BUREAU'S

HIGHER SECONDARY

POLITICAL SCIENCE

Class-XII

Prescribed by the Council of Higher Secondary Education, Odisha, Bhubaneswar for the Class-XII Examinations 2018 and onwards

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Bureau's
Higher Secondary Political Science (Class-XII)
(Prescribed by the Council of Higher Secondary Education, Odisha)

First Edition   :   2017/2000 copies

Publication No.   :   205

ISBN   :   978-81-8005-399-3

Price : ₹ 143/-
      (Rupees One Hundred Forty Three Only)

FOREWORD

The Council of Higher Secondary Education, Odisha has restructured the syllabus in Political Science for its Examination 2018 and onwards. The Bureau has published Textbooks in Political Science entitled Bureau's Higher Secondary Political Science, Class-XI and Class-XII in conformity with the new syllabus. It has been prepared by a team of experienced and eminent teachers of the state selected by the Council.

At the outset, I acknowledge with thanks the contribution of Writers Sri Pankaj Kumar Pradhan, Dr. Satchidananda Mishra, Dr. Hari Prasad Tulo, Dr. Manas Ranjan Behera, Srimati Sunanda Hota and Reviewer Sri Pankaj Kumar Pradhan. The Bureau is thankful to the members of syllabus committee in Political Science of the CHSE for recommending the book as the only prescribed textbook for Higher Secondary classes. I also record my thanks to the authorities of Council of Higher Secondary Education for authorising the Bureau to publish this book.

It is hoped that this book will fulfil the aspirations and cater to the needs of the students and teachers of the State. Comments and suggestion on any aspect of this book will be highly appreciated by the Bureau.

Sri Umakanta Tripathy
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PREFACE

Following the restructuring of the syllabus of Political Science on the pattern of CBSE by the Council of Higher Secondary Education, Odisha, the necessity to bring out a new book was felt urgently. While preparing the new syllabus, all the members of the Syllabus Committee of the CHSE were of the view that all the topics prescribed for study in Political Science need updating in view of the new changes which have taken place both in theory and practice in the realm of politics. CHSE took initiative in finding out a team of writers and assigned them the task of preparing a new book in order to meet the requirement of the students who would opt for studying Political Science.

The present Board of Writers took up the job with right earnest and had several meetings to finalise the manuscript.

Part I of the book meant for the students of the First year contains both the theoretical position as well as the practices in government followed in India. In all the books written for the students earlier contained topics only on "Political Theory" which were too abstract for them to comprehend. Part II of the book covers topics on India's experience with Democracy and some Knowledge about the very important topics of International Relation and Politics. The teachers would have faced considerable difficulties in explaining. So an exhaustive discussion of the accepted terminologies has been made to the students who had hardly any idea of the subject. The book has done away with the long-standing anomaly and seeks to present the abstract terminologies in a simple and lucid manner by citing the empirical dimension. It is expected that through the new way of presentation the study of Political Science would be more interesting and rewarding for the relatively younger students.

We have given few Model Questions at the end of each chapter on the CBSE pattern. But those are only samples. We request the teachers, question setters and the CHSE set questions which encourages imagination, innovation and independent thinking rather than rote learning. As far as possible we have avoided fill in the blanks.

For the first time some cartoons have been included to break the monotony and also visual images may clarify those concepts better than simple words. Sri Swaraj Pradhan (IRTS) has drawn the cartoons free of cost and authorized the Bureau the copyright of the same. We express our thanks to Mr. Pradhan for his laudable effort.

At the end, the Board of Writers place-on record their deep appreciation for the courtesy shown to them by the Bureau's functionaries. They would like to make special mention in this context about the efforts of Mr. Umakanta Tripathy, the Director, and Sri Biraja Bhusan Mohanty; Deputy Director for their sincere efforts to bring out the book in time. Also we thank Mr. Swaraj Pradhan for the cartoons.

- Board of Writers

Dear Students, Learners

For you

To read and to know more,
some other resources ...

To know more about Democracy in India and about World Politics, there are a variety of sources and books. Books are available in English and other Indian Languages. For students of Odisha, books in Odia, Hindi and English may be easier to get and use, than any other Language.

A few suggestions:

- Whatever is prescribed in the syllabus and discussed in this book is available in more details in the internet, Wikipedia etc.

- There are Magazines and Journals like World Focus, Seminar, Frontline, India today, Outlook, and The Week. These Magazines and Journals publish normal and research articles from time to time. Students can make use of those

- It is a good habit to read the news papers daily. Topics on politics, National as well as International are covered by News Papers.

- The Year Books published by Government of India will help in updating information.

- Books published by NCERT are also very good source for learners.

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SYLLABUS
Higher Secondary Political Science
(Class - XII)
PART - A
POLITICS IN INDIA

UNIT-I : DEMOCRACY IN INDIA

CHAPTER - 1 : Democracy: Meaning, Types and Features; Challenges to Democratic Process in India- Inequality, Illiteracy, Regionalism, Naxalite Problem, Gender Inequality.

CHAPTER - 2 : Party system in India: Meaning, Types; One Party Dominance, Coalition Politics; Regional Parties

UNIT-II: DEMOCRATIC PROCESS IN INDIA-I

CHAPTER - 3 : Federalism in India: Features; Centre-State relation; Recent Trends in Indian Federalism.

CHAPTER - 4 : Local Governance in India-Rural & Urban Local Bodies-Composition & Functions.

UNIT-III: DEMOCRATIC PROCESS IN INDIA-II

CHAPTER - 5 : Challenges to Nation Building: Meaning; Communalism; Casteism; Regionalism; Terrorism; Remedies

CHAPTER - 6 : Contemporary issues in Indian Politics: Popular Movements-Women Movement; Environment protection Movements; Development-Displacement Movements.

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CONTENTS

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CHAPTER - 1

DEMOCRACY

Democracy is "a form of government in which the ruling power is usually vested not in any particular class or classes, but the members of the community as a whole".

- Lord Bryce

❏ **Meaning**
❏ **Types and Features**
❏ **Challenges to Democratic Process in India**
❏ **Inequality**
❏ **Illiteracy**
❏ **Regionalism**
❏ **Naxalite Problem**
❏ **Gender Inequality**

In this chapter

We shall try to know :
➥ *What is Democracy?*
➥ *What are the types of Democracy?*
➥ *What are the* Features of *Democracy?*

We will discuss :
➥ *What are the Challenges to Democratic Process in India?*
 ● Inequality
 ● Illiteracy
 ● Regionalism
 ● Naxalite Problem
 ● Gender Inequality

Indian Parliament
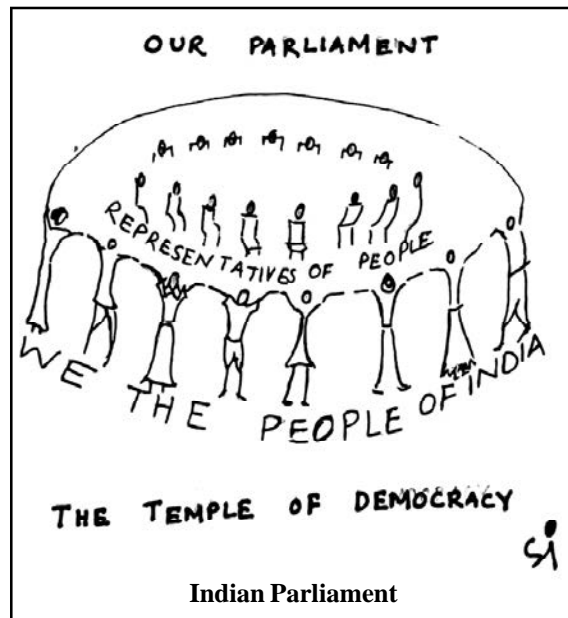
Meaning :

Everybody talks of Democracy today. In the words of John Dunn we are all democrats now. Democracy seems to be a good word almost everywhere and is often used not so much to convey information as to persuade and arouse emotions; we use this word 'democracy' almost every day of our lives. Most of us repeatedly affirm our faith

in democratic principles and values and claim its superiority over all other systems of government. But just what do we mean by it? It means different things to different persons and groups, and it is not possible to present all the implications of democracy in a single sentence definition.

If etymologically traced, 'Democracy' is of Greek origin. It is derived from two Greek words 'demos' meaning the people and 'Kratia' meaning power. Democracy therefore means power of the people or as Herodotus called it "rule by the multitude".

Lord Bryce defines democracy as "a form of government in which the ruling power is usually vested not in any particular class or classes, but the members of the community as a whole". Seeley defines it as "a government in which everybody has a share". Abraham Lincoln gave a very simple, easy and popular definition of democracy. The words of Abraham Lincoln in his address in Gettysburg in 1864 throw light on the nature of democracy. He termed it as a government of the people, by the people and for the people. The terms 'by', 'for' and 'of' in his definition are central to understand democracy. Democracy is not only government by the people, but those who rule are of the people and govern for the people, which means for the interests of the people. So, the source of power in a democracy is people and this power should serve the people.

Then, democracy, in its political sense, refers to a representative and responsible form of government. The ultimate sovereignty is vested in the people. Freedom of speech, opinion and association are the characteristic rights in a democracy and without these, democracy does not exist.

But democracy is not confined to the political sphere. It goes beyond the frontiers of politics. As a form of social organisation, it rests on the principle of social equality. There can be no democracy in a social system in which special privileges are enjoyed by a few or which is based upon distinctions between high caste persons and untouchables or in which women are given a place inferior to that of men.

In a broad sense Democracy means the existence of democratic way of life in areas such as family, economy, workplace, political life, civil society and so on. Democracy is based on certain values and institutions. The values of freedom of the individual, human equality, consent of the people are central to the functioning of democracy. The basic institutional arrangements for the functioning of democracy are free, fair and timely elections on the basis of universal adult suffrage, accountability of the elected representatives to the people, separation of powers, democratic party

system, decentralization of powers, an independent media, rule of law etc. Political Equality is the basis of democracy which implies that there should be distribution of political power among the people to the maximum possible extent. Here people ideally mean all people. But in reality power is not accessible to all in the history of democracies so far.

But a society becomes really democratic when the members of the society are economically equal. Political democracy is meaningless without economic democracy. Economic democracy means freedom from hunger, freedom from unemployment and freedom from unkind employer. It presupposes an order of society in which nobody is allowed to enjoy superfluity before sufficiency for all is ensured.

Thus, democracy extends and touches various aspects of human life - Social, Economical and Political. It is not only a form of government but as Maxey calls it "a way of life". The great end and purpose of democracy is the advancement of man and fulfilment of his hopes and aspirations for a good life.

According to political scientist Larry Diamond, democracy consists of four key elements:

(a) A political system for choosing and replacing the government through free and fair elections;

(b) The active participation of the people, as citizens, in politics and civic life;

(c) Protection of the human rights of all citizens, and

(d) A rule of law, in which the laws and procedures apply equally to all citizens.

Features :

Broadly democracy means a kind of government in which people rule themselves directly or indirectly through their representations. It is based on the principle of equal opportunity instead of privileges.

➤ It aims at narrowing social inequalities through welfare and distribution.

➤ It means a system of rule by the common people in which the poor as well as the rich have equal opportunities.

➤ It implies a process of decision making on the basis of the principle of majority.

> ➢   It also ensures the protection of the rights of the minorities through different mechanisms.

> ➢   It allows competitive but peaceful struggle for mobilizing and getting votes of the people.

> ➢   It is a kind of government that declares to serve the interests of the people.

> ➢   Consent of the people is the basis of the basis of the democratic government.

However the idea of democracy is not neutral. The history of democracy is complex and there are conflicting conceptions around democracy. But the fundamental principle of all kinds of democracies is that it links the government to the people. The debates around democracy are on the questions of its formal institutions, the extent of participation of the people in the democratic process, the functioning of democracy in a situation of socio-economic inequality, etc.

Types of Democracy :

Democracy is so far considered the best form of Government. In its long history democracy has two forms-Direct and Indirect or representative. So, as a form of government it is of two types - (1) Direct or pure democracy, (2) Indirect or representative democracy

DIRECT DEMOCRACY

Under this system, all the people directly participate in the affairs of administration. All the people assemble together at one place to frame laws, decide policies and execute them. In the past, this form of democracy existed in the city-states of ancient Greece. It was possible there because city states were of small territory and limited population. Direct Democracy was practiced in Athens in Greece through a form of government brought about as a result of mass meetings. Direct Democracy involves direct, continuous participation of the citizens in the process of governance. It is a kind of popular self-government. Active political participation of the citizens is at the core of the direct democracies. And the objective of this participation is common good. According to Aristotle the principle that 'all command each and each in turn all' is a major feature of Direct Democracy. People make decisions themselves through discussions, deliberations on the basis of consensus.

As the modern states lack these two ingredients, direct democracy is not practicable. Excepting Switzerland, nowhere it is found. The devices of direct democracy in modern states are referendum, initiative and recall. The basic principle of direct democracy may be considered as following.

- ✓ People are sovereign
- ✓ Sovereignty cannot be represented as it is inalienable.
- ✓ People should make decisions directly through referendum.
- ✓ Decisions are to be taken through majority rule.

The devices of direct democracy are Referendum, Initiative and Recall.

Referendum :

Referendum is the most common method used in direct democracy. Referendum means refer to the people. A bill after being passed by the legislature is referred to the people for their opinion or approval. After being approved by the people, it becomes the law of the country. Thus, this device is a strong weapon in the hands of people to defend themselves against undemocratic or arbitrary rule.

Referendum is a vote in which the voters can express a view on a particular issue of public policy. A bill is referred to the people for their approval or opinion. It is quite different from elections in that the elections are means of electing representatives for public offices and does not provide a direct method of influencing public policy. Referendum as a device of direct democracy is not a substitute of representative institutions .This is to supplement them.

Initiative :

Referendum is a negative power whereas initiative is a positive device in the hands of the people. Through this, they can initiate a desired law which is not enacted by the legislature. The legislature accepts the proposal coming from the people and it ultimately becomes the law.

Recall :

It is the process by which the elected representatives of the people are called back from office. If people see that a particular representative is irresponsible and not responsive to them, then they hold the power to call him back by the required strength of their majority.

INDIRECT DEMOCRACY or REPRESENTATIVE DEMOCRACY

Indirect Democracy is otherwise known as Representative Democracy. In modern times, it is not possible to have direct democracy, as the size and population of states are very large. Conditions in modern times have been responsible for the introduction of indirect or representative democracy. A representative democracy is that form of government in which the legally sovereign people elect some representatives who act on their behalf.

In this kind of Democracy, electorate chooses their representatives through elections held regularly. These representatives represent and articulate the hopes and aspirations of the people who have voted them. Indirect democracy is indirect because the people don't exercise power by themselves but elect those who are to govern on their behalf. This kind of Democracy is practicable and convenient because direct form of democracy is not possible in countries with large populations. But through the act of voting people express their consent and this is the democratic substance of indirect democracy. Elections are the legitimate source of authority in democracy. Universal Adult Suffrage is the basis and elections must be regular , transparent and competitive. The essence of representative democracy lies in political pluralism and free and open competitions between different political ideas, parties and movements etc. Representative democracy is considered in different ways by different people. To some, it is a superior system to other forms of political organization. It protects human rights. Others think that Democracy is based on the knowledge and expertise of the total population. So its decisions are rational. Some others believe that Representative Democracy gives maximum opportunities to the people to develop their capabilities and talents.

Characteristics of Democracy :

Popular sovereignty: Popular sovereignty is the basic characteristic of democracy. Here the people are real masters and their representatives in the Government are to serve people's interests and to promote their welfare. A democratic government is not something which is separate from the people. It exists for their sake and meets their needs.

The concept of popular sovereignty is central to Representative Democracy. It means that the ultimate source of all public authority is the people and the government cannot do anything contrary to the people's will. Popular sovereignty is based on the following principle –Government policies and decisions are reflections of the people's

wishes, People participate in the political process, Debate takes place and information for the debate is available and policies are decided on the basis of majority.

Rule of Law: Another characteristic of democracy is that it is based on the principle of Rule of Law. The Government functions strictly according to the principle of a constitution (whether written or unwritten) which has been accepted by the people.

Liberty and Equality: Democracy is also built on the foundations of liberty and equality. In a democracy all individuals are allowed the right to speak, criticise and disagree with others. The laws or rules of government, which restrict freedom should be self-imposed, that is, they should be in accordance with the will or consent of the people. The principle of equality also goes hand in hand with liberty under a democratic government. A democratic government gives adequate opportunities to all, and makes everyone feel that his existence is recognised.

Political Equality means each person carries equal weight in the conduct of public affairs, irrespective of caste, colour, creed, sex or religion. But widespread economic inequality can affect political equality. In the words of Robert Dahl, If citizens are unequal in economic resources, they are likely to be unequal in political resources; and political equality will be impossible to achieve.

Political Liberty is the basis of a democratic system. It ensures that citizens are protected from government interferences in the exercise of basic freedoms like freedom of speech, of association, of movement or of conscience. Liberty is the pre-condition of democracy and both are inseparable from each other. Democracy does not mean only right to vote, right to contest or right to hold office but also the rights to expression, to protest, to join any political party or movement. However it has been observed in practice of democracy that liberty can be threatened in conditions of inequality and exploitations. Tyranny of the majority can threaten the freedoms and rights of the minority.

Majority Rule: Democracy is a system of government based upon the principle of majority rule. In all modern democratic states political parties have come to stay, and have become indispensable. It is the party or parties with a majority of seats in the legislature run the government. But democracy stands for a rule of the majority with adequate safeguards to the minorities. It allows plurality of ideas and of ideologies, and stands firmly on the principle of tolerance.

Government by Consent or By Public Criticism: Democracy is regarded as government by consent or by public criticism. People can criticise the government through various agencies of public opinion. No democratic government can continue to exist by continuously defying public opinion.

Democracy provides for a change in government according to constitutional principles. **It is against any change by violent or revolutionary means**.

Apart from these the other things that are required for a functioning democracy are free and fair elections, open and accountable government, civil and political rights, political parties etc.

Strength of Democracy :

Democracy has a number of strong points in its favour which are summarised below under different heads.

- **Principle of Equality:** The strength of democracy lies in the fact, that it treats every individual and class as equal. It gives every citizen the right to rule and be ruled. It makes no distinction between man and man. In a democracy, no one can complain that he has no chance to be heard. All are treated equal in the eyes of law.

- **Upholds the principle of Liberty:** Democracy also upholds the principles of liberty. The individual cannot be compelled to do anything against his will. Even the people can freely criticise the government, if it does not serve their interests. Individual freedom is guaranteed under democracy. It also encourages a feeling of brotherhood among the entire body of citizens.

- **A Government by Consent:** Democracy is the only form of government which rests on the consent of the governed. It is the will of the people that reigns supreme. The people can change the government, whenever they find the government is neglecting their interest. Popular elections, popular control and popular responsibility are more likely to ensure a greater degree of efficiency than any other system of government. Democratic government is superior to all other types, because in it responsibility to the governed, can be effectively enforced.

- **Development of Human Personality:** Democracy recognises the worth of every individual and the infinite possibilities of development of individuality and human personality. Every individual, however insignificant he may be, is

regarded as important. He is guaranteed certain minimum rights which are quite essential for the development of personality.

- **Educative Value:** Democracy is a large-scale experiment in public education. As everyone has a share in the government of the country and as the interest of all is promoted by the government, the feeling of patriotism pervades all sections of the population. Thus, the greatest strength of democracy is that it elevates the character of the citizens. It arouses the spirit of self-help, self-reliance, self-respect and co-operation and a sense of responsibility among the people.

- **Training Ground for citizenship:** Democracy serves as a training ground for citizenship. It is a government by discussion and serves to awaken the popular mind. It teaches people the art of living together and regards for the opinion and interest of others. It makes the individual to rise above self-interest and to become an enlightened citizen.

- **Welfare of All:** Above all, democracy aims at the benefit and welfare of the whole people and not of any one section, however large or important. There can be no room for exploitation of any kind in democracy.

Weakness of Democracy :

Democracy is also not free from its weak points and it has accordingly been attacked from different quarters. Some of its critics have used very strong language and have called it "Government by Fools" "the Cult of Incompetence" "the Tyranny of the Majority" "the Enemy of Liberty and Progress" etc. We may not share these extreme views of the critics, but we must not be blind to the obvious defects that democracy possesses.

- **Importance to Quantity:** One major defect of democracy is that it attaches more importance to quantity rather than to quality. Government can be carried on only by those persons who have a special knowledge and training. But in democracy proper consideration to worth is not given. Everyone is thought to be equal to another. The result is that it tends to degenerate into mob-rule.

- **Despotism of Majority:** Democracy further implies majority rule. What is the guarantee that the majority will always be right ? But in a democracy everything is determined by the will of the majority. Thus, there is despotism of the majority over minority. Such a rule can neither ensure better government nor greater liberty.

- **Incompetence:** Democracy also breeds incompetence. Worthy and competent men never desire to enter into the game of party politics. As a result, inefficient and incompetent members may be elected to the legislatures. Voters may not be able to judge the merit of a candidate if they happen to be ignorant and illiterate. Even if a voter should exercise his franchise fairly, his choice is often restricted among two or three inefficient and undesirable candidates.

- **Expensive:** Democracy is a very expensive form of government. The holding of elections, organisation of machinery for doing party propaganda etc. involve considerable expenditure. Elections are held repeatedly which involve a huge expenditure. People or parties spending money in elections may try to compensate for their loss at a later time.

- **Corruption:** Democracy, in practice, tended to support corruption, bribery, etc. The representatives of the people very often act in their own interests rather than in the interest of the community as a whole. It is a known fact that democracies are known for their red-tapism, which encourages corruption. Another factor promoting corrupt practices is the party system, which has become inevitable. Political parties pay great attention to the collection of funds for party purposes. Only rich and clever people derive advantage in a democracy.

- **Does not promote liberty:** The critics of democracy further point out that democracy does not really promote the cause of individual liberty. According to these writers, democracy means the rule of ignorance and the ignorant people cannot take care of liberty. "To place the chief power", says Lecky "in the most ignorant classes is to place it in the hands of those who naturally care least for political liberty and who are most likely to follow with an absolute devotion some strong leader."

- **Slowness:** Democracy is also criticised for slowness. As it is a government by discussion and deliberation consultation and criticism, quick and prompt decision cannot be taken in times of war and other emergencies.

- **Unstable:** In democracy, the government may break with the change of loyalty of the members from one party to the other. Therefore, this government is quite unfit to secure stability and continuity in government office. Frequent change of government creates political instability.

- **Visionary Ideal:** Some critics contend that democracy is in fact a visionary ideal impossible of realisation. These writers say that all so-called

"democracies" have been and are in reality "oligarchies" of one sort or another. Political power is always actually exercised by some small ruling group or class.

Thus, democracy has both its strength and weaknesses, virtues and defects. It may lead to the worst type of despotism. But given favourable conditions, it is the best form of government. Historical evidence does not prove any other system of government superior to democracy. As C.D. Burns observes correctly, "No one denies that existing representative assemblies are defective; but even if an automobile does not work well, it is foolish to go back into a farm cart, however romantic. Above all, like all systems, democracy has been hailed as well as criticised, but it has never been rejected.

CONDITIONS NECSSARY FOR SUCCESSFUL WORKING OF DEMOCRACY

The following are some of the conditions which are necessary for the successful working of democracy.

- **Longing for self-Government:** Democracy is a government of the people. So it is the people who first of all must be willing to accept democracy as a form of government and a way of life. They should have a longing for self-government and should not tolerate living under any other form of government. They must have firm faith in the principle that "good government is no substitute for self-government" and they must be prepared to retain self-government at any cost. If a strong desire for democracy can be taken for granted, success becomes easy.

- **Eternal Vigilance:** Democracy needs eternal vigilance. It is said, "Eternal vigilance is the true price of liberty". The people must always be alert and active and must watch carefully every movement of the government. If they are indifferent, power is likely to slip into the hands of a small body of men, thus giving rise to oligarchies or dictatorship.

- **Universal Education:** Democracy can be successful only where the people are educated and well informed. As democracy is people's government, people should be educated and should be fully aware of their rights and obligations. J. S. Mill has rightly said that "universal education should precede universal enfranchisement." Before the people are given the right to vote, they must be imparted education, otherwise, they cannot understand the value of their vote.

- **Economic Condition:** Prof. Laski has emphatically asserted that political democracy without its economic counterpart is meaningless. It is essential for the successful working of democracy that the masses should be free to some extent from the cares of the basic requirements of life, so that they can take interest in public affairs. A hungry man knows no democracy. Moreover, a hungry man is a danger to society and is liable to be more easily influenced for anti-social activities. Democracy presupposes that every individual will have the minimum means of subsistence.

