider the standard of living of the poor people of village we will find their standard of living is very low till today. So there is necessity to increase the standard of living of poor people of village. For this work there is need of a lot of money, but for this the sources of income of Panchyats are very limited. The fund which is approved for the people of the village is also not enough. So to remove such type of difficulties it is said that a Finance Commission will be set up in every state. The main responsibility of the committee is to review the financial position of the Panchayat and strengthen their financial base. It is also planned to set off a new fiscal committee after every five years. In fact, it will take a long time to set funding for Panchyat based on the recommendation. Secondly, the financial position of State Governments is also not good from the beginning. All the states take loan from the central government. Therefore, it will be beneficial for the Panchyat that they collect tax by themselves. The arrangements of taxation would be easy and suitable for the backward class people so that it does not put any burden on the backward classes of society. There should be proper arrangements of charging taxes so that people are no easy way to remove the Save.

6. **Problem of developing proper skills: new responsibilities are being assigned to the Panchyat Samiti under the new system such as electrification, improvement of distribution system, implementation of poverty elevation programme and development mentally disable people.** For the fulfillment of these responsibilities Panchyats have to open new branches and appoint more number of staff for this work. For the development of rural areas new financial planning will be introduced and implemented too. There is need of intensive training of all staff at all levels. In training programme these subjects will be added---

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introduction of economic plans and projects, maintenance of accounts and structural nature of concerned departments. For this, state government will have to take help from departments, training institutions and NGOs.

Seventy-third Constitution Amendment Act

73rd Constitution-Amendment Act was implemented on April 24, 1993. The key provisions in this Act are --- (i) three-tier structure recommended for Panchyati Raj (ii) 30% of the seats will be reserved for women in every Panchyat. For scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, place will be reserved as far as necessary from the point of view of their proportion in the population. (iii) tenure of Panchyat will be five years (iv) The grant will be provide for the PRI from the consolidated fund of the state. According to the recommendations of the State Finance Commission grant will be provided to Panchyat (v) Each state will have an Election Commission which will conduct all panchayts' elections. Apart from animal husbandry, drinking water, fuel, electricity, education and health, panchayats will also do many important tasks such as child development, women's welfare, the delivery-system reform, welfare of handicapped, mentally disabled, and people of weaker section of the society, cottage industry, managing technical and business education, housing arrangements; and implementing poverty prevention programs and employment.

17.5 Summary

- The essence of centralization and decentralization resides in distribution of decision-making power. The lower the decision-making power the higher is the centralization. In any organization, if the centre of decision-making lies in the hands of many smaller units, it means each unit of an organization is focused and it has such an administrative system in which more power is laid in local executive bodies by law and legislation is called decentralization system.
- Aryan civilization was the civilization of villages. A village consisted of a group of families and the villagers were called the rural people. A village 'head boy' was called the Mukhia of the village. The Mukhia used to slave all the issues of the village.
- In 1947, the country got the independence. It is said in Article 40 of the Constitution that the state shall take effective steps to set up village panchayats. In 1952, Community Development Programme was started and after that panchayat raj started.

17.6 Keywords

- **Decentralization:** the administrative system in which more power is laid in local executive bodies by law and legislation is called 'decentralization' system
- **Panchayati Raj:** The person elected by the people through the panchayat to conduct local self-government in rural areas

17.7 Review Questions

1. What are centralization and decentralization? Describe its elements.
2. Describe the merits and demerits of centralization and decentralization.
3. What do you understand by Panchyati Raj? What are the three-tier structures of Panchyati Raj?
4. Discuss the village level bodies of Panchyati Raj.

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5. Discuss the village level bodies and district level bodies of Gram Panchyat.
6. Describe the problems of Panchyati Raj institutions.
7. Write short notes on

   (i) Gram Panchyat (ii) Nyaya Panchyat

Answers: Self Assessment

1. France
2.
3. Decentralization
4. Panchyati
5. (b)
6. (a)
7. (c)
8. (a)
9. False
10. True
11. False
12. True

17.8 Further Readings

Books

1. **Comparative Politics—Chandradevi Prasad—Atlantic Publishers**
2. **Indian Politics—Jagdish Chandra Johri—Sterling Publishers**
3. **Comparative Politics and Political Analysis—D.S. Yadav**
4. **Comparative Politics—B.B. Chaudhari—Mahabir Book Depot**

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Unit 18 :Human Rights

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Objective

After the study of the unit, students will be able to

- To understand forms and bases of human rights
- To understand universal Declaration and Baroda Concept
- To Understand human Rights and International Terrorism and National Benefit

Introduction

To Look for then 'Human Rights' Word is started from Twentieth Century. In many places. It is known by Democratic Rights. How ever Human Rights word is very famous. Democratic Rights its important party is at all cost. Some where it gives the name of Fundamental rights 'Human Right' thought is based upon which arrangement, on base of that arrangement in strengthening give the presentation of Nature Right Conceptions Tom Par (1737-1809) give the name of Rights of man on base of National Rights. These rights were based upon this arrangement that, They achieved human by virtue of human so Its consisted in human nature. These customs are not giving of any law, state or other states.