- **Free and fearless Press:** For educating the people and keeping them always well-informed, it is necessary to have a free and fearless press. A free press exposes the arbitrary actions of the government and also enables the government to understand public opinion. It acts as a channel of communication between the government and the governed. A great democracy has always a great press. It encourages independent and critical thinking about public questions.

- **Spirit of Tolerance:** A spirit of tolerance and co-operation among the people is also essential for the success of democracy. Mutual tolerance is the basis of democracy. The minority should tolerate the rule of the majority and the majority should tolerate the healthy criticism of the minority. People should try to resolve their differences through honourable compromises. Democracy can only work in an atmosphere of peace. General agreement among the citizens on fundamental issues and a spirit of give and take can surely lead democracy to success. The people therefore must learn to rise above all considerations of caste, class and creed in public affairs.

- **Good Leadership:** Democracy for its success sometimes needs a good leader. All the people of the state actually do not directly participate in public affairs. It is the leader who leads and others follow. The leader, then must have sufficient strength and ability to lead and he should be honest and incorruptible. A good leader unites the people and a bad leader divides them.

- **Good constitution:** Another essential condition for the safe working of democracy is a good constitution securing the rights and liberties of the people and restricting the power of the government. "With a wise constitution the turbulence of democracy may be restrained and made as calm as water in a reservoir". (Sir Henry Maine)

Thus, democratic government requires for its success certain conditions, in the absence of which, it is destined to perish. However, it is essential, that the people should constantly learn and relearn the lesson that it is not possible to work democracy successfully without developing a high sense of public spirit and integrity.

CHALLENGES TO DEMOCRATIC PROCESS IN INDIA

India became a secular democratic republic in 1950 with the birth of its constitution. Despite several difficulties and limitations, India has consolidated itself as a democracy over these post-independent years. It is no less than other old matured democracies in the world. Democracy has survived in India and has been institutionalized. Despite the absence of many fact factors often associated with democracy, Indian Democracy has travelled a long road making it the largest democracy in the world and a vibrant one which is unparallel in post-colonial times. Building democracy and deepening it was the biggest challenge in a multi-religious and multi-lingual diverse society like that of India with widespread socio-economic inequalities. The constitution that emerged out of the national liberation struggle and its values prioritized equality and justice as the basis of governance. This laid the foundation of democracy along with other principles like an elaborate arrangement of fundamental rights, secularism, federalism, separation of powers and so on. The politically inclusive character of Indian democracy is considered to be the major reason behind its success and strength. The democratic process in the country has been able to draw the excluded groups into it who were otherwise historically disadvantaged. A large number of voters participate in the elections and elections are opportunities for them to influence political parties, governments and their policies. By this the socio-economic composition of the representatives and of political leadership has changed. Representatives have come from marginalized sections, though there is still the dominance of upper caste and class in the political system and in the democratic process. There has been a significant change in the composition of legislatures making them more socially representative. This has signalled a shift in the balance of power in the society. However this has not been matched by economic equality.

INEQUALITY

Observers of Indian Democracy have wondered how democracy in India has survived in an environment of widespread and persistent inequalities. While the achievements in the field of representative democracy in India are strong, it is not so

ONE is heavior than MANY
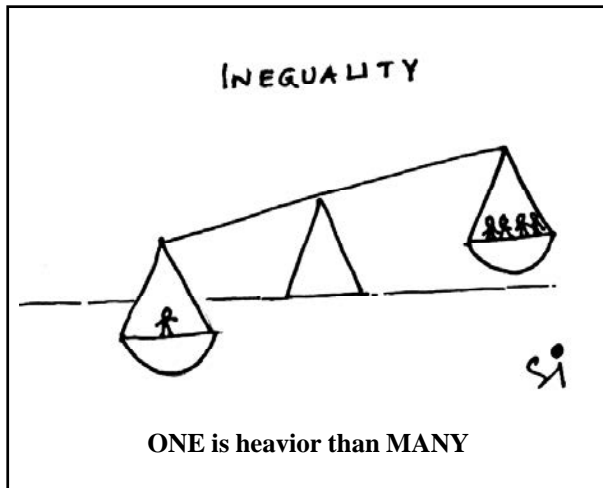
in bridging the gap in economic inequalities. Economic growth and development in the country has not been inclusive and egalitarian. High GDP growth has benefitted a small group of rich and the gap between the rich and poor have increased disproportionately over the years. A vast majority of people still suffer from poverty and distress and don't have access to basic amenities like food, health, education, housing etc. Due to unequal distribution of assets, resources and benefits the big business, corporate capital and rich people have dominated the democratic system and process which includes policy making. There was a contradiction between economic inequality and social inclusion in Indian democratic process. This was tried to be resolved with the politics of accommodation. But this attempt is more rhetorical than substantial for which Indian democratic system has not progressed significantly so far in reducing the economic inequalities. Widespread economic inequalities contradict an inclusive democratic system. In such a situation economically powerful will have a influence in both democracy and democratic process reducing it to mere formality without any substance.

ILLITERACY

Literacy rate refers to the percentage of people who are able to read and write vs. those who are not. Literacy is the condition or quality of being literate, especially the ability to read and write.

That literacy is the basic requirement of economic development has been recognized throughout the world and hence literacy has reached around 99% in countries of Japan, South Korea, USA, UK, Germany, France, etc.

But in India the literacy is still hovering around 74% on an average reaching above 90% in Kerala and below 75% in Bihar, Arunachal Pradesh, Jharkhand, etc. All efforts and success in literacy have become obliterated by huge rise in population.

Women population constitutes a larger portion of total illiterate population. In India, the female literacy rate is around 65 percent as against the male literacy rate of around 82 percent. Hence, women education is very important to eradicate illiteracy.

- Illiteracy refers to the state of being unable to read or write. Illiteracy is a great hurdle for the economic development India. It entangles a man or a nation and eats into the vital of life.

- Illiteracy is a scar in our national life. Millions of people in our country are still in the darkness of illiteracy and ignorance. They are deceived in every walk of life.

- Lack of literacy is a hurdle for overall development and well-being of this country. It weakens the backbone of our country.

- It is not only baffling our democracy slowly but steadily also leading the vast democratic set up of this country to jeopardy.

- Illiteracy is maximum amongst Scheduled Caste, Scheduled Tribe and other backward classes who are not only poor, but unaware, unconcerned and unwilling to improve and change their lot. Illiteracy deprives people not only of economic development but also of all benefits of education, reading, writing, etc. remaining within the darkness of ignorance, poverty and impoverishes.

It is essential that the Government of India rises up to the occasion and take all possible steps to set up thousands of primary school all around the country making literacy and compulsory obligation of every citizen without which he will be penalized. For this the primary education has to be made free of tuition fees, all books and papers and instruments including computer to be supplied free.

**We demand android phones, tablets and laptops...
No blackboard as there is no school building.**
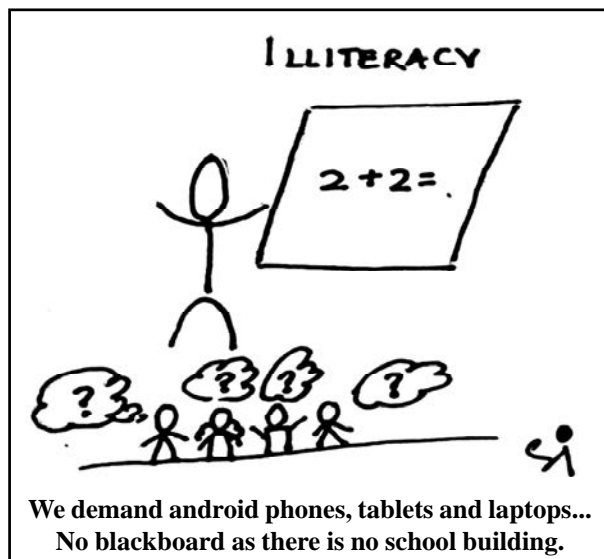
Unless all citizens are literate or educated they cannot ever read newspaper, circulars, notices, advertisements, posters, and letters from near and dear ones. This will compel the illiterate masses to be deprived of 90% benefit of development, entertainment, sports and games, medical prescription, operate cell phone, T.V and computer.

Students are the builders of a nation. They can do a lot to eradicate illiteracy. They can spend their spare time and holidays in helping illiterate people to become literate, teaching them the habits of hygiene and sanitation.

A blind person cannot witness the captivating beauty of nature. Similarly, an illiterate person remains blindfolded to the charms of the world of learning and knowledge. If and when illiteracy will be removed completely, India will be a new country where 100% people can participate in all programs of economic development.

Solutions :

- Illiteracy is a burning question to-day in India. It should be eradicated root and branch to make our life happy and prosperous.

- To eradicate this problem and to bring about her social, economical and political improvements all educated persons and students should join hands together in all possible ways.

- The U.N.O. has been trying its best to remove this problem of illiteracy from the under-developed countries like India. The year 1990 has been regarded as the International Literacy year.

- Postal stamps and calendars have been released for this purpose by the central government but these are not sufficient steps for promotion of literacy in a large country like India.

- More schools can be set up all over the country. There should be ample provisions in the Central and State budgets to fight illiteracy.

- Government should try to bring every child to school. Effective measures should be taken to stop child labor.

- It is this illiteracy that seizes this land of our like an Octopus and throttles her to death. Philanthropic organizations and both formal and non-formal educational institutions should help these poor people to read and write. They can play a vital role to make the illiterate literate.

Conclusion :

Government alone cannot cope with such an uphill task of eradicating illiteracy. People themselves should come forward to perform this national duty so that the literacy drive may come to the top in a mass movement.

India is sure to be left far behind in comparison with other countries in point of socio-economic improvement unless and until the intelligentsia of the country think deeply over this cancerous disease of illiteracy.

REGIONALISM

Regionalism in Indian Politics is fast spreading across various states of India. It has become a striking feature of the Indian political party system. The rise of regional political parties have played significant role in the regional, state and even national politics of our democratic country.

After the first general election of 1952, the Election Commission had declared 19 political parties as regional parties. In fact, the regional political parties have become a part and parcel of Indian political system.

A regional political party usually confines its activities within the boundary of a state or region. It often represents the interest of a particular regional group, language group, ethnic group or cultural group. While forming their policies these regional political parties have often shown ideological integrity. They are generally not interested in taking parts in national politics. Rather sometimes they show militant attitude towards the national politics or to the Central Government. While showing this militant attitude they often get themselves engaged in unscrupulous political activities. Yet while they themselves come into power in their respective regions or states. They perform political activities with tremendous responsibility.

The most noteworthy examples of these regional political parties are the:
- D.M.K. and A.D.M.K of Tamil Nadu,
- The Telugu Desham Party of Andhra Pradesh,
- The National Conference Party of Jammu and Kashmir,
- The Akali Dal (party) of Punjab,
- The Trinamul Congress of West Bengal,
- The CPIM of West Bengal,
- The Assam Gana Parishad of Assam,
- The Gorkha League of Darjeeling in West Bengal etc.

Reasons behind the birth of Regionalism in Indian Democracy :

There are various reasons for its emergence of Regionalism in Indian Politics such as:

⇨ **Firstly**, the administrative policies and decisions as well as the developmental plans taken at the national level may not satisfy all people of the country and these people, who remain dissatisfied, may feel that their interest are not properly safeguarded. In such a context they form the regional parties to solve their own problems. That was how the regional parties like D.M.K, A.D.M.K., the National Conference of Jammu and Kashmir etc. were formed.

⇨ **Secondly**, India is still not free from ethnic, racial and religious orthodoxy. Sometimes the Regionalism in Indian Politics emerge on these ethnic, racial or religious grounds. That was how the Hindu Mahasabha, Ram Rajya Parishad, Siromani Akali Dal, the Muslim League or even the Telugu Desham party was formed.

⇨ **Thirdly**, sometimes the Regionalism in Indian Politics are formed on language issues as well. The D.M.K, A.D.M.K. parties of Tamil Nadu, the Telangana Praja Samithi of Andhra Pradesh or the Gorkha League of West Bengal etc. was formed on the basis of this language issue. These parties focuses on the interest of people who speak common language.

⇨ **Fourthly**, sometimes the regional political parties are formed on the initiative of one or a few political leaders. However, these types of regional parties usually do not last long. Since, most of such political parties are dependent on one leader, they generally extinguish when the leader himself dies.

⇨ **Fifthly**, sometimes the Regionalism in politics helps to safeguard the minority interests. The Muslim League, the Jharkhand Mukti Morcha, the TYC etc. belong to this category of the regional political parties.

⇨ **Sixthly**, sometimes the internal conflicts of the big national parties may pave the ground for the rise of the regional political parties. That was how the Congress party was divided into several small parties like Congress for democracy, Congress (J) etc.

⇨ **Seventhly**, sometimes a leader of a big national party, if ousted from his other original party, forms a regional party to express his or her grievances. That was how Sri Ajoy Mukherjee formed the Bangla Congress or Smt. Mamata Banerjee formed the Trinamul Congress in Bengal.

⇨ **Eighthly**, the regional political parties formulate their policies and programmes on the basis of the regional demands, grievances and interests of the people. Naturally they pin with them the confidence and loyalty of the people. The National parties to try to utilize this confidence and loyalty of the people for their own sinister interest. Thus they form Coalitions and Fronts and the Leftist and right political parties appear as strange bed fellows. This has made the regional parties gain a lot of importance and confidence.

⇨ **Ninthly**, during the pre-independence days people fought for the country's freedom and a unique sense of oneness, a sense of nationalism had flared up in them which had strengthened the solidarity and integrity of the nation. But after independence that burning sense of nationalism has evaporated and a narrow sense to regional interest has developed. This has also paved the grounds for the emergence of regional political parties.

⇨ **Lastly**, the general decadence of values, too much centralization of power, dictatorial role of the leaders, negligence to the regional leadership etc. in the national parties have not only weakened their status but also facilitated the rise of numbers of regional political parties both big and small, in India.

The problem of regionalism has been discussed in greater detail in Chapter-5. Students should read both the chapters relating to regionalism to have a better grasp of the subjects.

NAXALITE PROBLEM

Beginning of Naxalism in India:

The exploitation of poor people, depressed classes and tribal people by superior classes has been the situation in India from the earlier periods till now. When this exploitation reaches a saturation level, a revolution will automatically rise from the victims and sometimes it takes a form of a movement questioning the entire system itself. A good example for this is **the Naxal Movement in India.**

The Naxal Movement (derived its name from a village in West Bengal called Naxalbari) shortly called as Naxalism is a radical communist movement where the social masses strongly believe that the solution for the social wrongs happening **is to overthrow the existing political system completely.** The Naxalite Movement in India initially began in West Bengal (in a village called Naxalbari) and later spread to the rural areas of Chhattisgarh, Bihar, Orissa, Telangana and Andhra Pradesh.

History of Naxalism :

The movement of naxalism in India has its seeds in the Russian revolution which was based on Marxism and socialism that is all the resources of the state should be equally distributed among all the sections of people. this concept was inherited by Mao Zedong of communist party of china including revolutionary and radical dimensions to it. this was popularly known as Maoism.

The Communist Party Of India (CPI), **taking inspiration from Maoism followed the method of armed rebellion (MAOISTS)** to counter the British forces during the freedom struggle with West Bengal as the centre and later on spread to other states as well.

Tebhaga Movement was **the first Maoist movement started in West Bengal in 1946** during which the poor peasants turned against their landlords, who were acquiring a maximum share in the harvest and oppressing the peasants. This movement turned violent as the farmers started an armed fight against the landlords.

Telangana Movement which was led by the people of Telangana in the period of 1946-51 **against the atrocities of the Nizam rule** also acquired radical dimensions as it progressed.

The pre-independence Maoist movements are mostly inspired by the Indian freedom struggle **whereas after independence the poor socio-economic conditions and the exploitation of the resources available** to the locals (such as destruction of forests in tribal areas)are the main causes of the Naxal movements.

Naxalbari Movement In 1967 was the landmark movement in the history of Naxalism. **On 3rd March 1967, in a village called Naxalbari in West Bengal**, police opened fire on the farmers who were protesting against the agricultural laws and many farmers were died. Then the uprising started against the government which was led by **Charu Mazumdar of CPI.** The armed rebellions killed many police officials and the movement got National attention.

Many uprisings started with the inspiration of the **Naxalbari** movement **in Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Telangana, tribal areas of Srikakulam in Andhra Pradesh and Mahendragiri forest region in Orissa.** The most subdued and socially marginalised people and tribal people mostly participated in these uprisings against the government and these areas are still the NAXAL affected ones.

There are many reasons for the rise and Growth of Naxalbari Movement

(i)   Mismanagement of forests is the main reason for the spread of Naxalism from just one village in W.B. to 7,000 villages in the last 38 yrs. Different Naxal groups now control 19% of India's forest over an area two and half times the size of Bangladesh.

(ii)   Growing inter and intra-regional disparities. The Naxals lure people with vulnerable livelihood, fishermen, bamboo cutters, farmers and daily labourers. By doing this the naxals have created large social base.

(iii)   Tribal alienation, displacement by large projects and the government's failure to ensure food security is the main reason in Orissa.

(iv)   Over the past decade, successive governments have failed to address the problem of poverty and unemployment endemic to the region.

Actions Taken by the Government :

Anti Naxal Forces: The government in retaliation to the NAXAL movements, created Salwajudum military campaign, Operation Green Hunt in Naxal-affected areas. As of now the CRPF (Central Reserve Police Force) are in charge to these anti-Naxal operations.

Awareness Campaigns In Naxal Affected Areas: Mostly these movements gather the support of the people due to their ignorance and backwardness. Hence, Government started organising awareness camps and giving employment to the people, setting up ANGANWADI centres for their health care and so on.

Conclusion :

However, this is an on-going problem in our country and more steps are to be taken in a more organised manner to reduce the grievances.

GENDER INEQUALITY

Gender inequality is that women and men are not equal. It refers to unequal treatment or perceptions of individuals based on their gender. It arises from differences in socially constructed gender roles.

Gender inequality in India refers to health, education, economic and political inequalities between men and women in India. Various international gender inequality indices rank India differently on each of these factors, as well as on a composite basis, and these indices are controversial.

Definition and concept of gender inequality:

'Gender' is a socio-cultural term referring socially defined roles and behaviors assigned to 'males' and 'females' in a given society; whereas, the term 'sex' is a biological and physiological phenomenon which defines man and woman. In its social, historical and cultural aspects, gender is a function of power relationship between men and women where men are considered superior to women. Therefore, gender may be understood as a man-made concept, while 'sex' is natural or biological characteristics of human beings.

BOYS are more important than GIRLS
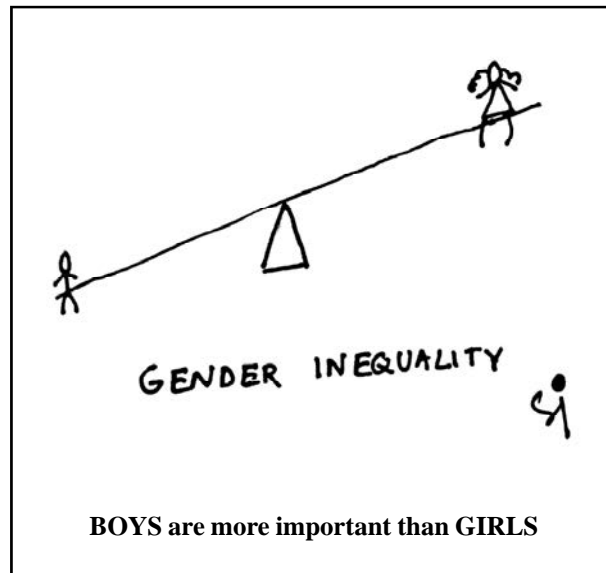
Gender Inequality, in simple words, may be defined as discrimination against women based on their sex. Women are traditionally considered by the society as weaker sex. She has been accorded a subordinate position to men. She is exploited, degraded, violated and discriminated both in our homes and in outside world. This peculiar type of discrimination against women is prevalent everywhere in the world and more so in Indian society.

Causes and types of gender inequality in India :

The root cause of gender inequality in Indian society lies in its patriarchy system. According to the famous sociologists **Sylvia Walby**, patriarchy is "a system of social structure and practices in which men dominate, oppress and exploit women". Women's exploitation is an age old cultural phenomenon of Indian society. The system of patriarchy finds its validity and sanction in our religious beliefs, whether it is Hindu, Muslim or any other religion. Barring few exceptions here and there, women have no power to take independent decisions either inside their homes or in outside world.

Among Muslims the situation is same and there too sanction for discrimination or subordination is provided by religious texts and Islamic traditions. Similarly in other religious beliefs also women are being discriminated against in one way or other.

The unfortunate part of gender inequality in our society is that the women too, through, continued socio-cultural conditioning, have accepted their subordinate position to men. And they are also part and parcel of same patriarchal system.

Extreme poverty and lack of education are also some of the reasons for women's low status in society. Poverty and lack of education derives countless women to work in low paying domestic service, organized prostitution or as migrant labourers. Women are not only getting unequal pay for equal or more work but also they are being offered only low skill jobs for which lower wages are paid. This has become a major form of inequality on the basis of gender.

Educating girl child is still seen as a bad investment because she is bound to get married and leave her paternal home one day. Thus, without having good education women are found lacking in present day's demanding job skills; whereas, each year's High School and 10+2 standard results show that girls are always doing better than boys. This shows that parents are not spending much after 10+2 standard on girl child and that's why they lack in job market.

Not only in education, in case of family food habits, it is the male child who gets all the nutritious and choicest foods while the girl child gets whatever is left behind after the male members have taken their meals or the food which is low in both quality and nutrition. And this becomes a major health issue in her later years. One of the main reasons for the high incidences of difficult births and anemia in women is the poor quality of food which a girl always gets either in her paternal home or in her in-laws as also is the excessive workload that they are made to bear from their early childhood.

So the inequality or discrimination against women is at various levels in the society, either in home or outside home.

Gender Inequality In India: Important Data

Global Indices : Gender Inequality is also reflected in India's poor ranking in various global gender indices.

- **UNDP's Gender Inequality Index- 2014:** India's ranking is 127 out of 152 countries in the List. This ranking is only above Afghanistan as far as SAARC countries are concerned.

- **World Economic Forum's Global Gender Gap Index- 2014:** India's ranks at 114 in the list of 142 countries of the world. This Index examines gender gap in four major areas:
  - ➤ Economic participation and opportunity.
  - ➤ Educational achievements.

➤   Health and life expectancy.

➤   Political empowerment.

India's position on these indicators was as follows:

➤   Economic participation and opportunity: **134**th

➤   Educational achievements: **126**th

➤   Health and Life expectancy: **141**st

➤   Political empowerment: **15**th

These important Global Indices show the sorry state of affairs in India as far as gender equality is concerned. Only in case of 'Political Empowerment' India is doing fine which is a welcome sign. But other indices are very poor and a lot need to be done to improve the same. Getting to parity.

✓   For India to maintain its position as a global growth leader, more concerted efforts at local and national levels, and by the private sector are needed to bring women to parity with men.

✓   While increasing representation of women in the public spheres is important and can potentially be attained through some form of affirmative action, an attitudinal shift is essential for women to be considered as equal within their homes and in broader society.

✓   Educating Indian children from an early age about the importance of gender equality could be a meaningful start in that direction

POINTS TO REMEMBER

⇨   Democracy is derived from two Greek words 'demos' meaning the people and 'kratia' meaning power. It is a government of the people, by the people and for the people. But it is not only a form of government, but a way of life, as it touches various aspects of life - social, economic and political.

⇨   Democracy can be direct, if people directly participate in the affairs of government. But in modern time, due to vast size and population of the state, direct democracy has been substituted by indirect or representative democracy. Direct democracy is only found in Switzerland in form of Referendum, Initiative and Recall.

⇨   Characteristics: Democracy is based on the principle of popular sovereignty, Rule of law, Liberty and Equality. It also means the rule of majority with adequate safeguards to minority. It is a government by consent or public

criticism. It provides for change in the government through constitutional means.

⇨ Strength of democracy : (a) It treats every individual as equal, (b) Upholds the principle of liberty, (c) It is a government by consent, (d) There is scope for development of human personality, (e) It has high educative value (f) It serves as a training ground for citizenship, (g) It aims at welfare of all.

⇨ Weakness of democracy : (a) It attaches more importance to quantity, (b) There is possibility of despotism of majority, (c) It breeds incompetence, (d) It is expensive, (e) Scope for corruption, (f) It is also criticised for its slowness and creating instability in the government.

⇨ Conditions for successful working of democracy : (a) The people must have firm faith in democratic ideals, (b) Eternal vigilance is required, (c) Universal education should be given priority, (d) Basic requirement of life should be guaranteed, (e) Free & fearless press is an essential condition, (f) Spirit of tolerance and co-operation among the people, (g) Good leadership and good constitution are other requirements.

⇨ Challenges to democratic process in India : Inequality; Illiteracy; Regionalism; Naxalite Problem; Gender Inequality.

GLOSSARY

Gender - the state of being male or female (typically used with reference to social and cultural differences rather than biological ones).

Rule of Law - the principle whereby all members of a society (including those in government) are considered equally subject to publicly disclosed legal codes and processes.

Referendum - a general vote by the electorate on a single political question which has been referred to them for a direct decision by the legislature.

Initiative - is a means by which a petition signed by a certain minimum number of registered voters can force a public vote; in the citizens initiative process, citizens draft a legislative bill or constitutional amendment (a "measure"), which they then propose by petition; if the petition receives sufficient popular support, the measure is then placed on the ballot and can be enacted into law by a direct vote of citizens.

Recall - a recall election (also called a recall referendum or representative recall) is a procedure by which voters can remove an elected official from office through a direct vote before their term has ended.

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MODEL QUESTIONS

Section-A

Multiple Choice Questions :

1. The basis of Democracy is
    - (a) Elected Government
    - (b) Nominated Government
    - (c) Rule by Army
    - (d) Popular games and sports

2. Who said "Democracy is a government in which everyone has a share".
    - (a) Lincoln
    - (b) Dicey
    - (c) Seeley
    - (d) Bryce

3. Indirect democracy is known as
    - (a) Government of the Rich
    - (b) Government of the wise
    - (c) Elected government
    - (d) Non direct Democracy

4. Which is not a device of direct Democracy?
    - (a) Referendum
    - (b) Initiative
    - (c) Recall
    - (d) Representation.

5. Electorate Means.
    - (a) Direct Democracy
    - (b) All the eligible voters
    - (c) All the people
    - (d) Candidates during Election

6. In universal Adult franchise
    - (a) All adult men have the right to vote.
    - (b) All the people have the right to vote.
    - (c) All adults have the right to vote.
    - (d) All adult women have the right to vote.

7. In which country is direct democracy is in practice?
    - (a) India
    - (b) USA
    - (c) Great Britain
    - (d) Switzerland

8. In which country has democracy originated?
    - (a) China
    - (b) India
    - (c) Greece
    - (d) Great Britain

Section-B

Write briefly :

1. What is democracy?
2. What is direct democracy?
3. What is indirect democracy?
4. What is Referendum?
5. Define Recall
6. What is meant by 'Majority Rule'?
7. 'Democracy is a way of life' comment.
8. What is Popular Sovereignty?
9. What is Representation?
10. What is inequality?
11. What are the solutions to the problems of illiteracy in India?
12. Define Regionalism.
13. What are the negative effects of regionalism in India?
14. What is Naxalism?
15. Solution to Naxalite Problem
16. Causes of Gender Inequality

Section-C

Long (Essay) Type :

1. What is Democracy? What are its types?
2. Discuss the challenges to the democratic process in India.
3. What is Naxalism? How it has affected the democratic process in India?
4. Define democracy and state its meaning.
5. 'Democracy is a way of life' - Explain.
6. Discuss main features of democracy.
7. Analyse the conditions for success of democracy.
8. Discuss the causes and types of gender inequality in India.

❏ ❏ ❏

CHAPTER - 2

PARTY SYSTEM IN INDIA

A Political Party is "a group organised for the purpose of achieving and exercising power within a political system."

- Maurice Duverger

❑ **Meaning**

❑ **Types**

❑ **One-Party Dominance**

❑ **Coalition Politics**

❑ **Regional Parties**

In this chapter

We shall try to know :

➡ *What is a Political Party?*

➡ *What are the types of Party Systems?*

➡ *What are the functions of Political Parties*

We will discuss :

➡ *What is One-Party Dominance?*

➡ *What is Coalition Politics?*

➡ *What are the Regional Parties?*

POLITICAL PARTIES

Political parties occupy a very significant position in any form of democracy. It has come to be accepted as a necessary "cog in the machinery of democracy". The growth of party system synchronises with the evolution of democracy. Technically speaking the modern party system and the party government are the contributions of England to politics. Historically the origin of the party system is closely connected with the development of English constitution. By the beginning of 20th century political parties have proliferated in all countries of the world as very important part of their political systems.

Meaning :

By political party we simply understand the coming together of people having similar views and opinions on matters of common interest, who seek to achieve their end through their own organizations. In other words political party means the aggregation of likeminded people, sharing almost equal

thoughts on different aspects of socio-economic-political and cultural issues and decide to work together for the achievement of their objects. However, Edmund Burk defined political party as a "body of men united for promoting by their joint endeavours the national interest upon some political principles in which they are agreed." According to Gilchrist, the noted Political Scientist, a political party is "an organised group of citizens who profess to share the some political views and who by acting as a political unit try to control the government. The chief aim of a party is to make its own opinions and policies prevail." However the modern scholar Maurice Duverger defines a political party as "a group organised for the purpose of achieving and exercising power within a political system."

Features :

An analysis of these definitions lays down the following features of political parties:

(a)   There exists a great deal of agreement among the members of a political party on the fundamental issues of the state.

(b)   Political parties have some degree of organization, discipline and permanence.

(c)   They seek to achieve their objectives through constitutional means.

(d)   The political parties aim at safeguarding and promoting national interest.

(e)   The primary aim of every political party is to attain political power as a means to achieve their objectives.

(f)   The top leadership of the party remains responsible for formulating and furthering policy decisions. The common members of the party have hardly any scope to dabble in this sphere.

FUNCTIONS OF POLITICAL PARTIES

Political parties are indispensable for the working of modern democratic governments. Democracies can not function without the existence of political parties. In fact in the absence of organised political parties one just can not think of the working of representative government. In the light of the analysis of the functions of political parties by Merriam and Munro they may be discussed as follows.

(a)   Necessary for Parliamentary Government :

A parliament consists of the representatives of the people. The political parties organise these representatives on party lines. The electorate choose their representatives on the basis of their party affiliation. The party which gets the majority of votes forms the government and runs the state and the other parties in the legislature constitute the opposition and try to find fault with the government, thus making it more responsible. In the absence of political parties, the elected representatives may work at cross purposes just making the formation of a government or opposition an impossibility.

(b)   Parties formulate public policies :

Each political party fights the election to achieve its objectives incorporated in their political manifesto. Soon after the election the majority party forming the government seeks to formulate its policies of administration on the basis of promises made in the election manifesto. Besides, each party has its own ideology. It is assured that the majority party gets the mandate of the electorate to implement its own political programme.

(c)   Parties educate Public opinion :

Parties in any system of government educate, formulate and organize public opinion. They also help in the growth of the level of political consciousness of common citizens, who otherwise have no time to pursue and study issues of the state. The political parties in their effort to come closer to the people they organise public rallies, meetings, press conferences on important issues and make their views clear. This provides the common people with an opportunity to analyse the pros and cons of various important issues. This process leads to organise and formulate public opinion on important issues. The common people who otherwise have no time to devote to politics immensely benefit by these meetings etc. and understand different aspects of the basic issues involved in administration.

(d)   Parties provide political stability :

The political parties in more than one way unite, simplify and stabilize the political process of the country. The destabilizing forces of localism, sectional interests and geographical situations are tackled by political parties by making these part of their party ideology thus pacifying the disintegrating forces and inducing cohesion. The political parties mainly perform the functions of "aggregation of interests". Besides the political parties in a representative democracy play a great role in

maintaining the stability by performing their roles in the legislature. The majority party forms the government and the other small parties in the opposition. The party in power has to conduct itself very responsibly. Because any unwise move on their part would throw it off the power and help the opposition (parties) to take over the reins of administration. Opposition not merely criticises the government; it also provides an alternative programme and alternative government in the eventuality of any crisis in the government. As such it contributes to the stability of the government.

(e)   It helps in the recruitment of leaders :

The essential function of any party is to recruit men of integrity, letters, action, leadership to its fold as members and prepare them for election in future. Because it is these members of party who propagate the party ideologies, discuss the burning issues and hold meetings and press conferences to mobilize public support. It is these leaders again who contest in the election and form government if elected to power. Such leaders being drawn from public life are expected to understand expectations of the common people and formulate public policies accordingly. Parties always get popularity and recognition through their leaders only.

These are some of the functions of political parties which make them significant in modern democracy. The parties behave responsibly in states where the people in general are well educated and politically conscious. This is evident from the working of political parties in western countries, where the political culture is easily discernible than the non- European countries.

THE PARTY SYSTEM

The political parties function within Party System. The party system is a modern phenomenon. It is especially significant in parliamentary democracies. In such states it creates conditions for the executive and the legislature to work in conjecture. The legislature provides the executive. The majority party (members) in the legislature forms the government. During a national crisis like-minded parties may come together to form an alliance to form a ministry. For example, this happened in England during the Second World War with Mr. Churchill as Prime Minister. The issues before the government in the modern state are so varied and complicated that without the guidance of the party system the common man finds himself completely confused and misguided. In any form of government in democracy the party system helps to express the opinion of the electorate adequately.

Some of the modern writers are very much against the party system on the ground that it leads to bribery, corruption and indifference to popular interest. These charges, against the party system, are no doubt true to a great extent but a suitable alternative to do away with such system is yet to be found.

CLASSIFICATION OF PARTY SYSTEMS

The party systems have been classified on different standards or norms. However there is no single criterion on the basis of which a party can be categorized. One has to take various aspects of classification into consideration to understand the organization of party system in any country for example the number of political parties actively functioning in a state, the organization and characteristic of the party, the ideological basis of the party, the area of influence, etc.

One Party System :

On the basis of number of parties actively functioning in a state there may be one party, two party or multi party system.

Normally we come across three distinct forms of single or one party system. One of them is ideological. In some countries a single party is allowed to operate by law. This form of party system is popular in Nazi, Fascist and Communist countries. The philosophy of the first two types of state being one Nation, one state, one party and one leader. The erstwhile communist state of U.S.S.R. and presently China and other Communist states have established single party system. Although in some Communist states a few minor political parties are allowed to exist, they have in fact very little role to play. In such a system the party controls and directs the government and remains the ultimate force of authority.

Authoritarian One Party System :

There is another form known as Authoritarian one party system. In this system there is a major political party which restricts the functioning of other parties. Of course this party allows the citizens of the state to express their resentment against the government and place their demands through these parties, but do not allow them to contest in the election. Many persons may contest in the election from that single party only. Such systems are prevalent in Iran, Syria, Egypt, Ghana and many other Afro-Asian countries.

Sometimes in some countries a single political party dominates the political scene in spite of the pressure of many other political parties without any legal restrictions or checks imposed on them. This form is called Dominant One Party System. In essence this system is a combination of multiparty system and a single party dominance. This can not be strictly called a multiparty system nor a single party system. This may also constitute a temporary phase in a multiparty system and has all the possibility of becoming a two party system or a multi party system. For example Indian National Congress party dominated the political scene from 1947 to 1977, till the fourth general election, even though there were many other political parties existing at the same time in India. In spite of the existence of so many parties it seemed as if there is only congress party capable of delivering the goods. However after the fourth general election things changed rapidly and in recent elections it is more than one small parties who have joined hands with Bhartiya Janata Party/ Congress Party to run the government at the centre or in states.

Two Party System :

The two party system is one in which there are only two major parties controlling and dominating the political scenes. There may be other political parties but hardly they are given any importance. Their influence among the voters are negligible instead the two major parties hold the rein of the power by participating in electoral politics. Political power alternates between these two major parties.

England, Canada and U.S.A. are good examples of two party system. In England the two major parties are the Conservative party and the Labour Party; in Canada they are Liberal party and Progressive Conservative party; where as in U.S.A. they are known as the Republican party and the Democratic party.

In this system the choice of the electorate is simplified due to presence of only two political parties. The choice of the ruling party and the opposition is made clear. In Britain they are officially designated as Her Majesty's Government and Her Majesty's Opposition. This system contributes to political stability and continuity, without any confusion or crisis as in multi-party system.

There are certain negative aspects of the two party system also. It divides the public opinion into two rigid and narrow sections. The people who do not contribute to the thinking of the two political parties cease to count in public life. It does not correctly reflect the opinions and aspirations of the people.

Multi-party System :

In a multiparty system there are more than two political parties. Some parties may be too big and some others may be small but most of them are not in a position to dominate the political scene and secure the majority required to form the government. Very often it creates a situation of coalitional government between two or more parties. There are many countries in Western Europe and Eastern Asia where multi-party system prevails. In France there are about 13 parties, in Germany about 7, Italy 8, Switzerland about 8, Denmark about 10, Netherlands about 14 political parties we come across. During the last four decades India has seen such proliferation of political parties as no other democratic country in the world has witnessed. Since independence, although about hundred parties have come into existence; only about a dozen of them deserve any attention.

The expression of wide range of public opinion is possible in a multi-party system. Logically we may call it a more democratic and open system as it absorbs varieties of view points and allows interaction of these views and interests. In such a system the voters have wider choice to choose from among so many parties. In this system the dictatorship of the Cabinet is not possible, if the government is a coalitional one as one partner of the alliance group tries to checkmate the other in its bid to capture more power and prominence.

However the advantages stated above are more theoretical than practical. One of the essential drawbacks of the system is that it creates political instability. In the presence of so many parties it becomes difficult on the part of any political party to secure the majority support to form the government. Under this system alliance or coalition government becomes regular feature. It therefore becomes obvious that there can be no uniformity in the policy, laws and actions of the government which is composed of heterogeneous groups. The lack of direction in the policy leads to maladministration that leads to chaos and confusion. Besides a coalition government cannot take bold initiatives or pursue a policy vigorously for fear of decision and dissent within the government and in the legislature. The governments in a multi party system are short lived and lack in continuity and stability because of pressures and counter pressures of the coalition partners. However examples of successful working of multiparty system providing viable and stable governance can be seen in Germany, Sweden, Denmark and Switzerland. The political culture and tradition of any country, more than the system, is responsible for stable governance.

OPPOSITION

The study of party system remains incomplete without any reference to opposition

The Role of Opposition :

The role of opposition in party system is very significant. So far we know that political parties securing the majority support of the electorate form the government and provide the administration. In a two party system one of the parties form the government and in a multiparty either one party or some parties together in the legislature form a coalition to take over the reins of administration. The other parties who do not form the government play a significant role of the opposition, essential to provide the taste of democracy. The role of opposition is to keep the ruling party or parties under check and control. The device of opposition as a democratic tool is not modern. The practice dates back to the ancient days of city states. An institution called "Tribune" played the role of opposition in Rome. The church and the parliament played the role of opposition to limit the authorities of feudal monarchies and autocracies during the mediaeval period.

The concept of organised opposition- as an effective tool in democracy-originated in England. John Hobhouse coined the term "His Majesty's Loyal Opposition" to describe the opposition parties. Gradually with the growth of parliamentary democracy in England the institution of opposition was legitimised and subsequently accepted by other European states.

The opposition in a multiparty democratic system is different from that of a two party system. Here the opposition is composed of the non-ruling parties, opposed to each other on important political issues and policies. usually they are never in a position to provide an alternative government in case it is required.

The presence of opposition is an essential feature of democratic system. In the opinion of Sir Ivor Jennings: "If there is no opposition, there is no democracy. An elected government is as much a part of the parliamentary democracy as an elected opposition. If the government represents the legitimate consent to rule the opposition, represents the legitimate dissent of the electorate.

A good opposition exercises enough pressure on the government, without which the administration tends to be irresponsible. It points out the failures and shortcomings of the government. An organised opposition by showing the lapses of the government constantly keeps it on its toes. They are a necessary corrective to any government.

However the opposition always does not behave in the way it is expected to. It is seen that most of the time, instead of making the government responsible the opposition leaders themselves become irresponsible. They oppose the government for the sake of opposition without offering any constructive suggestion or pointing out genuine lapses on the part of the executive. This situation destroys the very foundation of democracy. For the smooth working of Parliamentary democracy a responsible government is as much required as a responsible opposition. The opposition must allow the government to behave responsibly. It should not state and obstruct the proceedings of the legislature.

The opposition and the ruling party should workout a framework of mutual understanding of role as democracy is a system of government by discussion, persuasion and consensus. If either of them takes to extra constitutional methods to beat the other the propose of democracy is defeated.

POINTS TO REMEMBER

⇨ By political party we mean an organized group of citizens who profess to share the same political views and who by acting as a political unit try to control the government.

⇨ Its characteristic features are (a) common political views among members (b) organization of national interest (c) adoption of constitutional methods (d) promotion of national interest (e) attainment of political power (f) decision making lies with the top leadership.

⇨ Its functions are many fold (a) it works as a tool of democracy (b) formulates public policies (c) educates public opinion (d) provides political stability (e) helps recruit the leaders.

⇨ Party system makes the democracy work through political parties.

⇨ Parties are classified as one party system, two party system and multiparty system.

⇨ A country where one political party functions is one party system.

⇨ Where there are two major parties are called two party system.

⇨ Countries where there are more than two major political parties are called multiparty system.

⇨ Opposition constitutes a very significant function in a democracy. Some parties run the government and are known as ruling party and those others in the legislature who do not join the government constitute the opposition.

⇨ The opposition represents the legitimate dissent of the electorate. By pointing out the lapses and failures of the government it makes it responsible. It also always remain in readiness to accept the reins of government if such situation arises.

PARTY SYSTEM IN INDIA

Party system is a part of the larger political system. This system in any country is a product of its political environment as well as its history, culture and traditions. The character of our country, its national goals, its diverse culture, its wide geographic spread and compulsions of its socio-economic change and development all these and much more have influenced the growth of party system in India.

Historical context :

The party system in India began towards the last part of nineteenth century. The British domination of India virtually forced the Indian nationals to unite together not only to wipe out the foreign rule but also to prepare a blue print for independent democratic India. The party system in India began with the formation of Indian national congress in 1885. The other parties were born gradually thereafter. Till 1947 the party system in India was greatly conditioned by the British policy of divide and rule which led to the formation of communal parties like the Muslim league, the Hindu Mahasabha and Akali Dal. The emergence of such parties virtually fragmented the society by dividing the people on caste and community lines and putting an end to the development of secular outlook in India. Naturally therefore by the time India became independent the party system was in complete disarray. However on the adoption of a secular democratic constitution a different party system developed.

The type of parties :

The first twenty years of Indian independence from 1947-1967 there was continuous domination of the congress party both at the centre and in the states. However since 1967 only a multiparty system has started emerging although a number of parties existed much before that. There are three types of parties seen in India on the basis of geographical spread. They are all India parties, regional parties and local parties. On the basis of orientation however they may be termed as leftist, rightist,

centrist parties. The communist and socialist parties are termed leftist parties where as communal or religious parties or parties based an caste are termed as rightist parties.

Nature and characteristics of party system in India :

Multiparty system **:** a large number of political parties today dominate the political scene in India. Although by and large there is a bewildering variety of political parties in India they have not shown the stability of the other democracies like Britain or U.S.A. usually political parties are formed on the basis of definite social interests or political ideologies. But because of so many factors they fail to maintain the tempo for which they are created. As a result of this they just fail to flourish and lie as dormount organisation or liquidate itself.

Proliferation of Regional Parties **:** No sovereign territory has such a wide range of socio-cultural and ethnic diversities as in India. These diversities naturally therefore are expressed in the formation of regional parties in order to bargain with the centre for a better deal.

It is seen from experience the national parties have failed to give due weightage to their state and local units and have not taken them seriously. This attitude of the central leadership over the years has created bitterness and resentment in the rank and file of the parties. Under the situation the local leaders of the party had no hesitation to quit the main party and formed regional parties to attract the people of the state. Bangla Congress, Kerala Congress and the Biju Janata Dal are examples of such parties. Besides this the tribal and backward classes also formed their own parties to maintain their identity. The Mizoram National Front (MNF), The All Party Hill Leaders Conference (APHLC), The Jharakhanda Mukti Morcha are examples of such parties. The ethnic and linguistic groups have also come out with their own parties in Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh, Punjab, Assam, and Jammu and Kashmir to play a critical role as a balancing factor between the ruling party and the major opposition parties in the Parliament and grab power in the state legislatures too. All these factors have led to the growth of large number of regional parties in the political scenario of India.

Lack of Proper Organisation **:** The party system in India is marked by lack of proper organizational elections and democratic functioning. Hardly the parties have evolved reliable mechanism and workable procedures for managing its affairs. The top leadership dominates the working of the parties and avoids internal election to

choose party managers. Virtually all of them are named by the top leadership. This practice while strengthening the influence of the party chief weakens the party organization as a whole and affects the growth of internal democracy and leadership.

Leaders more important than ideology **:** The political parties in India are organised around individual leaders. They owe their existence to the charisma of its leaders than the ideology of the party. There is hardly any ideological difference among the political parties in India, except of course a very few parties. The ability to influence voters and capacity to find the organisation enables a leader to form a party with his own followers, who almost blindly extend their support to their mentor. This has been the case with most of the political parties.

Frequent Political Defections **:** Leaving one's own party and joining another party for specific interest is called political defection. This defection has affected the working of party system in India very badly. Since 1967, the Fourth General Elections greed for power, lust for prominence have so much affected the top leaders in India that they have no hesitation to leave their parties for the sake of those. Sometimes parties falling short of majority allure members from other parties to join their party with assurance to include them in the council of ministers or give them other prominent positions in the government. Defections have very badly affected the political stability of the country.

Lack of inner democracy in party organizations **:** A common feature of party system in India that we come across is that there is no regular organizational elections and democratic functioning within the parties. No party has evolved reliable mechanism and workable procedures for managing its affairs. The top leadership dominates the working of parties and avoids organizational elections to choose different office bearers. Virtually all of them are nominated by the top leadership known as High Command. This practice while strengthening the influence of the High Command weakens the party organization as a whole affecting the growth of internal democracy and leadership.

Absence of Strong Opposition **:** Lack of strong opposition is another important characteristic of party system in India. A healthy and well organized opposition sustains a party system in any democracy. Unfortunately for so many reasons although there are a large number of political parties in Indian political scenario there is hardly any opposition worth the name. This has led the critics to comment that there is no effective party system in India inspite of the presence of so many political parties.

However it may be said in conclusion that parties play an important role to make the democracy a success. They provide alternative teams to run the government. They prevent the same people remaining in power too long. A party system guarantees the people that change in government can be effected if they wish. The party system always reminds those in power that they owe their existence to the support of the electorate. Therefore they must work for the welfare of the society at large.

Steamroling majority of Congress during Nehru Era
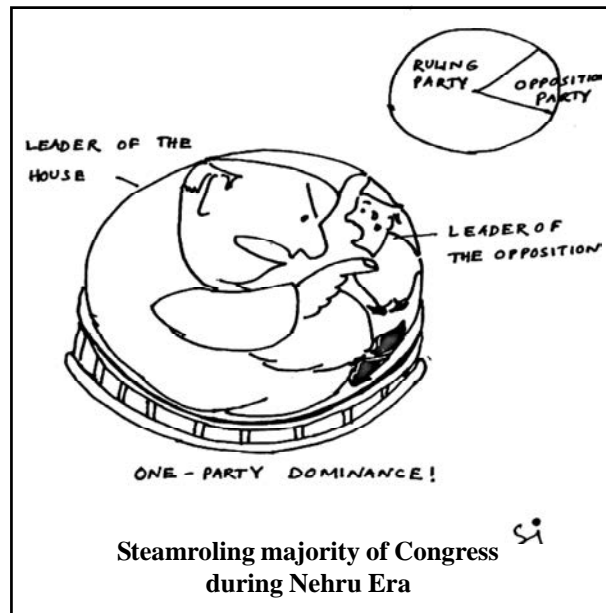
ONE PARTY DOMINANCE

The party system in India, particularly in the first two decades after independence is rightly termed as one party dominant system as the National Congress held sway over the central as well as state governments. The congress inherited the legacy of the freedom struggle and with charismatic leaders like Nehru and others; it was expected to win in the first general elections held in 1952.The party won 365 parliamentary seats out of 489 in the first Lok Sabha. The Communist Party of India came second with only 16 seats. Thus, Congress established its hegemony in the Indian Party System from the first general elections. The congress also had it victory in the elections to the state assemblies as well. It won all the states except three, Trvancore-Cochin (Now Kerala), Madras and Odisha. But it also formed governments there. In the second and third general elections held in 1957 and 1962 respectively, the Congress maintained its dominance by winning three-fourth of the total seats. The opposition parties could not get one-tenth of the seats won by the Congress.