18.1 Forms and Bases of Human Rights

Historical Development – The Principle of Nature Right has starting indication meet in twentieth century of Europe But its systematically determination was started from Seventeenth Century. In starting of this century Haufio Grosium (1583-1845) has give this arrangement that base of Law of Nature should be found in Rational nature of human. On base of this arrangement he put up the

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foundation of International Law, After this Toms haps (1588-1899) gave this arrangement that in state of Nature human had received unlimited Independent, but when they performed the creation of civil Society, then they dismiss their Natures Liberty, According to Hobs In state of Nature Law and Law and order, had no any existence. It was a system of a against every person and war of against every person. In such situation Natural rights were unable to provide any type of protection to human After leaving of these rights, the convention of making and fostering the rules were started in society and desires of protection were obtained. The mean will be demand back of these natural rights – To return back on same Anarchical situations so Hobs give this arrangement that after the establishment of citizen society nature rights will be ended. In this away Hobs give the encouragement to Absolutism.

Nature – In Absolutism Ruler or Ruler Categories used the unlimited power. Their power is not bonded in any Law, constitutions customary or ethical conventions, General people has to obeyed the order or decision in quietly ; And don't give the opportunity to them for performing their opposed and put up the Questioning. To make in Logical form the thoughts of National Right modulation virtue give to John Lock (1632-1704), Lock give this arrangement that Life Independency and right of asset is a essential part of Regional nature of human. This is contained in personality of Individual, It can't be seperated from them. For Protection of this right states and political Institution are created. So when human entering in citizen society from state of Nature, then he giving their some natural rights, but don't giving all natural rights, According to Lock, at the time of creation. Citizen society human give this promise that form now they will be not a himself judge for their own Acts inspection. They giving their natural right with this promise that state will be protected of their origin natural rights – It means Rights of Life, Independency and wealth, In this way the protection of state is performed in form of one in heritance or as a trust. This trust is bounded from their duty. If they become unsucceded to fulfill this duty then human removed this state and can established new states. In this way lock arranged the Natural rights as s Sacrosant also give the assumption to rights to Revolution in against of states. The argument system of lock has three results become important from special form.

1. In under of Natural Law all Human has obtained equal rights. Therefore any person can accepted the other person of political authority from own consent.
2. The main work of Government is done the protection of human natural rights and.
3. The National rights of human determined the limitation of Government power, so which government done the rejection of their citizen natural rights. He has any right of performing the fostering and removed from their will be according with Law.

Are You know to make the logical form modulation thought of natural rights virtue give to John Lock.

The other supporters of natural right has kept standing their faith of assumptions of Lock. For example, in under of American Declaration of Independence 1976 Creator provided them some Indian able Rights are consisted.

For done the protection of these rights Governments are established and they achieved their lawful power form offering of citizens. It any government is towards leading for destroying their rights then general people can breaked this government.

Then under French Declaration of the rights of man and citizen also give the attention of such rights, which was become Natural, Imprescriptibly and Inalienable. In other words these rights are gift of nature and no any body can seized them, and these can't be transferred to any others.

How Principles of natural right became a base of human rights. The two similarities of natural rights and human rights are very important.

1. As a natural rights also human right based upon Responsibility.
2. As a natural right also human right is absolute, Inalienable and Imperceptible, At the time of giving assumption to any other rights can't done reduction these rights.

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But in spite of these similarities its necessary to make the difference in nature. The Principle of natural rights has been kept on that time of world-history, when giving the encouragement to Industrial Revolution its necessary to module the human relations in new form. These rights were production of immediate social consciousness. It purpose is to make Independent new entrepreneurs from control of state and also to make independent old serfs for doing the work in Industry. Therefore its says natural right because. It was natural from human Characteristic view point and this Reason ability is the gift of nature. If they are truly become natural, then its idea why only come to philosopher of seventeenth centuary, why not it come to inhabitant philosophers.