Many political parties were in the fray but the central space was occupied by the congress from 1952 to 1967 for which the system is characterized as one party dominant party system. There was competition from other political parties but there was no meaningful challenge to the dominance of Congress. As the opposition was weak, they were unable to provide an alternative to the congress. However, they were engaged in criticizing and pressurizing the ruling congress.

The major reason behind the dominance of congress in the Indian Party System was its capacity to accommodate different and even conflicting interests and groups within it. It functioned as an umbrella party which enabled it to garner the support of divergent social groups. This accommodative approach of the congress continued from pre-independent times. It functioned as a broad coalition than strictly as a monolithic party. The dominance of the congress during this period was at three levels, at the power level by monopolizing power, at the level of controlling the space of relationship between the state and the society and at the ideological level by advocating the centrist ideology in politics.

In the 1960s there was substantial change in the nature of the Indian Party System, particularly after 1967. The changes became prominent. There are many non-congress governments at the state level. Coalition governments were formed in many states with non-congress parties. Fourth general election initiated the process of coalition politics in India. The Congress became weak at the centre also because of dissidence and factionalism within it. It led to the split in congress in 1969. The model of consensus on the basis of which congress was functioning became weak with far reaching consequences for the party systems in India. There are also other socio-economic reasons behind these changes. The new classes that emerged in post-independent India in these years asserted themselves and wanted to have their share in political power.

Coalition Politics :

Coalition simply means an act of coalescing, or uniting into one body. It has been derived from the Latin word 'Coalitio' which means to grow together. In political terms it implies an alliance or temporary union of political forces for forming government. Different political parties, even with conflicting interests and ideology come together in a coalition out of a common fear or out of the necessity that their goals cannot be achieved if they remain separate. Coalition can be of three types,

COALITION POLITICS

OUR COMMON MINIMUM PROGRAMME IS WHAT...

Do you remember our Common Minimum Programme

parliamentary, electoral and governmental. If no party has majority in the parliament to form government, then a party can form the government with the support of others in the parliament. Electoral coalitions are arrangements among parties to have electoral adjustments among themselves and deciding not to field candidates against each other. Coalition at the governmental level can have different forms. The National government in emergencies with the participation of major political parties is one kind coalition at the government level. Another type is the power sharing by more than one party joining the coalition. UPA led by Congress and NDA led by BJP are examples of this type of coalition.

The coalition politics in India started after the 1967 elections. Non-Congress opposition parties defeated congress in six states by forming coalitions. But congress returned back to power in 1971. But the next phase of coalition politics began with the defeat of congress in 1977.The emergency declared by the congress led to its defeat and to the unity of the opposition parties. Janata Party was formed and a coalition government came at the centre under Morarji Desai. But this government could not last its full term. Another experiment of coalition under Charan Singh also could not survive because of its inner contradictions and ideological differences. The weaknesses of experiments of coalition during this period again gave opportunity to congress to come back to power in 1980. However its support base declined which laid the foundation for future coalition politics in India. Coalition governments were not there at the centre from 1980 to 1989, though there were such governments in some states like Tamilnadu, West Bengal, Tripura and Jammu and Kashmir. Before 1989 general elections, Janata Dal was formed and entered into alliances with some regional parties, left parties and BJP.

A coalition was formed in the name of National Front in October 1988 and it formed the coalition government at the centre in 1989 under V.P.Singh. Both BJP and Left Parties supported this government from outside. This coalition was different from the experiments in 1977 except the commonality of the anti-congress platform. The issues were different in both the coalitions. In 1977, in the background of emergency, the issues of restoration of democracy, protection of civil liberty etc. brought different parties together to form the coalition. But in 1989 both national and regional issues were taken up by the National Front like corruption etc. Though this coalition government was an improvement over earlier experiments still it suffered from internal and external crisis. There were differences over implementation of Mandal Commission recommendations and over the Ratha Yatra of BJP for Ram temple in Ayodhya. The V.P.Singh led coalition government fell after the withdrawal

of support from BJP. Again there was a split in the Janata Dal led to the formation of Janata Dal(S) and this new formation formed government at the centre under Chandrasekhar with the outside support of Congress. But this government could not survive as congress withdrew its support in 1991. In the general elections in 1991 congress could not win a clear majority but managed to form the government under P.V.Narasimha Rao.

In 1996 general elections BJP emerged as the single largest party but could not win the confidence motion in the parliament and lost power in 13 days.. The United Front government led by H.D. Deve Gowda formed the government and there was a change in the leadership again. I.K. Gujral then led this coalition. This United Front experiment of coalition government could not continue as congress withdrew support in 1998.

In 1999 elections NDA, the coalition led by BJP came to power. This coalition government completed its term and was relatively stable than the earlier ones. It worked on the basis consensus though there are strains and contradictions in it. Regional parties became more prominent in national politics. This is a new era in coalition politics of the country. It established the fact that no single political party can come to power on its own at this stage of Indian politics. Coalition politics and growing importance of regional parties is now the marked feature of Indian party system. The one party dominant system is already a thing of the past.

This pattern continued with the replacement of NDA by UPA-1 and II from 2004 to 2014. UPA is a coalition led by Congress. Left parties were with the UPA-I. Again regional parties played key role in this coalition. In 2009, in 15th Lok Sabha elections, Congress led coalition UPA-II came to power. For the first time in more than two decades, a government that completed its full term got re-elected. In both the elections in 2004 and in 2009, coalition politics asserted itself as a dominant feature of Indian politics.

Before 2014 elections no national party was in a position to get clear majority on their own to form the government at the centre in this period of more than two decades. This became the basis of coalition politics in the country. The regional parties were crucial in the coalitions. The three coalition governments completed their full term which led the observers to comment that there is no alternative to coalition politics in India at present. The socio-economic diversity of the country, the growing assertions and democratic consciousness of the marginalized sections of the society, the growth of regional parties etc. are important factors behind the phenomena of coalition politics.

In 2014 elections both the coalitions NDA and UPA fought elections and NDA came to power under the leadership of Narendra Modi. But this time it was different from earlier coalitions as BJP as a party could win majority on its own. But it formed the government with its coalition partners in the NDA. There are questions whether this is the beginning of the end of the coalition era. But it is too early to take a view because the coalition politics is well entrenched in the political process in India with a strong social root.

REGIONAL PARTIES

The political parties in India are divided as national and regional parties on the basis of their geographical presence. The Election Commission recognizes a party as national or regional on the basis of fulfilment of either of these conditions. The conditions are, (1) if the party secures 3.33% of the votes or seats in elections to the legislative assemblies, (2) if it secures 4% of the votes or seats in Lok Sabha election of four states.

The National Parties have presence in most parts of the country and have a national outlook and focus on issues. They are also called All India Parties. Their ideology, programme, organization etc. reflect national considerations.

Regional parties are confined to a state or some states or region. They are created out of different reasons. The failure of national parties to accommodate regional interest, neglect of one region in terms of development or power sharing, defending or preserving regional and cultural identity of a region are some of the reasons for the creation of regional parties. Political, economic, social and cultural factors are responsible for the birth and growth of regional parties. The prominent role of any of these factors depends on the particular political situation. India is a diverse country with many languages, religions, ethnic communities. The national political parties face difficulties in accommodating the aspirations of all which create a sense of deprivation among many in reality or in perception. Again some parts of the country are highly developed and others are underdeveloped. This uneven development creates the basis for regionalism and regional political parties. The dominance of a particular group of elites in terms of region, caste etc also creates anger and frustration among others which is reflected in the regionalization of politics. The centralising tendencies of the Indian Federation mariginalises the states and becomes the logic of regional parties.

The major regional parties in the country are Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK), All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (AIDMK), Shiromani Akali Dal, National Conference, Telugu Desam Party (TDP), Biju Janata Dal (BJD), Assam Gana Parishad (AGP), Jharkhand Mukti Morcha (JMM), Shiv Sena, Trinmul Congress(TMC), Telengana Rastriya Samiti(TRS), etc. The regional parties vary in their social base, ideology and programmes. The historical contexts in which these parties exist and function, the socio-cultural and economic factors and the political situation   influence their political objective and strategy. But they always try to satisfy their core base.

Biju Janata Dal in Odisha was formed in December 26th 1997 after the death of legendary leader, freedom fighter and ex-chief minister of Odisha Biju Pattanik.The party is demanding for special category status for the state and fighting for the interests of the state. It has been in power since last four terms under the leadership of Sri Naveen Pattnaik. Odia identity, inclusive development of the state; more grants from the centre, special category status for the state, more rights for the states in the federal set-up, secularism, women empowerment are parts of its core political ideology. It declares to carry the legacy of the great leader Biju Pattanik and other historical figures of Odisha like Gopabandhu Das, Madhusudan Das, Parbati Giri, Maa Rama Devi, Malati Choudhury and many others.

The politics of coalition in last three decades in the country have brought regional parties into the centre stage of Indian politics. In the process both the national parties and regional parties have compromised their positions to find consensus to form governments. The regional parties have increased their bargaining strength. The growth in the size of the middle class and the growth of the political consciousness among the masses, particularly among the excluded groups, have put pressure on the political parties to address their concerns. The growing economic inequality created out of neo-liberal globalization is also affecting the political parties. Political parties have the responsibility of addressing the concerns of the masses, particularly of the marginalized and of articulating their voices. Otherwise they will not be able to get the support of the people in a sustained manner. Good governance, inclusive development, accountability are some of the challenges before the political parties today. The more the democratic participation and democratic conscious of the people, the more democratic will be the parties.

Democracies that follow a federal system all over the world tend to have two kinds of political parties: parties that are present in only one of the federal units and parties that are present in several or all units of the federation. This is the case in

India as well. There are some countrywide parties, which are called 'national parties'. These parties have their units in various states. But by and large all these units follow the same policies, programmes and strategy that is decided at the national level.

Every party in the country has to register with the Election Commission. While the Commission treats all parties equally, it offers some special facilities to large and established parties. These parties are given a unique symbol – only the official candidates of that party can use that election symbol. Parties that get this privilege and some other special facilities are 'recognised' by the Election Commission for this purpose. That is why these parties are called, 'recognised political parties'. The Election Commission has laid down detailed criteria of the proportion of votes and seats that a party must get in order to be a recognised party. A party that secures at least 6 per cent of the total votes in an election to the Legislative Assembly of a State and wins at least two seats is recognised as a State party. A party that secures at least six per cent of total votes in Lok Sabha elections or Assembly elections in four States and wins at least four seats in the Lok Sabha is recognized as a national party.

According to this classification, there were six national recognised parties in the country in 2006. Let us learn something about each of these parties.

Indian National Congress (INC) : Popularly known as the Congress Party, it is one of the oldest parties of the world. Founded in 1885 and has experienced many splits. It played a dominant role in Indian politics at the national and state level for several decades after India's Independence. Under the leadership of Jawaharlal Nehru, the party sought to build a modern secular democratic republic in India. Ruling party at the centre till 1977 and then from 1980 to 1989. After 1989, its support declined, but it continues to be present throughout the country, cutting across social divisions. A centrist party (neither rightist nor leftist) in its ideological orientation, the party espouses secularism and welfare of weaker sections and minorities. It supports new economic reforms but with a human face; Emerged as the largest party with 145 members in the Lok Sabha elections held in 2004. Currently it is in opposition.

Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP): Founded in 1980 by reviving the erstwhile Bharatiya Jana Sangh. It wants to build a strong and modern India by drawing inspiration from India's ancient culture and values. Cultural nationalism (or 'Hindutva') is an important element in its conception of Indian nationhood and politics. Wants full territorial and political integration of Jammu and Kashmir with India, a uniform civil code for all people living in the country irrespective of religion, and ban on religious conversions. Its support base increased substantially in the

1990s. Earlier limited to north and west and to urban areas, the party expanded its support in the south, east, the north-east and to rural areas. It came to power in 1998 as the leader of the National Democratic Alliance including several state and regional parties. Lost elections in 2004 and was the principal opposition party in the Lok Sabha. Presently, it is the ruling party at the centre as the leader of the National Democratic Alliance.

Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP) : Formed in 1984 under the leadership of Kanshi Ram. Seeks to represent and secure power for the bahujan samaj which includes the dalits, adivasis, OBCs and religious minorities. It draws inspiration from the ideas and teachings of Sahu Maharaj, Mahatma Phule, Periyar Ramaswami Naicker and Babasaheb Ambedkar; it stands for the cause of securing the interests and welfare of the dalits and oppressed people. It has its main base in the state of Uttar Pradesh and substantial presence in neighbouring states like Madhya Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Uttarakhand, Delhi and Punjab. It formed government in Uttar Pradesh several times by taking the support of different parties at different times. In the Lok Sabha elections held in 2004, it polled about 5 per cent votes and secured 19 seats in the Lok Sabha.

Communist Party of India - Marxist (CPI-M) : Founded in 1964. It believes in Marxism- Leninism; Supports socialism, secularism and democracy and opposes imperialism and communalism; Accepts democratic elections as a useful and helpful means for securing the objective of socioeconomic justice in India. Enjoys strong support in West Bengal, Kerala and Tripura, especially among the poor,

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POINTS TO REMEMBER

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⇨   The party system in India is a product of its socio-political-cultural background.

⇨   The Nature of Party System in India are

- It is a multiparty system
- There has been frequent growth of regional parties
- These parties are not properly organised
- Ideology gets a lip service only
- There are frequent political defections
- Parties are not democratically managed

⇨   What is more important is that there is no organised, effective, and strong opposition to check the party in power.

MODEL QUESTIONS

Section-A

Multiple Choice Questions :

1. Most visible function of Political Parties is :
    (a) Contesting elections   (b) Formulation of public opinion
    (c) Social reforms   (d) Policy-Making
2. Which of the following is not a National party ?
    (a) Congress   (b) BJP
    (c) BJD   (d) CPI (M)
3. Which Party is in power in west Bengal ?
    (a) CPI   (b) CPI (M)
    (c) Trinamool Congress   (d) BJP
4. Who is the party president of BJP ?
    (a) Gadkari   (b) Amit Shah
    (c) L. K. Advani   (d) Sushama Swaraj
5. During General Elections, the political parties issue :
    (a) Populist appeals   (b) Slogans
    (c) Advertisements   (d) Election Manifestos

Section-B

Write briefly :

1. What is a political party?
2. What is single party system?
3. What is Bi-party system?
4. What is Multi-party system?
5. Discuss the nature of party system?
6. What is a national party?
7. What is a regional party?
8. Name some countries having Bi-party system ?
9. What is coalition politics?

10. Name the national level political parties in India?

11. Name some of the popular regional political parties in India?

12. Write a note on the Indian National Congress.

13. Examine the ideology of Bharatiya Janata party.

Section-C

Long (Essay) Type :

1. Define political party. Discuss the main function of political parties.

2. Examine the role of political parties in a democracy.

3. Discuss the merits and demerits of the party system.

4. Examine the role of opposition party in a democracy.

5. Discuss the nature and general characters of the party system in India.

6. Did the prevalence of a 'one party dominant system' affect adversely the democratic nature of Indian politics?

Section-D

Miscellaneous :

1. **Match the following leaders listed in List 'A' with the parties in List 'B'.**

A	B
(a) Sitaram Yechuri	(i) Telugu Desam
(b) Amit Shah	(ii) Samajwadi Party
(c) Chandrababu Naidu	(iii) Bharatiya Janata Party
(d) Akhilesh Yadav	(iv) Communist Party of India (Marxist)

2. **Four statements regarding one-party dominance are given below. Mark each of them as true or false.**

(a) One-party dominance is rooted in the absence of strong alternative political parties.

(b) One-party dominance occurs because of weak public opinion.

(c) One-party dominance is linked to the nation's colonial past.

(d) One-party dominance reflects the absence of democratic ideals in a country.

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CHAPTER - 3

FEDERALISM IN INDIA

Federation is "a political contrivance intended to reconcile national unity and power with the maintenance of state rights".

- Dicey

❏ **Features**

❏ **Centre-State relation**

❏ **Recent Trends in Indian Federalism**

In this chapter

We shall try to know :

➥ *What is a Federal State?*

We will discuss :

➥ *What are the features federalism in India?*

➥ *What are the recent Trends in Indian Federalism?*

Modern States are classified into two broad categories, namely, **Federal** and **Unitary**. This classification is based on the theme of power distribution: between the Central and peripheral units; when there is distribution of power between the Central (national) Government and state Governments directly by a written Constitution, it is called a **Federal State;** when there is concentration of power in the national level and local governments get their power on the discretion of the national Government, it is known as **Unitary.**

Features of Federal State :

• Two tiers of government.

• Distribution of power between the two sets by a written and more often rigid Constitution.

• Independent Judiciary to interpret the Constitution and act as umpire in case of disputes between the Two sets of government.

• Bicameral Legislature of which one house protects the interest of the peripheral Governments.

The idea of Federalism as an organizing principle between different levels of a state is quite old. Greek city-states had it. Lichchavi Kingdom of Northern India in the 6th Century B.C. is a celebrated example of a **Republican system**. In the modern world, this continues to be the most popular system in larger states like U.S, Brazil, Mexico and India. Scholars have noted that there is a "federalist ferment" across the world but there is no single model for federalism. While Montesquieu talked about the "confederate republic constituted by sovereign city states"; Federalists like James Madison pleaded the case for a "compound republic" with an overarching central government that can override against narrow local interests. The architect of Indian constitution, Baba Saheb Ambedkar believed that for a culturally, ethically and linguistically diverse and heterogeneous country like India, federalism was the chief hallmark though with a strong unitary bias. This understanding which was shared by Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Patel and other national leaders stood at sharp variance with Gandhi's' idea of federalism who was a votary of decentralization and devolution of power to the lowest unit of Panchayat.

It is important to underline that Federalism in its true sense, can be successful only by broadening the base of democracy and deepening its roots. In case of India, a deep respect for diversity of languages, cultures, ethnicity and religion as hallmarks of its political and civilisational existence could nourish federalism and strengthen the nation. It is the only way India would take forward its great traditions of federalism which goes back to the time of Buddha.

The constitution of India describes India neither as a federation nor as a unitary state. Article 1 of our constitution says "India that is Bharat shall be a union of states". The constitution has both federal as well as unitary features. India as a union of States has two important facts (1) federalism in India is not a product of an agreement among its units and (2) the constituent units of Indian federation have no right to secede from the union. Thus India is a permanent and unbreakable union of states.

Dr. Ambedkar has rightly observed that the Indian constitution was federal despite the use of the word "union". The constitution provides for a dual polity: union at the centre and the states at periphery levels and a division of powers between these two.

The view that India is a federation is, however not accepted by some other scholars. K.C. Wheare describes India as a "quasi-federal" state. He observes that "Indian union is a unitary state with subsidiary federal features rather than a federal

state with subsidiary unitary features; some others say that Indian constitution lives with unitarian federalism. Thus, the fact is that the constitution has both the unitary and federal features.

FEDERAL FEATURES OF THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION

1.   **Dual Polity :**

India has dual polity practices. Each citizen is subject to two Governments such as (a) The Government of   the State, where he/she resides and (b) The Government of India. We participate in the elections of the both these Governments and also obey both Governments-central and provincial, and also obey both central laws and state laws: we also pay taxes to both the Governments.

2.   **Distribution of powers between the centre & the states :**

Indian constitution has divided powers between the Central Government and the State Governments. All the powers are divided into three parts such as (A) Union List (98 items) over which the union Government legislates and administers them in the whole of India (B) State List (66 items), over which each state Government legislates and administers them in its own territory and (c) Concurrent List (47 items), over which both the central Government and the state Governments can legislate. Residuary items are in the hands of the central Government.

3.   **A written and rigid constitution :**

India has a written and rigid constitution which categorically distributed the powers between the Central and state Governments. In part XI and XII (Articles 245 to 300) the constitution has clearly mentioned the legislative, executive and financial relations between the centre and the states. Both these Governments derive their powers from the constitution. Both exercise their power within the constitutional provisions. The constitution is supreme and none can disobey it. The Supreme Court has the power to protect and interpret it. Special procedures under Art. 368 have been laid down in the constitution for its amendment. In case of amendment of federal principles like centre-state relations it follows a rigid method such as a) the proposal for amendment shall be passed in each of the Houses of the Parliament by a majority of total membership and $2/3^{rd}$ majority of members present and voting. (b) the amendment bill so passed, then requires the concurrences of at least half of the state legislatures. This indeed it is very difficult and hence a rigid procedure.

4. **An Independent and Impartial Judiciary :**

The constitution provides for an independent and impartial Judicial system with the Supreme Court at the apex. The Supreme Court settles disputes arising (a) between the centre and state or states (b) between the states or among the states. It is the final interpreter of the constitution. The Supreme Court has the power to reject any law or any part of it either made by the central Government or any of the state Governments, if it is unconstitutional.

CENTRALISING TENDENCIES OF THE CONSTITUTION

The Constitution of India provides for a federal structure with strong unitary features. Hence, scholars like K.P. Mukherjee opine that "India is not a federation at all". Even K.C Wheare, while describing India as a Quasi-federal state, declares that it is not a federation with secondary unitary features but a unitary state with secondary federal features.

The following are the unitary features of the Indian constitution.

1. **A strong centre:**

The unitary character of the Indian constitution provides for a strong Central Government. For example-

(a) The union list (98) over which the Union Government has exclusive powers to make laws, contains most important and high earning subjects like Defence, Armed Forces, Foreign affairs, peace & war, International Trade, Railways, Post & Telegraph, Import & Export, Income Tax, Heavy industries,….. etc.

(b) The concurrent list, which contains 47 items, over which both union Government and state Governments have equal power to make laws. But virtually it is also in the hands of the union Government because of the rule that in case of conflict between a union law and a state law over an item of concurrent list, the union law gets precedence over the state law.

(c) The constitution of India under Art. 248 has vested the residuary powers with the union Government.

2. The power to reorganize the states or change the Boundaries:

The constitution under Article 3 has vested these powers to the union Government, even without the consent of the concerned states. In 1956, the union Parliament made changes in the boundaries of the state through States Reorganization Act. In place of Assam and NWFP seven states like Assam, Meghalaya, Nagaland, Arunachal Pradesh, Manipur, Tripura & Mizoram have been carved out. Goa is now a state, Delhi has almost statehood. The original state of Punjab and union Territory Himachal Pradesh, now known as three states like Punjab, Haryana & Himachal Pradesh. Chandigarh became a union territory. Similarly new states like Uttaranchal, Jharkhand and Chhattisgarh have been carved out of U.P, Bihar and Madhya Pradesh respectively. The same case is with Telengana, which was initially with A.P.

3. Limitations upon State Government over state subjects:

The constitution has given some powers to all the state Governments to legislate and administer on the subjects contained in the state list. But this matter also there are some limitations.

(a) The Governor has the right to reserve any bill for President's assent even though it is passed by the state legislature.

(b) If a request is made by two or more state legislatures, the Union Parliament can make a law on the state subject for the requesting states.

(c) During the period of emergency, the Parliament enjoys the power to legislate on the subjects contained in the state list.

(d) Under Article 249, the Rajya Sabha has a special power, with 2/3rd majority it can pass a resolution that a particular subject of state list has become a subject of national importance, and law making on the said subject by the union parliament is necessary.

(e) Under Art.253, the Union Parliament has the power to make any law to meet the obligations of International Treaty.

4. Emergency provisions:

Part XVIII, which deals with emergency provisions also reflects the unitarian spirit of the system. In the event of an external aggression or war or due to an internal armed rebellion, the president can declare National Emergency under Article 352. Under such a situation the constitution of India becomes a unitary constitution because

the union Government gets the power to make any law, which it deems fit. During those times the states are bound to follow the union directives. Under Article 356, the President on his own or upon the recommendation of the Governor of a state can declare Emergency due to breakdown of constitutional machinery in the state. In this type of emergency, the administration of the concerned state directly comes under the President and on his behalf the Governor becomes the real executive head. The Union Parliament gets power to make laws on the subjects of the state list. Similarly, under Article 360, the President has the power to declare Financial Emergency and can issue any instruction to the states, which they are bound to obey.

5. Inter- state Rivers or River- valley disputes:

The union parliament has the power to resolve any dispute arising out of inter-state Rivers or River- Valley with respect to use of water, under Article 262, neither the Supreme Court nor any other court can interfere in this matter.

6. Single Constitution:

There is a single unified common constitution for the Union as well as for the states. Except Jammu & Kashmir the rest the states have no separate constitution.

7. Single Citizenship:

The constitution of India provides for a single uniform citizenship to all the citizens irrespective of their caste, creed, colour, sex & place of birth.

8. Single Integrated Judicial System:

Our constitution provides for a single integrated judicial system both for the union and the states. It is a single hierarchical system with the Supreme Court at the top, the High Courts at the middle and the subordinate courts at the local or lower level. The states do not have their own judicial systems.

9. Common Election Commission:

There is a single common Election commission for conducting elections to the union parliament and state legislative bodies. The president with the advice of the prime minister appoints the Chief Election Commissioner who conducts all elections. The parliament has the right to legislate on matters of elections. The state can pass laws for organizing elections but they can not violate the laws made by the union.

10. All India Services:

Another centralising feature of the constitution is common all India services like IAS and IPS. The personnel belonging to these categories occupy key administrative posts both in the state administration and Union administration. They are recruited by the Union Public Service Commission and trained by the Union Home Ministry but serve in the states and union territories.

11. One Comptroller and Auditor General:

The president appoints the Comptroller and Auditor General, who verifies and checks the accounts of the Union and the States' Government. He formulates the rules for maintaining the accounts and records.

12. Appointment of Governors to the States:

Governor is the head of the state administration and he or she is appointed by the President of India. He holds office during the pleasure of the President. That means Governor is a representative of the Union in the state. He has the power to initiate action under Article 356. He can reserve some Bills for the approval of the president. At times the centre may use him as its agent for dismissing a duly elected Government of a state.

13. Financial control over the States:

The constitution of India has clearly mentioned about the financial relations between the Union Government and the state Governments. There is a detailed allocation of taxes to the Union and the states. But the Union always enjoys a bigger share in revenue. Hence, the states always remain dependent on central grants-in-aid. Thus, the centre uses this power to control and influence the states' policies. The distribution of tax revenues is done on the recommendations of Finance Commission, which is appointed by the President every five years. It lays down the principles for distribution of central grants-in-aid to the states.

14. Under Article 256 :

Each state has been assigned the duty to exercise its executive authority in compliance with Union laws. For this purpose the Union can give necessary directions to the states. Similarly Article 257 says that the executive power of every state shall be so exercised as not to impede or prejudice the exercise of the executive power of the Union. For this the Union Government can issue necessary directions to the states.

Thus, all these above features say about the unitary spirit of the Indian "Union Of States". These Unitarian features compelled Wheare to describe India as a Quasi-federal state. D.D. Basu says "the constitution of India is neither purely federal nor unitary but it is a combination of both".

LEGISLATIVE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE CENTRE AND STATES

Part XI of the Indian Constitution enumerates the legislative relations between the centre and the states. There is a division of legislative powers between these two. India followed The Canadian Model that divides various subjects Into Three Lists, like Union List, State List And Concurrent List. The residuary powers are vested with the Centre.

Divisions of Powers :

1. Union List: 98 subjects (revised 100*) : The union list consists of 98 subjects of national importance on which the union parliament can make laws. For example the main subjects are Defence, Foreign affairs, currency, Atomic energy, war and peace, National resources, Railways, post and Telegraphs, Navigation and shipping, foreign Trade, Census, Election, Institution for Higher Education…. Etc.

2. State lists: 66 subjects (revised 61*) : The state list contains 66 subjects which are of local importance. The state legislatures can make laws on these subjects which operate within the territory of the concerned state. This list contains subjects like public order, police, prisons, state courts fees, local Government, public health and sanitation, hospitals and dispensaries, pilgrimages, irrigation, fisheries, road tax and goods tax…etc.

3. Concurrent list: 47 subjects (revised 52*) : Both the Union Parliament and state legislatures have equal power to legislate over subjects of concurrent list (List-III). The main subjects are criminal law, criminal procedures, preventive detention, marriage and divorce, transfer of property other than agricultural land, contempt of court, forest, protection of wild animals and birds, population control, education , labour welfare ….etc. The actual strength of this list is 52 after the inclusion of 11A, 17A, 17B, 20A & 33A by the 42nd constitutional Amendment Act.

N.B.: * marked the number of items in the Union List, State List and Concurrent List have been revised from time to time through constitutional amendments. The data given are from Wikipedia as on May, 2017.

4. Residuary Powers : Under Article 248 the constitution has vested residuary powers with the union. The parliament has exclusive powers to make laws on residuary items, which are not mentioned in wither of these lists.

Thus, the distribution of powers between the Union and each state in legislative matters, along with a joint area of concurrent legislation no doubt speaks about a federal state but in reality the Union has superior position in legislative relations.

The Union list that contains 98 subjects of national and paramount importance, where the Union Parliament is solely empowered to make laws on the subject mentioned in the concurrent list, both the union parliament and the state legislature can enact laws. But in case of any conflict between a union law and a state law over a particular concurrent subject, the union law prevails. Article 248 provides exclusive jurisdiction to the Union Parliament in matters of residuary powers.

Every state legislature has the power to legislate over subjects of state list. But here also exists some exceptions under Article 249, the Rajya Sabha by passing a resolution supported by 2/3 majority of members present and voting can declare a state subject as a subject of national importance and then the Union Parliament can make a law over such a subject for one year. The Rajya Sabha can repeatedly pass such resolutions. Similarly, during the time of National Emergency under Article 352, the Parliament gets power to make laws over the subjects of the state list. These laws remain operative for six months after the end of such emergency. Under Article 356, when the President declares constitutional emergency in a state, the concerned state legislature gets either dissolved/suspended. In such a situation the Union Parliament gets power to legislate over state subjects. There are certain types of state bills, which require President's consent before they are introduced in the state legislature.

Such other type of state bills relating to jurisdiction and position of High Court, taking over of the management of any property in public interest, amalgamation of two or more corporations for better management, levying of the taxes or water and electricity stored and generated from inter- state river…etc are to be reserved by the Governor for presidential assent. Similarly, if two or more state legislatures with a resolution request the Union Parliament to make law over a particular subject/ subjects in the State List, then also the Parliament can make laws on the subjects for the states which make the request. Under Article 253 of the constitution, the parliament has the power to make any law for the whole or any part of the territory of India for implementing any international treaty or agreement.

Further, it is clear from the Constitution that the states can have their unicameral or bicameral legislatures. But in actual practice, it is the Parliament which can establish or abolish the Upper House (Legislative Council) of a state legislature. Similarly the Parliament also enjoys the power to change the boundaries of the states. In case of union legislation, it is the Parliament which passes laws in respect of all subjects.

Article 251 of the constitution makes it very clear that in case of the any conflict between the union law and the state law, the former shall prevail over the latter. Thus one can conclude that in matters of legislative relations between the Centre and the states the Union enjoys a superior position.

ADMINISTRATIVE RELATIONS

In the field of Administrative Relations also the Constitution provides superior position to the Union. Each and every state has its own Government and administration and the states exercise their powers in respect of the subjects mentioned in the state list. No doubt the Union Parliament enjoys exclusive powers in the administrative jurisdiction under Union List it also exercises superior position than the states in respect of concurrent subjects.

The administrative relations between the centre and the states are clearly mentioned in the part of XI, Chapter-II of our constitution. A deep study of this chapter clearly speaks about the superior position of the union than the states in respect of administrative relations.

1. Appointment of Governors :

The head of the state is the Governor, who is appointed by the President of India. Even though there is a provision that while appointing the Governors to the states the President consults the Chief Minister of the state but it is not binding upon him. The Governors act as the heads of the states as well as agents of the Centre in the states. During time of emergency due to breakdown of constitutional machinery, he becomes the real head of the state.

2. Obligations of the states and control of the Union :

Under Article 256 the executive power of every state shall be so exercised in such a manner as to ensure compliance with the laws of the Union. According to Article 257 the executive power of every state shall be exercised in such a manner as shall not impede or prejudice the executive power of the Union. The Union can give

such directions to the states as deemed fit from time to time. The Union Government has the power to give directions to the states in matters of national and military importance.

3.   **State can entrust some Functions to the Union:**

With the consent of the state Government, the President can entrust any executive power of the state either conditionally or unconditionally to the Union Government or its officers.

4.   **Adjudication of inter-state River disputes:**

Under Article 262 the union Government can provide for any adjudication to solve the inter-state River disputes over the use and distribution of water.

5.   **Protection of Union property in the state:**

It is the responsibility of every state Government to protect the Union property located in their respective territories. The union can deploy central reserve police or paramilitary forces in any state.

6.   **All India Services:**

The IAS and IPS officers are recruited by the UPSC but assigned to the states. They are controlled by the Union Home Ministry but they hold all important higher administrative posts in the states.

7.   **Union's power to create or abolish All India Services:**

Under Article 312 the Rajya Sabha is empowered to create or abolish all India services. The Rajya Sabha can do this by passing a resolution supported by 2/3rd majority of its members present and voting.

8.   **President's Rule or break down of Constitutional machinery in a state (Art 356)**

The President either of his own or on the recommendation of the Governor of a state can declare President's Rule in a state under Art 356. In such a situation administration comes under the control of the President and the Governor as the agent of the centre becomes the real executive head of the state. Article 356 says that "where any state fails to comply with or to give effect to any direction given by the Union in the exercise of executive power, it shall be duty of the President to

declare President's Rule in that state on the ground of constitutional breakdown. This provision can be used by the Union Government against any non-cooperating state.

9.   Protection of States by the Union:

According to Article 355, "it is the duty of the union to protect every state from external aggression and internal disturbances and to ensure that every state Government is functioning in accordance with constitutional provisions. During the proclamation of National Emergency under Article 352, the executive power of the Union is generally extended to all the states and the Union gives direction to the states.

10.   Power to appoint Inquiry commissions against Chief Ministers:

Another most important power that enables the union Government to exercise its administrative control over the states is appointment of inquiry commissions against chief minister's of states for investigating his alleged acts of corruption.

Thus, it is clear that he constitution has established the superior position of the Union Government in the sphere of administrative relations between the centre and the states. The Unitarian spirit of the constitution is quite evident.

FINANCIAL RELATIONS BETWEEN THE CENTRE AND THE STATES

Part XII, chapter-I of the Indian Constitution deals with financial relations between the centre and the states. Mainly it speaks about the distribution of revenue.

1.   Taxes and Duties levied by the Centre:

There are certain items of revenue, which are exclusively assigned to the Union Government by the constitution. For example, customs and export duties, income tax, excise duties and taxes covered in any item enlisted in Union List.

2.   Taxes and Duties levied and used by the states:

There are some other items of revenue which come under the exclusive jurisdiction of the states. These are: land revenue, stamp duty which is not in the union list, succession duty and estate duty in respect of agricultural land.

3.   Taxes levied by the centre but collected and used by the states:

In some items the union Government levies the taxes but they are collected and appropriated by the state Governments. For example-

(a)   Stamp duties on bills of exchange, cheques, promissory notes, bills of lending, letters of credit, policies of insurance, transfer of share…etc.

(b)   Excise duties on medical and toilet preparations where alcohol, opium… etc is used.

4.   Taxes levied and collected by the Union but given to the states :

Some other items are there where taxes are both levied and collected by the union Government but they are allocated exclusively to the states from where these are collected. For example, taxes on Railway freights and fares, terminal taxes, goods or passengers carried by rail, sea or air, estate duty in respect of property except agricultural land.

5.   Taxes levied and collected by the Union and distributed between the Union and the states :

There are certain items, on which taxes are levied and collected by the union Government shared with the states on a prescribed rule. For example, tax on income other than agricultural income, excise duties on items other than medical and toilet preparations.

6.   Central Grants-in-aid to the states:

The states cannot meet their requirements with the available revenue. Therefore, the constitution has provided the system of Grants-in-aid to the needy states. This amount is determined by the Parliament. Apart from this, the states can also make request for borrowing for their specific projects. For the welfare of the schedule castes, schedule tribes and other back ward people the constitution has specific provisions. The states like Assam, Bihar, Odisha and West Bengal get grants-in-aid in lieu of export duty on jute and jute products.

7.   Centre's power to borrow and raise Loans:

The union Government has the power to borrow money on the security of the consolidated fund of India, subject to the limitations fixes by the Parliament from time to time. A state can borrow finances within India. State cannot raise foreign loans without the consent of the Union Government.

8.   Control over States by the Comptroller and Auditor General:

The comptroller and Auditor General, who is appointed by the President of India is responsible for the maintenance and audit of the accounts of the Union and the states. The manner in which the accounts are to be maintained by the states is

determined by him. The states are bound to follow his orders and directions in matter relating to accounts and get those audited.

9. Finance Commission:

Under Article 280 of the constitution, the president is empowered to appoint a Finance commission every Five years. The finance commission makes recommendations for the distribution of income from the taxes between the centre and the states. It also decides the manner of giving grants-in-aid and financial assistance to the state.

10. Financial Emergency (Art.360) :

During the proclamation of financial emergency under Article 360, the president can suspend the provisions relating to the divisions of revenue between the Union and the states and the grants-in-aid to the states. The states are restricted to the available revenues under the state list.

Thus, it is quite evident that in matters of Financial Relations between the centre and the states, the union Government plays a dominant and superior role, which proves the Unitarian spirit of the constitution.

RECENT TRENDS IN INDIAN FEDERALISM

There is no denying the fact that the parliamentary federal system that India adopted was suitable for Indian needs. Granville Austin argued "The Constituent Assembly, in fact produced a new kind of federalism to meet India's peculiar needs". But "India's peculiar needs" have compounded manifolds thus posing a formidable challenge of enlisting the desired co-operation from all three, the Centre, the States and the local-self government units. Hence, it is necessary to bring to light some thematic issues in the working of co-operative federalism in India.

Historically, the adoption of the concept of federalism was more of a necessity than choice. The prevalence of fissiparous tendencies, religious communal frenzy, and partition of the country called for a centralized federal union. The practical problem of governing culturally and regionally diverse India knocked on the doors of British administration quite early thus resulting in Montague-Chelmsford Report on constitutional Reforms (1918) which stated "our conception of the centralized future of India is a sisterhood of states, self- governing in all matters of purely local or provincial interest. " Based on this report, Government of India, 1919, delegated some powers and authority to the provinces. Provinces received explicit control over

sources of revenue such as land, health, agriculture, irrigation and public works. Though this act succeeded in providing a certain amount of autonomy to the provincial authorities, but the Government of India remained a unitary Government. The Simon Commission Report (1929) also proposed schemes for devolution of financial powers and sharing of Income tax with the provinces. Finally, the Government of India Act, 1935 prescribed a federal type union of autonomous provinces wherein, the Governor-General got the powers to overrule the provincial Government. The act provided for separate legislative, financial and judicial jurisdiction for centre and the provinces but in the process, also diminished the sovereign stature, much desired by the princes, of provincial legislature. Again Cabinet Mission Plan of 1946, certain proposals for loose asymmetrical federation was mooted. All these proposal of loose federation were almost a dead letter for the newly emergent Indian nationalist elite who were in favour of centralized federal union. This resulted in the adoption of a heavily centralized system of parliamentary federalism bearing the twofold impact of British colonial rule and nationalist interventions.

The framers of the Constitution provided for the federal form of government under Article 246 and VII schedule of the Constitution but they deliberately refrained from using the term Federation, as in their considered view, it might impede the objective of "unity and integrity of the nation". The form that the constitution presents is beyond doubt, federation- though unique one in contemporary comparative politics." In a linguistically, ethnically, culturally diverse country like India, only federalism could have provided for reconciliation of this internal diversity. Co-operation and accommodation only can provide the stopover at the crossroads of aggression between antagonistic (regional, religious, linguistic and ethnic) groups. But the multiplicity in the post- independence diversities presents a bumpy terrain.

COOPERATIVE FEDERALISM

We are discussing a case of "cooperative federalism" in a country where there was never an agreement between the centre and the states regarding the creation of the Union. The states are not a part of the pact but rather a creation of the constitution which was designed by the Constituent Assembly favouring a centralized polity. No equality has been designed as far as states' rights vis-à-vis the centre are concerned and even the representation of the states in the upper House, Rajya Sabha, is unequal; the "federal" parts of this union are not even entitled to decide about their names, territory, boundary or area; in matters enumerated in concurrent list Union Law prevails when it is in conflict with the State Law, the union Government can trench

upon the state list in national interest (Art.249) and the residuary powers of legislation are vested in the union Government (Art. 248), similar other centralizing provisions weigh heavy on the spirit of cooperative federalism in India.

Until the late 1980's, the parliamentary centralism was ushered inby the one-party dominant system. The 1989 parliamentary elections were a watershed in bringing about greater federalization of the political system. One of the important reasons for this development was the shift from one party dominant system to a multi-party system and the prominent rise of regional political parties. The party system is a major intervening variable thorough which the plural and federal diversities of Indian society have caused the present phase federalization in the working of the political system. As a result of this development, the coalition government at the centre became a norm for more than two decades (1989- 2014).

Issues of revenue sharing between the union and the states have always been important and debatable. If we look at the distribution of net proceeds of taxes between the Centre and the states, provided for by the constitution, there appears an upright imbalance in (1) the powers of taxation apportioned between the Union and the states and (2) the implementation responsibilities assigned to the states. For example, under Article 282 of the constitution, the centre gives plan grants to the states equal to the sum that the state has raised through its own resources. This means that the already unequal geographical divisions of the country in terms of resources, land and development initiatives can be further accentuated under the provisions of Article 282. The present Government has replaced the Planning Commission with National Institute for Transforming India (NITI) Aayog. The governing council if NITI Aayog is composed of all the Chief Ministers and Lt. Governors of the Union Territories.

Given the continuance of regional inequality, possibilities of opposing parties coming to power in few states, pressures of globalization professing more fiscal decentralization and the seemingly visualized policy making role of NITI Aayog-

(a) Will it be possible for the Union Government to allow a considerable degree of desired financial autonomy not only to the states but also to the third tier of government?

(b) Will the new NITI Aayog be provided with the required and along desired effective decentralized inter-governmental mechanisms, instead of the pre-existing centralized planning structures, with enough powers to act on the lone disputed verbal rhetoric of cooperative federalism?

The reluctantly designed asymmetrical federalism is already a problem for governance. Article 370, of the constitution gives asymmetrical status to the state of Jammu and Kashmir- its own constitution, a title equivalent to prime minister for its chief minister and a distinct assignment of functional responsibilities. The Article 370 in the constitution goes with the heading "Temporary provisions with respect to the state of Jammu and Kashmir and poignantly, these temporary provisions continue till today. Special provisions have been assured to the regional tribal majorities in Nagaland and Mizoram under Article 371 A and 371 G, yet in most of these areas there is feeling of injustice and betrayal. Their dissatisfaction at the unilateral decision to take away the option of withdrawal from the Union is reflective of their sense of alienation. The insensitive response of the central Government towards the demand of subsidies and investments in infrastructure facilities and other financial assistance further accentuates the distance. The centralized and unresponsive bureaucratic apparatus is often alleged for "step-motherly" treatment towards North-Eastern States.

The sixth schedule, which covers the states of Assam, Meghalaya, Tripura, Mizoram, knits another problem of asymmetrical federalism by providing for council for self-government in autonomous districts. The tribes located in these states and the states themselves are in triangular strife-

(a)   Limited powers to administer the tribes, inadequate finances, and Governor's omnipresent intervention.

(b)   Centralizing political interventions largely under the garb of the security and

(c)   The strategically sensitive location of these states on the Indian borders with China, Bangladesh, Bhutan and Myanmar.

Other than the asymmetrical texture of Indian federalism, we are also witnessing problems of multi-level federalism in India. Other than the centre and the states, the third tier comprising of panchayats and municipalities is also functional. This tier comprises of 592 districts panchayats, 6,321 block panchayats and 2, 53,189 village panchayats, which taken together, elect more than 3 million representatives every five years. Through the 73rd & 74th Constitutional Amendment Act the centre has also ensured opportunity for women and dalits to participate in local governance.

This third tier has not constituted reorganisation but the debate on distribution of responsibilities and resources is still on. Their position in the federal structure is still ambiguous. They still are treated as merely an implementing agency of the Union,

and of the states. With the increase in the number of states in the Indian union, the third tier will also widen its presence and we have to face so many challenges. If the panchayats and the local governing agencies are to be allowed to function as real units of local self-governance, then they should be apportioned separate competence areas, functions and corresponding accessibility to resources.

The phase of coalition governments at the centre (1989-2014) was important from the point of view of power sharing between federal units and also for the federalization of India's parliamentary system. Coalition government provides ample scope for improving inters governmental relations between the prime minister and the chief ministers at the policy making and policy implementation levels. But the mathematical compulsion of coalition Governments shifted the balance of power to the hands of the states or regional parties thus cementing the ambience of federalism and at the same time reduced the powers of Prime Minister in relation to the coalition partners to miniscule. But, the general elections of 2014, by bringing a single party in power at the centre, have once again changed the progression of coalition Governments at the centre.

In past Indian experience has shown that the centralizing predispositions by the union government had always enfeebled the federal structure. The promises of present Government of endorsing and committing itself to cooperative federalism on the one hand and the overriding personality of the present prime minister heading a majority government on the other hand is making political observers anxious and apprehensive.

The principle of practicing federalism might be about distribution of powers between centre and the state but the spirit and essence of federalism is about the decentralizing tendencies of the operating political system. The national transfer of powers to the state governments and continuance of a disciplined hierarchical political party at the centre and the states will be an obstacle to the very principle of federalism. The structural acceptance of federalism has been somewhat achieved but the progression towards reconciling internal diversities- regional, fiscal and administrative -within the federal framework has been obscure. What is required is the resilience to adopt and to accommodate structurally and politically, the countless pressures of regional forces and centralizing endeavours of national political parties. In order to adopt the cooperative model of Indian federalism, we have to reorient our operational discernment of federalism so that the present "predominantly centralized federal polity" becomes malleable.

GLOSSARY

Ferment: agitation; excitement

Union: The Centre or the Central Government

Thematic: a body of topics for study or discussion

Malleable: easily influenced; pliable

Resilience: the capacity to recover quickly from difficulties; toughness.

Predisposition: a liability or tendency to suffer from a particular condition, hold a particular attitude, or act in a particular way.

Tier: a level or grade within the hierarchy of an organization or system.

Federal: having or relating to a system of government in which several states form a unity but remain autonomous in internal affairs.

Unitary: forming a single or uniform entity.

Jurisdiction: The area over which someone has legal authority. The area may be defined in terms of geographical boundaries or in terms of certain kinds of subjects

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MODEL QUESTIONS

Section-A

Multiple Choice Questions :

1. In a federation the powers are divided between.
    (a) Legislature and Executive   (b) Executive and Judiciary
    (c) One central and state   (d) Local and state government
         governments

2. How many subjects are found in union list?
    (a) 61   (b) 100
    (c) 52   (d) 96

3. How many subjects are found in state list?
    (a) 61   (b) 52
    (c) 100   (d) 96

4. Who can introduce new All India Services?
    (a) Legislative Assembly   (b) Parliament
    (c) Rajya Sabha   (d) Lok Sabha

5. Who can change the boundary of a state?
    (a) Lok Sabha   (b) Parliament
    (c) Rajya Sabha   (d) Judiciary

6. Who has been given Residuary Powers?
    (a) Central government   (b) State government
    (c) Union territory   (d) Supreme court

7. The centre can declare Financial Emergency under:
    (a) Art 352   (b) Art 356
    (c) Art 360   (d) Art 365

Section-B

Write briefly :

1. What is a Federal State?
2. What is Residuary Powers and which Government can exercise those powers?
3. Who can create new All India Services and how?
4. What kind of Judicial System is prevalent in India?
5. Who has the power to solve Inter- state Rivers or River- valley disputes and how?
6. What happens when Emergency under Article-360 is declared?