Development of Human Rights

(Nature of Rights)	Corresponding system
Natural Rights	Market Society System
Civil Rights	Constitutional Government
Political Rights	Democratic State
Social – Economic Rights	Welfare State
Human Rights	Human World Order

To look after then about forms and limit area of Rights, which Idea are started from the conventions of Natural Rights, He reached on their logical results in a form of human right conventions. The idea of feature right give the encouragement to Freedom of Contract from which Market-Society stem is produced, Then the idea of Civil Rights give the encouragement to Constitutional Government. After then idea of political Rights keep the foundation of Democratic state and form demand of social-economical Rights a welfare state was produced, so awareness of human right make a demand of Human World order. Which has to be proved now.

This matter is important that conception of human right don't with conceptions of human rights. This conception to be evident in middle of twentieth century Consequently, after second world was (1939-45) problems of human rights is rise-up as a matter of worriedness for whole world. During the case of Numerberg Trials 1946 in spite the war crimes of Jermany Nazist. The prosecutor of these cases were done a harshness transgression on yahudi of our country with this operation this assumption. These are above on Law of any nation. To done the leaping over them will be assumed a ciriminal offence in against of humanity. The extensive list of these rights is presented in under of universal Declaration of Human rights (1948). To look after then under of this list all types of rights – civil, political and economical – social rights, are into – joined with each other. The purpose of this announcement is to give this motivation in all countries that, they love arranged a extensive system of all types rights for their citizens. But its thinking are become very extensive from which don't meet special help for identify of these human rights in which cities promises were not inter joined.

Self- Assessment

Fill in the blanks

1. The use of word Human right was stated form …….. Century.
2. …….. gave the name of Natural rights also as human rights.
3. According to Toms Hobs in Natural condition Human …….. in depending obtained.
4. The idea of natural right made in logical form, Its virtue give to …….. .

18.2 The Universal Declaration of Human Rights

Notes

In December 1948 the General Assembly of limited Nations issued the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. This organization insisted, their members of Nations whether their political situation is what kind of, They performed extensive exhibitions and publicity is own countries specially in shows and other educational Institutions. In reality this declaration is suitable for Independent, Democratic and welfare state and it present the extensive plan of their human rights.

In this declaration has one extensive preamble inspite of this it has also 30 Articles. In declaration said that in world can established independency, justice and peacefulness by giving the preference to human natural dignity and equality and their Inalienable Rights. Neglect ion and disregardness of human rights then results come in fronted in such form harshness rites which shaked the inter-soul of human group .general people has very much expectations to make a such world in which human has meet independent of expression and Consideration with its they meet a independency from Fear and Lackness. If human his don't engaged powerless for the Revoltness as a from of last method – against the human transgression and oppression, then it is necessary that by rule of Law done the protection of human-rights,.

Note = Rule of Law is such system in which one rule is implemented on all citizens. That Law become paramounted and Government used their power according to connected principles and procedure of that Law – Don't be removed from them.

United Nation organization is necessary to be understood for giving the encouragement is mutual friendship releation of different nations and provide equal rights of all Man-Woman and against a social prisies, suitable level of livings and extensive importance. In Under of represent declaration give the special importance of Human Civil rights, political rights and equal Law protection and their extensive sketch outline also presented. But with its also give suitable place of social-economic rights and providing the stead fast base of all rights also described the duties of human.

Example – In under article and human assumed a discerning Living and give the strength of their dignity independence, equality and Brothership describes and these demand are performed that don't treated discrimination in Castes, Sex, Language Religions, Political Idea, National or Social Organization, Asset, Both or on base of any other situations Sector 3, 4 and 5 against the system that every person has a life, independency and protection rights are preserved no any person become a state and don't any person performed the cruel, dishonourble and disrespectable manners.

From Section 6 to 11 also arranged the system of Equality before the Law, Equal protection of the Laws and rights of remedial Law Etc. and make the restriction on Arbitrary Quest and Exile and it insisted that to appling any accusation a suitable Law process should be pursuing. In under Section 12 for protection the privacy causeless interference in house, family of any person and in Journalism all are prohibited, In Under Section 13 and 14 independency of going here and there, Residence and also arranged the right to get shelter in foreign for escaping the oppression. In section is right of nation. In 16 arranged the right to make the marriage form mutual understanding and Right of family planning and In 17 right of an sets. In under 18, 19 and 20 independency of impressing news and expression, Right of arranged the Religions independent and performed meeting and also consisted the independency of creation the federalism.

In 20 section keep the right of selected their Representatives and take the participation in Ruling of country by them and right of obtaining public seats. In under this the desire of people assumed a base of Government power also arranged the universal surface. So this article accepted that democratic Ruing system is a important characterstic of human – rights.

In this way the arrangements of section 1 to 21 impressed the resolution for providing suitable Civil Political legal Rights, which was the foundation of human protection and Independency.