Write notes on :

1) Features of a Federation
2) Cooperative Federalism
3) Limitations upon State Government over state subjects
4) The power to reorganize the states or change the Boundaries
5) Centralising tendencies of the Constitution
6) Emergency under Article-356

Section-C

Long (Essay) Type :

1. Write an essay on Legislative Relations between Centre and States?
2. Critically analyse the Administrative Relations between Centre and States.
3. What are the centralising features of Indian Federation?
4. India is a quasi-federal state - Comment.
5. Discuss the recent trends in Indian federalism.
6. Explain the importance of Cooperative Federalism in the Indian context.
7. Federal features of the Indian constitution

Section-D

Miscellaneous :

1. The distinguishing feature of a federal government is:
   (a) National government gives some powers to the provincial government.
   (b) Power is distributed among the legislature, executive and judiciary.
   (c) Elected officials exercise supreme power in the government.
   (d) Governmental power is divided between different levels of government.
2. A few subjects in various Lists of the Indian Constitution are given here. Group them under the Union, State and Concurrent Lists as provided in the table below :-

A. Defense; B. Police; C. Agriculture; D. Education; E. Banking; F. Forests; G. Communications; H. Trade; I . Marriages

Union List	State List	Concurrent List

3. Examine the following pairs that give the level of government in India and the powers of the government at that level to make laws on the subjects mentioned against each. Which of the following pairs is not correctly matched?
   (a) State government- State List
   (b) Central government -Union List
   (c) Central and State governments -Concurrent List
   (d) Local governments- Residuary powers

4. Match List I with List II and select the correct answer using the codes given below the lists:

List I	List II
1. Union of India	A. Prime Minister
2. State	B. Sarpanch
3. Municipal Corporation	C. Governor
4. Gram Panchayat	D. Mayor

(a) D A B C, (b) B C D A, (c) A C D B, (d) C D A B

5. Consider the following three statements:
   A. In a federation the powers of the Federal and Provincial Governments are clearly demarcated.
   B. India is a federation because the powers of the Union and State Governments are specified in the Constitution and they have exclusive jurisdiction on their respective subjects.
   C. India is no longer a federation because some powers of the States have been devolved to the local government bodies.
   Which of the statements given above are correct?
   (a) A and B, (b) A and C, (c) B and C

❑ ❑ ❑

CHAPTER - 4

LOCAL GOVERNANCE IN INDIA

The local assemblies of citizens constitute the strength of free nations. Town meetings are to liberty what primary schools are to science; they bring it within the people's reach: they teach men how to use and how to enjoy it. A nation may establish a system of free government, but without the spirit of municipal institutions, it cannot have the spirit of liberty.

- De Tocqueville

❏ **Meaning**
❏ **Rural & Urban Local Bodies-Composition & Functions in India**

In this chapter

We shall try to know **:**

➡ *What is Local governance?*

➡ *What are the Local self-governing bodies in Rural Areas?*

➡ *What are the Local self-governing bodies in Urban Areas?*

The success of a democratic system mainly depends upon widespread and systematic democratic decentralization of power. Sovereignty of the people demands decentralization of power to the Grass root levels. This means the efficient function of the local governments at the grass root levels. It is also popularly known as local-self Government. In this system people directly and actively involve themselves in the administrations of local affairs to fulfill their local needs with the help of the local resources. It is s system of democratic decentralization of powers, functions, and authority to the people of local areas.

Local Government is a very good means for providing political education and training to the people. This helps them to become well-functioning and active participants in the democratic system. Through their participation in the administration of local Government, they get psychological and socially involved in the process of politics and development. Their success at the local level contributes towards the achievement of the goal of nation-building. Local Government provides good opportunity to the people for receiving self-education and training. Hence, all the political scientists accept and advocate the local government as the training school of democracy.

Democracy is the system of self-rule of the people and local government is the real system of self-rule of the local people in their local areas. "A local government is a lawfully elected organization of local people for meeting local needs with the help of local resources and by the active involvement of process". It is a means for resourcing democratic decentralization in the political system.

The constitutional makers of India were fully aware of the fundamental necessity of organizing a system of local government at the grass root level. They, therefore, unanimously decided to provide for a comprehensive system of local- self-Government in India. The constitution of India gives a directive to the state to establish, maintain and operationalise a system of local government and the Indian states have been maintaining a well-organized system of local Government in both urban and Rural areas.

Democratic Decentralization in India :

In India, the democratic structure functions at three levels. At the apex level there is central or national government, at the middle there are state or provincial government, at the bottom level there are local self-government. The grass root democracy or local self government meant for rural areas in known as Panchayati Raj system and the other one which is meant for urban areas is known as urban local body. Both of them have three-tier governance levels. Both have been constituted on hierarchical lines.

The Panchayati Raj system at the village level is known as Gram Panchayat, at Block level it is called Panchayat Samiti and at the District level it is known as Zilla Parishad. Likewise the urban local body has three-tier system as at the lowest level there are Notified Area Councils (NAC), at the middle level there are Municipalities and the top level there are Corporations. Every state in India is not supposed to follow uniform pattern in case of local self government's structure and functions. Generally smaller units of Governments are efficient and they invite intensive involvement of the people and more responsible to the people, people and local governments interact directly. People directly watch and supervise their representatives. Hence, it is said" self government is the best guarantee for the success of democracy". As a welfare state, in India democratic decentralizations is very important to bring about desired socio-economic changes at the bottom level.

Features :

    (i)   There are three-tier structures of local-self Government.

    (ii)   All these three-tiers are organically related to each other.

    (iii)   Local self governments are hierarchical organizations.

    (iv)   Rural areas are governed by Panchayati Raj institutions where as urban areas are governed by urban local bodies.

    (v)   People participate openly and extensively in local self governance.

    (vi)   Local self governments act as direct democracy.

    (vii) Local self governments thrive on transfer of power and responsibility by the central and state government.

   (viii) They get resources from the central and state governments to discharge their duties and responsibilities.

    (ix)   Most of the programs of socio-economic development at the local level are implemented and channelized through these institutions.

    (x)   Local self governments are state governments are supervised and controlled by central and state governments.

    (xi)   Local self governments and more transfer and distribution of power responsibilities to perform their functions effectively.

Advantages :

    (i)   By solving local problems at their level, local self government strengthen democracy.

    (ii)   Each area has specific needs and faces unique problems which are well-met by local-self-Governments.

    (iii)   The local self government lessens the burden of both the central and state governments in respect to administration of the country.

    (iv)   Social-economic development of the people can be well addressed if people will participate in development plans and programs.

    (v)   Local self government institutions encourage emergence of local leadership.

(vi)   They serve as the Training ground of citizenship and future leaders.

(vii)   They help in experimenting new things. If this is fruitful then it is replicated at higher levels.

(viii) Political awareness of people is increased through participation in local self government.

(ix)   Local self government takes quick decisions and effective actions are also taken.

(x)   They preach ideas of partnership and responsibility.

Disadvantages :

(i)   Local self government creates narrow centric attitudes which undermine national perspective.

(ii)   These are the breeding grounds for prejudices and favoritism.

(iii)   Leaders trained in local self governments find themselves incapable in handling national or state issues.

(iv)   Caste, community and gender like elements are adored more in case of local self-governments.

(v)   Local self governments create problems for social harmony.

(vi)   These institutions become hunting ground of state and national level leaders for political mileage.

(vii)   In the name of grass root democracy, these are dumping ground of ills of democracy like inefficiency, corruption and red tape.

(viii) Money and muscle power rules in elections to local self governments.

(ix)   These are the rehabilitation centres for the supporters and relatives of shrewd politicians.

(x)   These are lacking adequate resources and powers to implement people to implement people centric programs.

Rural Local Government in India :

Rural local government in India is popularly known as Panchayati Raj. It has been in operation since the early years of Independence. It is believed that the local

self government system was first introduced in our country by king Prithu. In the manuscript and in shantiprava of the Mahabharata descriptions of such bodies are found. In the books like Valmiki's Ramayana, Sukracharya's Nitisara and Kautalya's Arthasatra references to Ganapada or village common wealth and rural communities are seen. From the Vedic periods it is understood that the village was the basic unit of administration. Meghasthanese also mentioned about the existence of local administrations during Mouryan Empire. The Mughal rule introduced local administration in towns and cities.

During British Rule in India, it was Lord Ripon who organized Municipal administration in the year 1882. Looking into the growing demand by the Indians for their participation in the administration, the British Government constituted Royal Commission on decentralization. In its report in the year 1909, the commission recommended for establishing autonomous self government institutions. Mahatma Gandhi had a strong faith on democratic decentralization. He emphasized that village would be the basic unit of the administration. The Indian National Congress in its 1909-10 sessions adopted the resolutions for the revival of the traditional Panchayati Raj system. After independence, Indians got the real opportunity for materialization the dream of local self government. Many state governments undertook steps to organize village Panchayats as the unit of the rural self government and transferred many powers and responsibilities to them. Rajasthan was the first state which introduced Panchayati raj system in the year 1959. This idea was also incorporated in our constitution which finds place in Directive principles of state policy. With the introduction of five-year plans in 1951, this idea gained concrete shape in the form of community development projects. In 1954, a high power committee constituted by congress party recommended for the establishment of Panchayati raj. The second five year plan in 1956 further tried to strengthen the initiative and national extension services blocks programs through the constitutions of Block Development Committee was introduced throughout the country.

The Government of India appointed Balbantrai Mehta Committee in 1956 to study the problems and suggest ways for implementing the schemes of Panchayat raj on some uniform lines throughout the country. In the year 1958, the National Development council endorsed the recommendations of the committee with a little variation. Establishing uniformity on the function and structure of Panchayat raj system throughout the country was discarded. Thereafter Panchayati raj system got into the monolithic top to bottom system of administration of our country. The new system of administration depends on bottom to top approach. Due to deficient in

funds and authority, the Panchayats in most of the states were largely motionless until the late 1970's. However, efforts were then initiated to bolster the Panchayats. West Bengal led the way by transferring substantial funds and authority over rural development projects funds and authority over rural development projects to the Panchayats. It provided for holding elections for Panchayats representatives at all three levels in which political parties were allowed to field candidates for the first time. In the mid-1980's, the state of Karnataka also made important efforts to revive the Panchayats.

In 1989 Rajeev Gandhi's government took two major initiatives intended to improve the Panchayats role in local government and economic development. It initiated the Jawaharlal Employment plan (Jawahar Rozgar Yojana) which provided funding directly to village councils to create jobs for the unemployed thorough public works projects. Rajeev Gandhi's government also proposed the sixty-fourth amendment bill to make it mandatory for all states to establish a three-tiered (village, block and district) system of Panchayats in which representatives would be directly elected for five-year terms. Panchayats were to be given expanded authority and funding over local development efforts. Despite the popular appeal of transferring power to Panchayats, the sixty-fourth amendment bill was rejected by the Rajya Sabaha.

Aims of Panchayati raj :

The main aims of the Panchayati raj in India have been democratic decentralization, rural local self government and machinery for rural development. Socio-economic development of rural India can be described as the key aim of the Panchayati Raj.

(i)   To encourage the people of rural areas in solving their problems locally.

(ii)   To develop the habit of democratic living.

(iii)   To secure the foundations of Indian democracy.

(iv)   To make villages self-reliant.

(v)   To instill a sense of self-confidence among the rural people.

(vi)   To act as a training system and

(vii)   To undertake the task of rural development through the efforts of the community.

Functioning of Panchayati Raj during 1954-1992 :

It was in 1959 that Panchayati raj, as remodelled on the recommendations of the B.R Mehta committee, was first introduced in Rajasthan. Later on all other states of the Indian union introduced Panchayati Raj reforms in their respective states. Each state passed its own laws for effective implementations of Panchayati raj system and hence there was no uniformity. But the recommendation of B. R Mehta committee was the spirit behind all laws. Most of the states adopted the three-tier system. In Maharashtra the development activities were assigned to the Zilla Parishads.

During 1959-92, the Panchayati raj worked successfully and to some extent it achieved some of its goals. There were certain short coming for which it could not be fully successful. It failed in providing a qualitative change in Rural India. Villages were developed but not on expected lines. Livings standards of the rural people partially improved and it confined to some areas.

Problems in Panchayati Raj System :

The initially of the Panchayati raj to deliver its desired ends was mostly due to its structural deflects as well as the presence of several hindrances. The major hindrances in the successful working of the system were :

(i) **Illiteracy and Ignorance :** The wide spread illiteracy and ignorance among the rural people remained as a major hindrance in the successful operations of the Panchayati raj system.

(ii) **Inexperienced Representatives :** The inability of the rural elected representatives to understand fully the programs and policies of Panchayati raj system and their apathy towards their duties as representatives of the people made the Panchayati raj institutions inefficient.

(iii) **Lack of political awareness :** Rural poverty, illiteracy and ignorance were together responsible for a low level of political awareness. This prevented the adoption of Panchayati raj as system of self-government and self-development.

(iv) **Lack of Funds :** Panchayati raj institutions were expected to do a large number of civic and development works but they were allocated limited sources of income. Thus, shortage of funds always hampered their duties and kept them dependent upon government grants-in-aid.

(v) **Party politics and Groupism :** Political parties played negative and harmful roles during time of Panchayat elections. They acted as a source of groupism

in rural areas. They intensified social conflicts into violent conflicts. Partisan attitude towards reforms and development activities adversely affected the working of Panchayati raj institutions.

(vi) **Benefits to one class :** The objective of securing the involvement of all the people of rural areas, in the process of development through community efforts was put into practice but it benefited only a few rich landlords and upper classes. The rich landlords dominated the elections and the poor people in majority failed to get involved in it.

Structural Defects :

There were some structural defects in the organization and working of the Panchayati raj institutions. Such as:-

(i)   Ineffectiveness of the Gram Sabha.

(ii)   Nominated character of the Panchayati raj Samiti and Zilla Parishadas.

(iii)   Lack of trained and efficient staff.

(iv)   Excessive government interference and control.

(v)   Economic dependence of Panchayati raj institutions upon the government.

(vi)   Lack of adequate powers.

(vii)   Irregular elections.

(viii) Lack of good relations between the Panchayati raj staff and the rural people.

(ix)   Working of Panchayati raj institutions more as governmental agencies than as public institutions.

(x)   Small area of the Block.

73rd Constitutional Amendment Act 1992 :

For eliminating the defects in the working of Panchayati raj as well as for giving a wider representative base and more powers to the Panchayati raj institutions, the parliament enacted the 73rd constitutional amendment act 1992. Its purpose was to revamp the Panchayati raj to ensure its regular, active and efficient functioning in the rural areas and to enable it for socio-economic development of rural India.

On April 23, 1994 all the states completed the process of enacting fresh legislations for strengthening the Panchayati raj institutions as per the 73rd amendment. This act operated in most of the states in India. The implementation of 73rd amendment act marked the beginning of the process of devolution of power and decentralization of administrative experience. This constituted an important step in the drive towards the strengthening of the democratic process at the grass root level.

This act provided for reservation of seats for SCs and STs in proportion to their population reservation of the posts of chairpersons for the SCs and STs in a state, reservation of not less than $^{1/3}$ of the elected seats for women in each Panchayat, reservation of $^{1/3}$ posts of chairpersons for rural women, and rotation of reservation for women among constituencies, direct election to Panchayat, at Panchayat Samiti levels and at district levels, representations of MPs, MLAs & MLCs in Panchayati raj institutions, election of chairpersons of Panchayats and continuity of operation Panchayati Raj institutions.

Local Self Government in Odisha :

The Odisha Panchayata Samiti act was passed in 1959 and implemented in the state since Jan,26,1961. Since its inception the act has undergone many changes to suit the prevailing demands. The Odisha Grama Panchayat Act 1964, the Odisha Panchayat Samiti Act 1959 and the Odisha Zilla Parishad Act 1991 and the rules respectively made there under, now govern the functioning of all the tree-tiers of PRIs in the state i.e. Gram Panchayats at the village level, Panchayat Samiti at the at the block level and Zilla Parishad at the district level. Odisha Municipal Act 1950 and Odisha Municipal Corporation Act 2003 govern the functioning of the three-tier urban local bodies in the state i.e. NAC, Municipality and the Corporation. In 1992, the Government of Odisha under late Biju Patnaik introduced 30% reservation for women in Municipalities, NACs and (after its creation, later in) Corporations and also in Panchayatraj Institutions' election. As per the 73rd and 74th Amendment Act women are entitled to 33% reservation in local bodies. Subsequently, this 33% reservation for women is was enhanced to 50%. These acts and amendments provide for regular elections for both urban and rural local bodies once in five years and elections are to be conducted by the state Election Commissions.

Odisha has more than 50,000 villages and each village has number of wards or Palli Sabhas. Palli Sabha is the basic unit of Panchayati Raj and it is a permanent body. Voters above 18 years residing in a ward of a village are the members of the Palli Sabha. It plans all programmes and schemes to be implemented in the village.

It also decides who will execute the programmes and projects. Palli Sabha is headed by the ward member who is elected by that ward or palli. The Palli Sabha also decides land rights to be given to forest dwellers under the Forest rights Act 2006. It meets minimum twice a year to assess the activities of the Palli Sabha and sends those to the Gram Sabha for its consideration. The recommendation of the Palli Sabha is mandatory for the Gram Panchayat to execute any developmental work in that ward.

The members of Palli Sabhas of Gram Panchayat constitute the Gram Sabha. It meets twice a year to consider and consolidate development plans of all Palli Sabhas. It prepares the plan and recommends it to the Gram Panchayat for its approval. It also prepares the budget of the Gram Sabha and sends it to the Gram Panchayat for its approval.

The main work allocated to the Gram Sabha are, the consideration of the annual statement of accounts, and auditing report of the Gram Panchayat, the administrative report of the proceeding year, the programme of work for the ensuing year, the taxation proposals and any other specific scheme of a development nature involving community service and voluntary labour.

Panchayat Act of a State usually provides that the Sabha shall at its first meeting consider the budget prepared by the Gram Panchayat and at its second meeting considers the reports of the working of the Gram Panchayat and draws out development plans for the Sabha Area. The Gram Sabha constitutes the very base of Panchayat Raj Sabha constitutes the very base of Panchayati Raj System and as such is a vital institution of Gram Panchayat.

Powers and Functions of the Sarpanch of Gram Panchayat :

Section 19 of the Odisha Gram Panchayat Act lays down that the executive powers of the Grama Panchayat which are to be carried out by the Sarpanch acting under the authority of the Gram Panchayat.

Sarapanch presides over the meetings of Gram Panchayat, conducts and regulates its proceedings. He also maintains records of the meetings, sings documents on behalf of the Gram Panchayat, prepares all statements and reports, maintains and regulates the property of Gram Panchayat, carrying out correspondence and is responsible for the proper working of the Gram Panchayat. In case of any threat to peace and order, he informs it to the Sub-collector and acts according to his directions.

The Naib-Sarpanch performs only such functions as the Sarpanch delegates to him. When the office of the Sarpanch remains vacant he acts as Sarpanch till the election of a new Sarpanch. When the office of the Sarpanch and Naib-sarpanch fall vacant simultaneously, their functions become the responsibility of one of the three members of a panel which is constituted by the ward members.

The Sarpanch and Naib-Sarpanch can resign their offices at any time. Sarpanch can do so by handing over his resignation to the sub-collector. The Naib-Sarpanch resigns by handing over his resignation to the Sarpanch.

The Gram Panchayat has the power to remove the Sarpanch or Naib-Sarpanch by passing a vote of no=confidence by a 2/3 majority. But this can be done by a special meeting of Gram Panchayat summoned by the Sub-collector to the Collector for its publication on the Notice Board. The Sarpanch or Naib-Sarpanch ceases to hold office from the date of publication of vote of no-confidence on the Board. Odisha has 6,234 Gram Panchayats. On an average 8 to 10 villages comprise of one Gram Panchayat, which is headed by a Sarpanch, who is directly elected by all voters of the Panchayat. He presides over the meetings of the Gram Panchayat. He is assisted by Naib-Sarpanch and a Panchayat Extension officer, who happens to be a Government servant. The Naib-Sarpanch is elected by the ward members. Gram Panchayat is composed of ward members and Naib-Sarpanch, and Sarpanch. Its strength varies from 11 to 25. The term of the Gram Panchayat is five years and it can be dissolved earlier by the state Government. The qualification of members for election to the Gram Panchayat is the same as the State Legislative Assembly except the age limitation. A person who is 21 years of age or above can become a member of the Gram Panchayat. There is provision for reservation of seats for ST, SC and Women candidates.

Functions of Gram Panchayat :

Gram Panchayats in Odisha have two types of functions like compulsory or obligatory functions

(i)   **Compulsory functions :**

- It constructs, repairs, maintains and improvises the public Roads.

- It constructs, maintains and cleanses public Roads and other important public places.

- It constructs, maintains and cleanses drains and public latrines and urinals.

- Constructions, cleaning and lightening of public roads.
- Provision of medical relief, Sanitation and prevention of diseases.
- Registration of birth and death.
- Construction and maintenance of common grounds, public wells and tanks.
- Preparation of the census reports of human beings, animals and registration of animal sold.
- Regulation of melas, fairs and festivals.
- Provisions for primary education.
- Maintenance of village police.
- Implementation of schemes for agricultural extension.
- Minor forest produce.
- Taking steps for social welfare including welfare of the handicapped and mentally retarded persons and public distribution system.

(ii) Optional Functions :
- Promotion of co-operative farming
- Establishment of cow-sheds and dairy farms.
- Relief from famine and other calamities.
- Improved breeding and medical treatment of cattle, construction of slaughter House.
- Planting trees by the sides of public streets.
- Agricultural development and social conservation.
- Establishment of maternity and child welfare centres.
- Organisation of cottage industries.
- Establishment and maintenance of libraries and Reading Rooms.
- Collecting statistics of the unemployed.
- Prevention of gambling and implementation of the programme of prohibition.

(iii) Sources of Revenues :

Following are the sources of revenue of the Gram Panchayat. It raises money through taxes, fees and Government aids.

- Collection of taxes in rural areas like water tax, lighting tax, toll tax, tax on profession.

- Fees on private markets, cart sheds.

- Fees on animals sold in public markets controlled by Gram Panchayat

- Fees for regulating the movement of for the protection of crops.

- Fees for use of building, shops, stalls in the market.

- Rent from contractor's occupying (temporarily) open grounds or any building under Gram Panchayat.

- Any other tax, fees as may be decided by the Gram Panchayat subject to the approval of the state Government.

Government may by law authorize a Panchayat to levy, collect and appropriate taxes, duties … etc. The law may lay down the procedure to be followed as well as limits the taxes. It can also assign a Panchayat various taxes, duties etc, collected by the state Government. Grants-in-aid can also be given to the Panchayats from the consolidated fund of the state. The 73rd Amendment Act directs the state finance commission to make recommendations for improvement of economic conditions of Gram Panchayats.

Control over the Gram Panchayat :

The Gram Panchayats function under the control and supervision of the Odisha Government on behalf of the Government the collector or any officer authorized by the collector has the power to inspect, supervise and control over the Gram Panchayat. Besides the M.L.A of the area, chairperson of Panchayat Samiti and the President of Zilla Parishad has the power to inspect their respective Gram Panchayats.

Thus Gram Panchayat has made democracy more people centric and participatory. It brings democracy to the door steps of the people living in rural areas. At present, Gram Panchayats have rendered commendable services in the eradication of social and economic disparities.

PANCHAYAT SAMITI

The Panchayat Samiti is the intermediate tier in the Panchayati Raj System. In different states the Panchayat Samitis have been given different names. In majority of states the Jurisdiction of a Panchayat Samiti is co-extensive with a Block, which is generally a smaller unit. Odisha has 314 Panchayat Samities.

Composition :

The Panchayat Samiti is composed of elected members and official members. The elected members are-

(i)   The Samiti members

(ii)   The Sarpanchs of the Gram Panchayats situated within the Block

(iii)   The Chairman and the Vice-chairman.

(iv)   The Chairman of the N.A.C or Municipality within the Block.

(v)   The MPs and M.L.As representing the Block.

The Official Members :

(i)   The B.D.O

(ii)   Other Block level line department officials of Agriculture, Cooperative, Industries, Education, Fisheries, Revenue, Veterinary, Health, Forest….. etc.

The elected members participate in the discussion and vote in the Samiti meetings. The official members only take part in the discussions of Samiti meetings and have no power of voting. The Samiti meets at regular intervals to discuss on developmental matters pertaining to the Block and to take stock of the activities.

Office Bearers :

The Chairman of the Panchayat Samiti is indirectly elected by the people of the Block. He is the political head of the Panchayat Samiti. He is the political head of the Panchayat Samiti. He provides guidance to various functions of the Samiti. He also convenes and presides over the meetings of the Samiti. He ensures implementation of resolutions adopted by the Samiti. His normal tenure of office is vive years. But he can be removed from his office it a no-confidence motion is passed against him by not less than 2/3 members of Samiti. He is assisted by vice-

chairman who is chosen among elected members of the Samiti. No-confidence motion for removal is only possible after expiry of two years of his term. The Block Development officer (B.D.O) is the executive officer of the Panchayat Samiti. He is a government official who hails from state administrative service. The execution of policy decisions rests on him. He is responsible for day to day administration of the Samiti.

There are also other officials in the Block who draw their salary from the government exchequer. They are assigned with specific works as and when required for the smooth functioning of the Samiti.

Functions of Panchayat Samiti :

A Panchayat Samiti ordinarily meets at least six times a year and not more than tow months are to be allowed to elapse between any two successive meetings. This meeting may be ordinary or special. The date of the meeting is fixed by the chairman or in his absence by the Vice –chairman.

There are planning, execution and supervision of the development programmes in the Samiti area such as execution of community development programmes, laws relating to vaccination and registration of births and deaths, borrowing of funds and granting of loans, supervision of Gram Panchayats and such other functions as may be assigned to a Panchayat Samiti by the Government of Odisha.

Panchayat Samitis falling within a district can jointly undertake any work, which is deemed essential for common good with the prior permission of the Government.

1. **Agriculture :** For the development of agricultural production the Samitis can control (a) Multiplication and distribution of improved seeds (b) Distribution of fertilizers (c) Population of improved techniques, methods practices, (d) Encouraging fruit and vegetable cultivation purposes, (e) conservation of soil (f) providing credit for agriculture purposes (g) bringing more areas under irrigation (h) tree planting….etc.

2. **Animal Husbandry and Fisheries :** (a) Introducing improved breeds of cattle sheep, pigs and poultry, (b) Controlling contagious disease by systematic protection. (c) Introducing improved fodders and feed, (d) Dairying and milk supply, (e) Developing inland fisheries… etc.

3. **Communication :** Construction, repairing and maintenance of inter-village roads and culverts and such other means of communication.

4. **Social Education :** (a) Establishment of information, community and recreation centres (b) establishment of youth clubs, Mahila Mandals, farmers clubs… etc. (c) establishment of libraries (d) encouraging physical and cultural activities, games and sports (e) training of gram sahayaks … etc.

5. **Health and Sanitation :** (a) Maintenance and expansion of health services including control of epidemics (b) provision for protected drinking water facilities (c) inspection of dispensaries, maternity centres, primary health centres, educating people about family planning, child health, nutrition, communicable diseases, anti-malaria measures …. etc.

6. **Promotion of co-operatives :** (a) establishment of co-operatives, industrial, irrigation, farming and other societies.

7. **Miscellaneous function is :** (a) Development of cottage and small scale industries for employment, opportunities and village self-sufficiency (b) Inspection of markets, parks, gardens and rest-houses. (c) regulation of traffic (d) construction, repair and maintenance of relief-houses (e) registration of births and deaths and marriages (f) regulation of offensive and dangerous trades…. etc.

Sources of Income :

The resources of Panchayat Samitis consists of a share in land or local cess and duty on transfer of property, community development grants and funds allotted by the State Government or Zilla Parishad for specific purposes.

However due to inadequate funds the Panchayat Samitis are not very successful in carrying out their work.

THE ZILLA PARISHAD

The Zilla Parishad is the top-most tier of the Panchayat Raj. It operates at the district level and looks after the rural areas of the District. The Zilla Parishad is a corporate body . It has the power to acquire hold and dispose of property and to enter into contracts.

Organization of Zilla Parishads :

In Odisha, the Odisha Panchayat Samitis and Zilla Parishad act was passed in 1959 and it came into operation w.e.f. 26th Jan. 1961. However in 1968 the then Odisha Government amended this act and replaced Zilla Parishad with District advisory council. Each District advisory council consisted of the collector, members of Odisha Vidhan Sabha and M.Ps of Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha whose constituencies fell within the District, all chairmen of Panchayat Samitis of the district, all chairmen of Municipalities of the district, presidents of District land mortgage Banks , presidents of central co-operative banks and any other officer nominated by the Government.

The District Advisory councils were virtually Zilla Parishads at work. In 1991 the Government of Odisha passed the Zilla Parishad act by abolishing District Advisory councils and it acted as third tier of the Panchayati Raj System. The Odisha Zilla Parishad Act 1991 was subsequently amended in 1993,1995,1997, 2001 and 2003 in tune with the 73rd constitutional Amendment Act.

Composition :

Each Zilla Parishad in Odisha consists of both directly elected and ex-officio members. One member is directly elected on the basis of adult suffrage from each constituency within the area of Zilla Parishad. Ex-officio members include chairmen of all Panchayat Samitis, M.L.As and M.Ps who represent the Zilla Parishad area in the state legislature and union parliament. Some seats are reserved for S.C, S.T and backward classes. Not less than 50% of the seats are reserved for women.

Thus a Zilla Parishad is composed of the following members-

(i)   Chairmen of all Panchayat Samiti's as ex-officio members

(ii)   M.L.As and M.Ps of the area

(iii)   Representatives of women, S.C, S.T and backward classes as co-opted members.

(iv)   Representatives of co-operative societies and marketing societies of the area as official members.

(v)   Chairmen of Municipalities and N.A.Cs of the District.

(vi)   Project officer DRDA.

(vii)   The District Collector

(viii) Secretary of Zilla Parishad

(ix)   Sub-Collectors of the District

(x)   The project officer ITDA.

(xi)   District officers in charge of important departments like health, education, agriculture, forest... etc.

(xii)   The president and vice-president and other elected members of Zilla Parishad.

The elected members of a Zilla Parishad elect from among themselves one of the members as the president and another as the vice-president of Zilla Parishad. Here again the provision for reservation for SCs & STs is followed. Further 50% of the presidentship of all Zilla Parishads stand reserved for women. The president of the Zilla Parishad constitutes the executive authority and in the absence of the president the vice-president performs his functions. They are paid an honorarium fixed the the state government.

The president convenes and presides over the meetings. Minimum four meetings must be called within a year and there cannot be a gap of more than three months between any two successive meetings. The term of Zilla Parishad is five years. The district collector is the chief executive officer of the Zilla Parishad.

The Zilla Parishad functions through a number of standing committees. The five important committees are general committee, Finance, Audit and planning committee, social welfare committee, Education and health committee, and Agriculture and industry committee. The members of these committees (five in each committee) are elected from among the members and the president of Zilla Parishad is the ex-officio member of these committees. No member of Zilla Parishad can be a member of more than two committees.

Powers and functions :

The making functions of the Zilla Parishad are:

(1)   Development of Agriculture

(2)   To set up and maintain warehouses.

(3)   To Train the farmers

(4)   Land reclamation and conservation

(5)   Development of irrigation.

(6)   Essential commodities to the people for distribution.

(7)   Rural Electrification

(8)   To collect and publish data regarding Panchayats, Panchayat Samitises & Zilla Parishad.

(9)   To develop marketing facilities for agricultural products

(10)   Conservation and development of forest.

(11)   To look after the development of Animal Husbandry

(12)   To organize cold storage facilities.

(13)   Development of small scale and cottage industries.

(14)   Construction and maintenance of roads.

(15)   Organisation of Health facilities.

(16)   To promote Rural Housing

(17)   To look for spreading of Education.

(18)   To take steps for the development of weaker sections of the society

(19)   To undertake poverty alleviation programmes

(20)   To organize cultural meets and festivals.

(21)   To undertake programmes for social reforms.

(22)   To encourage small savings.

(23)   To perform such functions as delegated by state Government from time to time

Besides these above functions the Zilla Parishad is expected to perform certain advisory and supervisory functions over Panchayat Samitis. These functions relate to-

(a)   Examination and approval of the budgets of the Samitis.

(b)   Distribute funds allotted to the district by the Government to the Samitis.

(c) Supervise generally the activities of the Samitis in the district.

(d) Co-ordinate an consolidate the plans of the Blocks and to prepare plans for the district. Secure the execution of plans, projects schemes common for major Blocks.

(e) Advise the government on all matters relating to development activates.

(f) Publish statistics and other information's

(g) Obtain information from the local bodies.

(h) Establish, maintain and expand secondary, vocational and industrial schools

Zilla Parishad Fund :

All money required by a Zilla Parishad constitutes a fund called Zilla Parishad fund. It is kept in government treasury or sub-treasury or in a bank. All orders and cheques are to be signed by the secretary.

Sources of Income :

(1) The central or state government funds allotted to the Zilla Parishad.

(2) A share in the land revenue collected from the Zilla Parishad area.

(3) Grants from All India bodies for development of small scale and cottage industries.

(4) Income from trusts

(5) From raising loans

(6) Donations and contributions from Panchayat Samitis or from public... etc.

The chief executive officer of a Zilla Parishad every year places before the Zilla Parishad a budget showing the estimated receipt and expenditure during the next financial year.

Thus the Rural local self Government in India continues to be a three tier structure. The 73rd constitutional Amendment Act has ensured the continuous operation of these institutions. It has given additional powers and finance to work efficiently. The involvement and empowerment of rural women have been increased and secured. However, several problems still continue for its successful functioning.

For example illiteracy, ignorance, poverty, groupism, corruption, lack of popular participation, inexperienced and incapable representatives, general apathy, continued administrative control, and unhelpful approach of civil servants still continue and these, act as hindrances in its success.

URBAN LOCAL GOVERNMENT

In India nearly 30% people live in urban areas. There are about 2500 towns in India and in each town we have a unit of urban local government. In big cities Municipal corporations are at work. In smaller or other cities Municipalities are at work. For fast urbanizing areas but basically these have rural touch, there we have N.A.Cs (Notified Area Councils) . The 74th constitutional amendment Act 1992 brought some changes in the existing system.

Salient features of 74th Amendment Act :

(1)   Constitution of three types of Municipalities – Nagar Panchayat or N.A.C for fast urbanizing rural areas, Municipalities for smaller urban areas and Municipal Corporations for larger or bigger urban areas.

(2)   Fixed five year term and continuity or operation for Municipal institutions.

(3)   Appointment of an election Commission in each state for conducting local elections to the institutions of local government.

(4)   Appointment of Finance commission for local Governments.

(5)   Constitution of metropolitan and district planning committees in each state.

(6)   Provisions for reservation of seats for SCs, STs, OBCs and Women.

(7)   Provisions for reservation of seats of public offices for SCs, STs, and Women.

After passing of the 74th Amendment Act, all the states have amended their respective municipal acts. The Odisha government also amended its Orissa Municipal Act 1950 and the latest amendment as per the provisions of 74th Amendment Act was brought by Odisha Government in the year 1994. Accordingly the Municipal corporations, Municipalities and N.A.Cs are established with constitutional status.

MUNICIPAL CORPORATIONS

Municipal Corporation is the highest urban local Government. Each municipal corporation is set up by an act passed by the concerned state. In Odisha Municipal corporations are established in Bhubaneswar, Cuttack, Brahmapur, Sambalpur and Rourkela.

Composition :

The number of the members of each Municipal corporation is determined on the basis of the population and by the laws passed by the state legislature.

Categories of members :

(1) Members of Vidhan Sabha who represent the area of Municipal Corporation.

(2) Directly elected members from the area of Municipal corporation. The city is divided into wards and each word elects one member. Some seats are reserved for (i) Scheduled casted (ii) Back ward classes and (iii) women. To ratio of the reserved seats for SCs is in proportion to their population in that corporation area. In each corporation two seats are reserved for backward classes. Similarly, 50% seats are reserved for women candidates (including seats reserved for SC women)

Qualification :

(a) The person should be a citizen of India.

(b) His / Her name should figure in voter's list of the city.

(c) He / She must be of 21 years of age.

(d) He / She should not hold any governmental office / office of profit under the Government.

(e) He / She should not have been declared ineligible to contest elections for committing a crime.

Tenure :

The term of each Municipal corporation is 05 years which starts from the date of its first meeting. An election to constitute a corporation takes place within six months of its dissolution.

The Government can dissolve a corporation before the expiry of its term on the following grounds:

(a)   If in the opinion of the Government a corporation is not commitment to perform its duties.

(b)   Continuously makes mistakes in the performance of its duties imposed on it.

(c)   Exceeds any of its powers.

However, before dissolving the corporation has to be given an opportunity to prove itself.

President of Municipal Corporation :

Mayor is the chairperson and deputy mayor is the vice-chairperson of the corporation. The elected councillors of all the councils / wards in their first meeting elect mayor and deputy member from amongst themselves.

Municipal corporation Act provides for the reservation of seats for the office of mayor (1) 5% offices for SC (ii) 5% offices for women, including women belonging to SC and (iii) 2% offices for Backward classes.

However, the members of the Municipal corporation can remove the mayor and deputy mayor from office before expiry of their term, by passing a resolution to that effect by 2/3 majority.

Meetings :

Municipal Corporation must meet in a month. 1/5 the members of a corporation can also make a written request to convene a special meeting an the mayor has to convene the meeting within 14 days of the receipt of the said request.

The quorum for every meeting is ½ of the total members. All decisions are taken by a majority of members present and voting. In case of a tie, the mayor has the right to use his casting vote.

The Commissioner of the Municipal Corporation :

The Commissioner is the executive officer of the Municipal Corporation, Whose main responsibility is to look after the overall administration of the Municipal Corporation. The Commissioner is appointed by the government. The Commissioner

is appointed by the Government who is a Senior Government official. His salary and allowances are given out of the Corporation funds.

The Commissioner has the responsibility to implement the decisions of the Corporation. He prepares the annual budget and get it passed from the corporation and implements it. He is also responsible to prepare the annual report on the working of the Municipal Corporation and present it before the corporation council. The entire personnel of the Municipal Corporation work under his Supervision and control.

Ward Committees :

With a population of 3 Lakh and above in a Municipal Corporation, the Ward Committee is constituted for at best five wards. Each ward Committee consists of the councillors of the wards in that area and the Commissioner who acts as the ex-officio member. Each ward Committee has a chairperson, Who is elected by the elected members of the ward from among themselves. This committee is responsible for the supervision of their wards.

Functions :

12th Schedule authorizes the Municipal Corporation to administer funder the following subjects, which is also approved by a law passed by the state legislature. They are–

1. Urban planning, town planning.
2. Regulation of land, which includes use and Construction of building.
3. Construction of roads and social development.
4. Planning for economic and social development.
5. Water Supply for domestic, industrial and commercial purposes.
6. Urban forestry, protection of environment.
7. Provision for fire- Service.
8. Safeguarding the interests of weaker section of society.
9. Cultural, educational and aesthetic development.
10. Alleviation of urban poverty.
11. Provision of urban amenities, such as parks, playgrounds and gardens.
12. Provision for public amenities including street lights, parking place, bus-stands etc.

13.   Slum improvement.

14.   Prevention of cruelties to animals.

15.   Public Health and sanitation.

16.   Regulation of slaughter houses.

Administrative Functions of Municipal Corporation :

1.   It frames its own bye-laws for proper an smooth administration.

2.   It imposes fines on those who violates its rules.

3.   It can purchase and sell land.

4.   It demolishes dangerous buildings and bridges.

5.   It registers birth and deaths.

6.   It makes arrangements for the cremation of dead.

7.   It recruits its own staff.

Besides these above functions the corporation also performs all civic works in the greater interest of the people.

Sources of Income :

The following are the sources of income of a Municipal Corporation.

1. Taxes : It is the major source of income as the corporation can levy different taxes like -

(a)   Property tax

(b)   Tax on vehicles and animals

(c)   Theatre and entertainment tax

(d)   Tax on advertisement

(e)   Tax on building plans

(f)   Education tax

(g)   Tax on sale and transfer of property

(h)   Toll tax

(i)   Octroi tax

(j)   Boat tax

(k)   Tax on consumption of electricity

2. Grants : The municipal Corporation receives a member of grants from the Government and it is also an important source of income.

3. Loans : It can take loans from government and non- government institutions.

4. Other sources of income : The other sources include

(i)   Licenses fee.

(ii)   Income from the means of Transportation.

(iii) Income from the Supply of electricity

(iv)   Rents form Rest Houses and other such buildings.

(v)   Income from industries.

MUNICIPALITY

Local bodies in mediocre towns are known as municipalities and small towns having rural touch are called as Notified area councils in Odisha. Odisha is least urbanized and as such all towns in this state are covered either under Municipalities or under Notified Area councils. Besides 05 corporations there are 35 Municipalities and 66 Notified Area councils. Towns with more than 10,000 population have Municipalities and less than 10,000 and more than 5000 have Notified Area councils. There is hardly any difference between these two types of civic bodies except their size.

Municipal Councils are governed by the Municipal Act of the state. In Odisha Municipalities are constituted by the Odisha municipal Act 1950, which have been amended from time-to-time to accommodate the changing requirements of various parts of the State.

Composition :

The membership of each municipal council is fixed by the State Government. The basis is the population of concerned urban Area. Every Municipal council has The following types of members :

(i)   Directly elected members from the Municipal Area.

(ii)   M.L.A's representing the area of municipal council are ex-officio members.

Reservation of seats for SC, Backward classes and women is also applied. No less than 1/3rd of the seats reserved for SC are to be reserved for SC women. The total reservation for women is 50%.

A fixed percentage of the offices of Chairman of Municipal Council are reserved for persons belonging to SC and women.

The Municipal area of each town is demarcated and is divided into a number of wards depending on its size and population. Each ward is represented by an elected Representative, known as councillor. These Municipal Councillors after the election choose a person from among themselves as Chairman and another as Vice-chairman. Tenure of the Municipal Council and Councillors is five years, so also its Chairman and Vice-chairman.

The Chairman is the head of the Municipal Council who determines the policies and budget of the civic administration with the help of the councillors, the executive officer and such other officers appointed by the Government in the municipality. The Chairman forms different committees with the Councillors as members to look after different aspects of administration like education, health, construction … etc. These members meet regularly under the presidentship of the chairman to assess, who is assisted by his subordinates like Addl. Executive officer, Health officer, engineer, octroi superintendent and such others, to take care of different aspects of Municipal administration. The Executive officer works as a link between the Government and the Municipal Council. In fact the Government exercises control over the Municipality through the District Collector, who has the power to dissolve the council on grounds of maladministration, corruption, nefarious activities by the elected representatives.

Qualifications :

The qualifications for membership of a municipal council are –

(i)   He / She must be a citizen of India.

(ii)   His / her name should figure in the voters list of that area.

(iii)   He / She must at least be 21 years of age.

(iv)   He / She should not hold any governmental post / office of profit.

(v)   He / She should not have been declared disqualified for election.

Meetings :

Meetings of the Municipal Council are held once in a month. 1/5th of the members of the Municipal Council can request for convening a special meeting. Therefore the Chairperson has to convene a special meeting within 14 days of receiving such request.

The quorum of the Municipal Council is half of the total membership at the decisions are taken by majority. In case of tie, the chairperson can exercise his vote.

Functions of the Municipal Council :

After the incorporation of 12th Schedule by the 74th constitutional Amendment Act, 18 subjects are assigned to Municipal Council. Some of them are :

(1)   Planning, preparation and implementation of plans for the development of the City / Town.

(2)   Planning for economic and social development for the residents of the area.

(3)   It constructs roads and bridges for the convenience of the people.

(4)   It makes bye-laws for the proper use of land and undertakes construction of buildings.

(5)   It makes provisions for water supply for domestic, commercial and industrial purposes.

(6)   It makes provisions for public health and sanitation, which includes public latrines and urinals, proper drainage system, checking adulterated food supply vaccination to contain epidemics etc.

(7)   It makes necessary arrangements for fire-fighting.

(8)   It makes adequate arrangements for the interests of weaker sections, including handicapped and others.

(9)   Urban forestry, protection of environment and ecological balance.

(10) Urban poverty Alleviation

(11) Maintenance and establishment of parks, gardens and play-Grounds.

(12) Promotion of cultural and Educational welfare.

(13) Maintenance of cremation Grounds.

(14) Registration of Birth and Deaths.

(15) Prevention of Cruelty against animals.

(16) Public amenities including Bus-stop, parking, street-lighting ..etc.

Administrative Functions of Municipal Council :

The Municipal council performs several administrative functions like :

(1) It frames its own bye-laws for running the administration.

(2) It can impose fines on those who violate its rules.

(3) It has the power to recruit and remove same categories of its employees.

(4) It can purchase and sell land.

(5) It can demolish unsafe and dangerous buildings and bridges.

(6) It can levy and collect taxes.

Sources of Income :

The main sources of income of municipal council are :

(1) Income from Taxes : The main sources of income are different types of taxes like property tax, octroi, tax on vehicles, tax on animals, tax on advertisements, Toll tax, professional tax, Entertainment tax… etc.

(2) Income from Electricity and water supply : The Municipal Council collects taxes from water and electricity supply. Apart from this it also collects money from its shops, Inns, rest houses … etc.

(3) Government Grants : It receives different types of Grants from the Government.

(4) Loans : It can raise loans from Banks and other Financial institutions with the prior approval of the Government.

Problems :

The Municipality as an organ of local self government has failed to deliver the goods over the years. The people who are supposed to handle their immediate problems through mutual co-operation in the municipal council seem to remain

completely indifferent to that lack of awareness and lethargy in matters of general interest are responsible for this. Party differences and political infightings between or among elected representatives is also responsible for its failure. Another important problem is its financial inadequacy and dependence on Government Fund. Greater dependence has minimized independence and importance of local bodies. Still, we hope for a better future.

NOTIFIED AREA COUNCIL (N.A.C)

As mentioned earlier in Odisha small towns have N.A.C. Their population varies from 5000 to 10,000. Each N.A.C is divided into several wards. Each ward elects a councillor and these councillors are the Governing Body members of the N.A.C. The chairman and Vice-Chairman of the N.A.C are elected from among the councillors. The Chairman heads the N.A.C. He convenes and presides over its meetings. He is authorized to plan and supervises the implementation of the decisions of N.A.C. The Vice- Chairman performs the functions of the Chairman when he remains absent. The tenure of the N.A.C and its elected representatives is five years. The Chairman can be removed from his office by a no-confidence motion supported by not less than 2/3rd of the total member of the N.A.C. However, a prior one month notice with the signature of 1/3rd members of the N.A.C is required. In each N.A.C one executive officer is appointed by the Government and to help him some other departmental officers are also appointed by the Government. He is responsible for day-to-day functioning and implementation of the decisions of N.A.C. The N.A.C functions in the spheres of primary education, health and sanitation, construction and maintenance of Roads and buildings, supply of drinking water and electricity, lighting streets, registration of birth and deaths … etc. It's collection of revenues is same as in case of a municipality. The Government exercises Considerable control over the N.A.C. It can supersede the N.A.C. In this case normally the Sub- Collector remains in charge of N.A.C.

The Composition, Powers and functions, Sources of income of N.A.C and Municipal Council are more or less same.

Problems in urban local Bodies :

1.	Dependence upon the Government Funds.

2.	Limited scope to generate fund from own sources.

3.	Indifferent attitude of representatives towards solving problems amicably.

4.   Party differences and political fighting are other problems.

5.   The power with the Government to supersede basically the municipality and N.A.C is dangerous.

6.   There are many incompetent and insincere employees who only drains the exchequer.

7.   Lack of civic sense and ignorance of the inhabitants make urban bodies helpless.

8.   Administration of urban bodies sometimes overlaps with Governance of the state Government.

9.   Dishonesty and corruption hamper a lot.

10.   Casteism, Communal appeal, and regional feelings hinder the progress of urban local bodies.

Conclusion :

It is a matter of pride that in India local self Government has made inroads into the hinterlands of our country. The vastness of India and its multiple types of Socio-Economic conditions prevailing in different parts of the country used to prevent local self Government to usher in a new dawn. Like democracy, its offshoot local self Government is a process which needs patience and perseverance. This types of system is the only answer to make people empowered and get them involved in the affairs of their locality. No miracle is possible in a democratic set up, and the people are the only agents to bring miracle if any. In all societies of the world, during the time of transition ups and downs are a common scenario. India is on the verge of transition to a modern society. Democratic Decentralization is yet to be realized in its true sense.

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MODEL QUESTIONS

Section-A

Multiple Choice Questions :

1. What is the rural self-government called?
   - (a) Gram Panchayat
   - (b) Zilla Parishad
   - (c) Panchayati Raj
   - (d) Panchayat Samiti
2. Who is the head of a Municipal Corporation?
   - (a) Commissioner
   - (b) Major
   - (c) Minister of Local Bodies
   - (d) Director of Local Bodies
3. Which Constitutional Act included Panchayati Raj Bodies:
   - (a) 73rd
   - (b) 74th
   - (c) 71st
   - (d) 75th
4. Who is the political head of Panchayat Samiti ?
   - (a) Sarpanch
   - (b) President
   - (c) Executive officer
   - (d) Chairman
5. Who is the Executive officer of Panchayat Samiti?
   - (a) Sarpanch
   - (b) Chairman
   - (c) BDO
   - (d) Major

Section-B

Write briefly :

1. What is the lowest tier of Panchayati Raj structure?
2. What is the main difference between Municipality and NAC?
3. What do you understand by BDO?
4. Which self - governing bodies are there in urban areas?
5. How is a Sarpanch dismissed before the expiry of his term?
6. How is Gram Panchayat constituted?
7. What are the functions of a B.D.O?
8. Who is mayor? Discuss his role.
9. What are the main sources of income of a Municipal Council?
10. What is democratic decentralisation?

Write notes on :

1. State any two differences between the local government before and after the Constitutional amendment in 1992.

2. Discuss the organisation and functions of Gram Panchayat.

3. Discuss the main aims and obstacles of Local Self-Government.

4. Discuss the composition and functions of Panchayat Samiti.

5. Discuss the organisation and functions of a Municipality.

6. Write an essay on democratic decentralisation in India.

7. Discuss the formation and functions the NACS in Odisha.

Section-C

Miscellaneous :

1. Given is a sample table below. Draw such a table in your note book and fill in the necessary information.

Municipal Corporation	Municipal Council	Notified Area Council
Head		
Tenure		
Elected / Nominated by whom?		
Functions		
Sources of Finance		

2. Given is a sample table below. Draw such a table in your note book and fill in the necessary information.

Zilla Parishad	Panchayat Samiti	Gram Panchayat
Head		
Tenure		
Elected/Nominated by whom?		
Functions		
Sources of Finance		

❑ ❑ ❑

CHAPTER - 5

CHALLENGES TO NATION BUILDING

"There cannot be a firmly established political state unless there is a teaching body with definitely recognized principles. If the child is not taught from infancy that he ought to be a republican or a monarchist, a Catholic or a free-thinker, the state will not constitute a nation; it will rest on uncertain and shifting foundations; and it will be constantly exposed to disorder and change."

- Napoleon I, 1805 (Quote from Ramirez and Boli, 1987)

❏ **Meaning**
❏ **Communalism**
❏ **Casteism**
❏ **Regionalism**
❏ **Terrorism**
❏ **Remedies**

In this chapter

We shall try to know :
➡ *What is a nation?*
➡ *What is nation building?*

We will discuss :
➡ *What are the Challenges to nation building in India?*
  ● *Communalism*
  ● *Casteism*
  ● *Regionalism*
  ● *Terrorism*

NATION

Let us begin from the word nation before we discuss about nation building. In common usage, the term state, nation and nationality are used interchangeably. However, they differ from each other in many ways. The words like, nation, nationality and nationalism have been derived from the Latin word 'natus' meaning birth. However, like all words they have evolved and adapted more forms than the root itself. Generally these words are related to ethnicity.

Political scientists have defined 'nation' in various ways.

Garner- "a nation is a politically organised aggregation of people which is united with cultural and spiritual bonds."

Barker- "a nation is a body of persons inhabiting in a definite territory and thus united together by primary fact of living together on a common land."

Barness- "a nation is a cultural homogenous social group which is conscious of its unity."

NATION BUILDING

Nation building denotes unifying the people or peoples within a state so that it remains politically stable and viable in the long run. Nations stay together when citizens share enough values and preferences and can communicate with each other. Homogeneity amongst people can be built through two methods: firstly, with education, teaching a common language, building infrastructure for easier travel, and secondly, by brute force such as prohibiting local cultures or even genocide.

The fist method is found in democracy and the second in non-democratic regimes. Democracies and dictatorships have different incentives when it comes to choosing how much and by what means to homogenize the population. Scholars study and compare both regimes, and the transition from dictatorship to democracy.

We are trying...
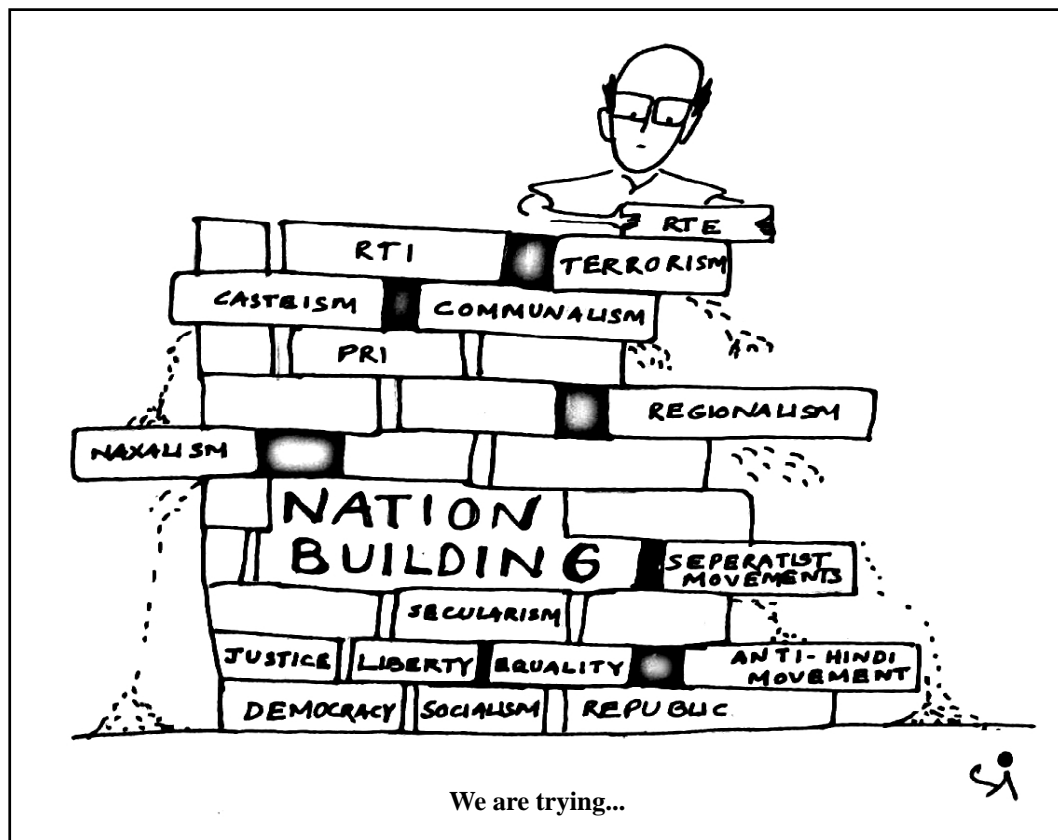
> **STATE-BUILDING** means the process of establishment, re-establishment, and strengthening of a public structure in a given territory which is capable of delivering public goods. Essential to state-building is the creation of sovereign capacities of which the fundamental one is the successful and generally undisputed claim to a "monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force".
>
> **NATION-BUILDING** is the most common form of a process of collective identity formation with a view to legitimizing public power within a given territory. This is an essentially indigenous process which often not only projects a meaningful future but also draws on existing traditions, institutions, and customs, redefining them as national characteristics in order to support the nation's claim to sovereignty and uniqueness.
>
> A successful nation-building process produces a cultural projection of the nation containing a certain set of assumptions, values and beliefs which can function as the legitimizing foundation of a state structure.

Nation-**building** is constructing or structuring a **national** identity using the power of the state. It is thus narrower than what Paul James calls "**nation formation**", the broad process through which **nations** come into being.

Jeremi Suri says that successful nation-building efforts must incorporate five principles:

- ✓ **Partners:** Nation-building always requires partners; there must be communication between people on the ground and people in distant government offices.

- ✓ **Process:** Human societies do not follow formulas. Nation-building is a process which does not produce clear, quick results.

- ✓ **Problem-solving:** Leadership must start small, addressing basic problems. Public trust during a period of transition emerges from the fulfilment of basic needs.

- ✓ **Purpose:** Small beginnings must serve larger purposes. Citizens must see the value in what they're doing.

- ✓ **People:** Nation-building is about people. Large forces do not move history. People move history.

Nation-Building from a Development Perspective :

The object of 'nation-building' from a development perspective can be said to comprise three related elements:

(a)   Firstly, the development of an effectively functioning state that is accepted– that is, accorded legitimacy - by the bulk of its citizens. Central to this are the functions of securing a monopoly of force, guaranteeing security for the population and neighbouring countries, the rule of law, and the provision of public assets. These are fundamental attributes of statehood and - although not the full story - constitute a necessary foundation for 'nation-building'.

(b)   Secondly, 'nation-building' also requires a physical, social and communications infrastructure that is shared by the entire civil society. These assets must be accessible for all groups of the population and be used by them for transactions and communication. It is difficult to build a sense of nation in a country containing regions or areas whose inhabitants are effectively cut-off – physically and socially – from the rest of the 'national' population.

(c)   In addition to these conventional 'state-building' components, 'nation-building' further presupposes a socio-cultural structuring and integration process leading to shared characteristics of identity, values and goals. It is not so much the homogeneity of these characteristics that is crucial, rather it is the acceptance and toleration of heterogeneity and the facilitation of inclusion.

The relevant phrase used in India- one of the most socio-linguistically diverse countries in the world - is "unity in diversity".

India has the distinction of being world's largest functioning democracy. Ever since her independence, India has been living and developing through a democratic system of governance involving a self-rule of the people. The founding fathers of the Constitution were fully aware of the challenges that Indian democracy was likely to face and they took several steps for meeting these. The Constitution of India contains several features which stand designed to initiate the process of meeting several socio-economic challenges. It clearly lays down the goals to be secured as well as the means to be used for securing them. The goals have been broadly defined in the Preamble of the Constitution and elaborated by the Directive Principals of State Policy. The means for achieving these goals have been laid down in other parts of the Constitution.

However, it must be admitted that along with all the achievements, there continues to be present several socio-economic challenges before the Indian democracy. It has been successful but mostly in its political dimension. In respect of its social and economic dimensions, the success has been only partial and quite moderate. Poverty, illiteracy, unemployment, rural under-development and slow development of infrastructure continue to keep the Indian economy and polity under strain. Several social and economic inequalities, gender injustice, regional imbalances, social evils and a continued caste-based social system together act as added limitations. This chapter discusses Communalism; Casteism; Regionalism; Terrorism in particular as major hindering factors in the nation-building process of India.

CHALLENGES BEFORE INDIA AS AN INDEPENDENT NATION

Experts say that the day India became independent from British rule, was a day full of difficulties. Mahatma Gandhi said on 14 August 1947, (Kolkata), "Tomorrow we shall be free from the slavery of the British domination. But at midnight India will be partitioned. Tomorrow will thus be a day of rejoicing as well as of mourning." The contradictory emotions were of rejoicing and mourning at the same time points to the challenges and difficulties Independent India would be facing in the future. India faced three major challenges on the day of its birth in its new avatar.

- The *first* and the immediate challenge were to shape a nation that was united, yet accommodative of the diversity in our society.

- The *second* challenge was to establish democracy.

- The *third* challenge was to ensure the development and wellbeing of the entire society and not only of some sections.

CURRENT CHALLENGES TO NATION BUILDING

Firstly, **Communalism** continues to be a major stumbling block in the process of nation building. The policy of 'divide and rule' used by British to serve their interest, continues to plague Indian society in more robust forms. The frequency of communal riots, big and small, severely damages the prospect for nation building.

Secondly, Politics of **Casteism** exploits the inherent structural dimensions of Indian Society. The use of caste as a tool to mobilize votes continues to be a stumbling block to nation building.

Thirdly, **Regionalism** and sub-regionalism continue to affect India. It is true that a multicultural society like India cannot aspire to be a homogeneous one, but the fissiparous demands add to the woes of the polity.

Fourthly, **Politics of violence** and movements centred on sectarian goals damages not only the political propriety but also a belief in the strength of the nation. Anarchy and political turmoil created by these forces hinder the pace of unity and integration. This will be our background scenario to discuss Naxalite Movement

The above mentioned are the major challenges to nation building in India. Besides these, Poverty, Illiteracy, Unfair Distribution of goods and services etc. are also challenges. However we shall concentrate on the four major challenges in the subsequent pages.

COMMUNALISM

Introduction :

Communalism is one of the major challenges to nation building and integration in India. It is one of the stumbling blocks in the nation building process in our country. Mahatma Gandhi, the father of our nation fought against this evil force and sacrificed his life to bring about communal harmony in newly born India.

From the social dimension all the religious denominations in India differ from each other on the basis of their social customs, traditions, beliefs, rituals, norms, values and so on. The Hindus and Muslims are two largest religious groups in India. Superiority complex of the members one religion in comparison to other religions and hatred for the beliefs, rituals, norms, values other groups create communalism.

Meaning :

The first known use of of the word Communalism was made in the year, 1897. It is a derivation from the word Commune/ community. So, Communalism is referred to in the western world as a "theory or system of government in which virtually autonomous local communities thrive in a loose federation". It means loyalty to a socio-political grouping based on religious or ethnic affiliation. Communalism as a political philosophy, proposes that market and money be abolished and that land and enterprises to be placed in the custody of community. But in the Indian sub-continent context, communalism has come to be associated with tensions and clashes between different religious communities in various regions.

Communalism in South Asia is used to denote the differences between the various religious groups and among the people of different community. Generally it is used to analyse communal violence between those groups.

According to another view, communalism is a negation of secularism. It is the tendency to look at administrative, political and economic problems from the point of view of a particular religious community. In other words, communalism means exploitation of religion for the achievement of the objectives which are not religious but essentially political and economic. It makes religion an instrument of power politics.

Communalism is not unique only to South Asia, but is also found in Africa, America, Europe, Australia, and Asia. But, it is significant socio-economic and political issue in Bangladesh, India, Pakistan, Myanmar, Sri Lanka, Nepal, etc.

What is Communalism?

It is basically an ideology which consists of three elements:-

- A belief that people who follow the same religion have common secular interests i.e. they have same political, economic and social interests. That is why socio-political communalisms arise.

- A notion that in a multi-religious society like India, the common secular interests of one religion are dissimilar and divergent from the interests of the follower of another religion.

- The interests of the follower of the different religion or of different 'communities' are seen to be completely incompatible, antagonist and hostile.

Evolution of communalism in Indian society :

A study of history of Indian society reveals that there was social harmony in Ancient and Medieval India. No communal discords were there. People lived peacefully together. There was acceptance for each other's culture and tradition. For example, Ashoka followed religious tolerance and focussed mainly on Dhamma; Akbar, was epitome of secular practises and believed in propagating such values by abolishing Jijiya tax and propagated a new religion, Din-I- ilahi. Same acceptance for different cultures and tradition was practised in several kingdoms throughout India, because of which there was peace and harmony, barring few sectarian rulers like Aurangzeb, who was least tolerant for other religious practices.

Aurangzeb's acts of imposing taxes on religious practises of other communities, destroying temples, forced conversions, killing of Sikh guru, etc. were instrumental in establishing and deepening the feeling of communal differences in India. But, these incidents were not common as, huge majority of Indians were living in rural areas and were aloof from such influences. Ordinary people coexisted peacefully. Even though people belonging to a religious group were very rigid in practising their own rituals and practice, but it never became a barrier in the peaceful coexistence. Overall, the Hindus and Muslims in those days had common economic and political interests.

Communalism in India is the result of the emergence of modern politics, which has its roots in **partition of Bengal in 1905** and feature of separate electorate under **Government of India Act, 1909**. Later, British government also appeased various communities through **Communal award in 1932**, which faced strong resistance from Gandhiji and others. All these acts were done by the British government to appease Muslims and other communities, for their own political needs. This disease of communalism has aggravated since then, fragmenting the Indian society. It has become one of the hurdles against the nation building effort.

> **Communal award in 1932 -** by the Communal award of British Colonial Government mandated that consensus over any issue among different communities (i.e. Hindu, Muslims, Sikhs and others) was precondition for any further political development.

Thus **communal consciousnes**s arose as a result of the transformation of Indian society under the impact of colonialism and the need to struggle against it.

The following are the main ingredients of communalism :

➢ It gives a particular religious community a separate identity in the nation.

➢ It believes its separate interests are above the national interest.

➢ It adopts an attitude of hostility towards other religious communities.

➢ It imposes its religious views on its members and denies them freedom in religious and social matters.

➢ It also imposes social and religious norms of the community on other communities by all means including force.

➢ It does not believe in the separation of religion from politics and seeks to conduct government on the basis of religious dogmas.

➢ In its extreme form communalism claims nationhood for the community and seeks to form a sovereign state.

Main Causes of Communalism in India :

➢ Muslims keep themselves aloof from the majority community and try to assert their separate religious identity. This has led to tension among the members of the two communities.

➢ In the post-independence period, religious orthodoxy and fundamentalism generates communal feelings among the Muslims. While the other Muslim countries have modified and made a liberal interpretation of personal laws, the vested interests among some of the Indian Muslims have opposed Art 44 of the Indian Constitution which proposes Uniform Civil Code for the whole country. The reaction to the judgement on the Shah Bano Case and the enactment of the protection of Muslim women's Right on Divorce Bill by the Indian parliament are indications of the growth of Muslim fundamentalism in India.

➢ Communal aspirations are used by the political leaders of the various parties to exploit the sentiments of the people in favour of the prospects of a party candidate. Thus the politics of vote-banks has also promoted communalism.

➢ The reluctance on the part of the Muslims to accept western education contributed to the economic backwardness and poverty of the Muslims. This caused frustration and demoralisation among Muslims, and they indulge in violence and lawless activities,

➢ Another important reason for the development of Hindu-Muslim communalism is the Hindu chauvinism, which came as a reaction against religious orthodoxy and separatism. Certain political parties gave greater emphasis on Hindu beliefs and values and argued that India must be declared as a 'Hindu Rashtra'.

➢ The political parties, the media, the text books etc are also responsible for aggravating communalism in India.

➢   Both the national and state governments have failed to check the growth of communalism and preventing the outbreak of communal riots.

➢   Religion in many parts of India has been the determinant of voting behaviour, of Indian electorate. Majority of illiterate masses are influenced by the provocative slogans and fanatic preaching for or against a particular candidate belonging to a particular community.

➢   Evidently communal politics is considered vicious in India and incites the masses resulting in violence and threat to unity.

Communalism and Politics in India :

The communal hostility between the Hindus and Muslims was largely the creation of the British rulers, who could foresee a great threat to their authority in the unity among the members of these two communities. Thus they deliberately adopted the policy of *'Divide and rule'* and promoted hostility among the two for achieving their selfish ends. As a result Hindu-Muslim riots frequently broke out in different parts of the country which led to unprecedented violence and destruction of life and property. Also communalism was one of the factors responsible for the partition of the country into India and Pakistan.

After independence, steps were taken to banish the evil effect of communalism and to promote communal harmony among the members of various communities. The framers of the constitution of India made India a secular state. Articles 15(1) and 15(2) prohibit discrimination against any citizen on grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex place of birth or any of them. Article 25(1) guarantees freedom of conscience and right to freely profess, practice and propagate any religion. Article 27 bars compelling anybody to pay any taxes, proceeds of which are specifically appropriated in payment of expenses for the promotion or maintenance of any particular religion or religious denominations. Article 28 prohibits religious instruction being provided in any educational institutions wholly maintained out of state funds. The People's Representative Act prevents any candidate or his agent or any other person with the consent of the candidate for using or appealing to religious symbols for the furtherance of the prospects of election of any candidate. The 42nd Amendment to the constitution (1976) changed the Preamble and added the word *'secular'* in it. So the Indian constitution does not make any discrimination on the basis of religion, caste, creed, sex or residence.

Thus the spirit of our Constitution is purely secular. It seeks to ensure absolute separation of religion from politics and ensures that religion does not interfere in political affairs and administration.

However, despite these measures, the desired effect has not been produced; communal riots have become more frequent and organised. A number of parties are formed on religious basis and they are responsible for spreading religious fundamentalism and fanaticism. Party candidates are also selected on religious considerations.

Thus in politics communalism is understood as hatred and animosity towards other communities based on aggressive attitude of the members of a religious group. In India, communalism has afflicted almost all the communities, including Hindus, Muslims, Christians and Sikhs. There is a deep diversity among them in respect of their places of worship, holy books, methods of worship, ways of living, culture, customs, and language. Different forces of communalism are getting more and more consolidated and they pose a grave danger to the unity and integrity of the nation which hinders the process of **Nation-building.**

Infamous communal violence in India :
- Partition of India, 1947
- Anti-Sikh riots, 1984
- Ethnic cleansing of Kashmiri Hindu Pundits in 1989
- Aftermath of Babri masjid demolition in Ayodhya, 1992
- Assam Communal violence, 2012
- Muzaffarnagar violence, 2013

Remedies / Suggestions to Combat Communalism :
- ✓ No communal organization should be allowed to take part in politics.
- ✓ No political party based on religion should be allowed to operate in the political process.
- ✓ There should be complete non-interference by the state in religious affairs.
- ✓ No special privilege should be given to any religious community.
- ✓ Religious organizations should not be allowed to receive money from foreign countries and strict watch should be kept on their expenditures.

✓ The state should try to fight poverty, illiteracy and backwardness of the citizens in general not as members of a religious community.

✓ Those who arouse communal passions of the masses should be punished.

✓ The provisions of the Constitution relating to freedom of religion and conscience should be implemented in letter and spirit.

✓ People must develop faith in the ideals of liberty, equality, fraternity and unity of the nation. They must imbibe the values of India's secular democracy.

Conclusion :

In spite of our avowed policy of secularism, communal riots have raised their ugly heads on various occasions. Some persons with vested interests and sinister designs are behind such disastrous moves. Bigotry and religious intolerance are at the root of communal frenzy that goes against the national integration. Absence of progressive national outlook too, accounts for the growing communal conflict in the country; as a result, national integration suffers. Unless we curse the evil force of communalism, there will be bloodbath at the slightest pretext and our secularism will be nothing but a mockery.

CASTEISM

The second challenge to nation building comes from CASTE. The social structure in India is to a large extent based on caste system, and it plays a significant role in the political and administrative life of the nation.

Origin and Meaning :

The term caste in English has been derived from the Portuguese term 'Casta' which means race, breed or kin. In Indian Hindu society caste is broadly founded on 'Varna' system. It grew and developed on the basis of the division of labour in a basically agrarian economy in which use of money had not yet become a dominant feature of social life. But the caste system is different from the ancient Varna system. In the latter the society was divided into broad and hierarchal categories of Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and Sudras. It covered the whole country and linked the Indian society into a loosely organized hierarchical social structure.

The caste system that developed out of the Varna system is different. It has a narrow connotation in which there are subgroups of people locating themselves in

the in the ideal Varna hierarchy, but maintaining different social identities in the name of a JATI. There are at present about 3000 castes (jatis), and they are not uniform all over the country.

> **Class :** is a system of ordering society whereby people are divided into sets based on perceived social or economic status.
>
> **Caste :** is a hereditary endogamous usually localised group, having a traditional association with an occupation and a particular position in the local hierarchy of castes. Relations between castes are governed among other things by the concepts of pollution and purity and generally maximum commonality occurs within the caste.

Definition :

According to **Prof. Blunt** "caste is an endogamous group or collection of endogamous groups bearing a common name, membership of which is hereditary, imposing on its members certain restrictions in matters of social intercourse, either following a common traditional occupation or claiming a common origin and generally regarded as forming a single homogenous community."

According to Prof. **M. N. Srinivas** caste is "a hereditary endogamous usually localised group, having a traditional association with an occupation and a particular position in the local hierarchy of castes. Relations between castes are governed among other things by the concepts of pollution and purity and generally maximum commonality occurs within the caste."

Colley: "when a class is somewhat hereditary we call it caste". When status is predetermined, that men are born without any change in their fortune, the class takes the extreme form of Caste.

Features of caste :

Prof. G. S. Ghurye refers to six features of caste.

1. Castes membership is determined by birth. Castes comprise groups with a well defined life of their own.

2. There is a definite scheme of social precedence among the castes with Brahmins heading the social hierarchy.

3. There are restrictions on food to be taken and also the social interaction.

4. There are segregation of individual castes and groups in a villages resulting in deprivation of civil privileges throughout India.

5. There are restrictions on choice of occupations to certain categories of castes.

6. There are restrictions on marriage between members of different castes.

CASTEISM

Caste continues to be a major determinant of social and political life in India. Its presence as one of the most ancient features of Indian society has been naturally acting as a factor of social and political relations. Jaiprakash Narayan once observed that caste has acted as "the most major political party in India". It has been a determinant in political participation, voting behaviour and almost all other aspects of Indian politics.

Political parties and leaders use caste to secure their objectives in politics. Caste determines the nature, organization and working of political parties and interest groups, legislatures and bureaucracies and in fact, almost all political structures and functions. Caste-based voting, caste-based candidatures, caste based riots, caste conflicts, caste violence and the issues of reservations versus non-reservations have been factors of Indian politics.

Casteism, in its true meaning, is not a negative word. Caste based behaviour and caste based decisions does not necessarily have to be against nation building or integration of a democracy as it is intrinsic nature of people to look after their own but it definitely becomes a problem any caste tries to promote socio-economic interests of their own at the expense of other castes, which is the case in India.

Definition of Casteism :

D.N. Prasad: "Casteism is loyalty to the caste translated into politics".

Kaka Kalelkar: "Casteism………. is an over-riding, blind and supreme group loyalty that ignores the healthy social standards of justice, fair play, equity and universal brotherhood".

K.M. Panikkar: "In this way it is only because of casteism that the Smiths want to benefit only the Smiths while the Joneses want to come to the aid of other
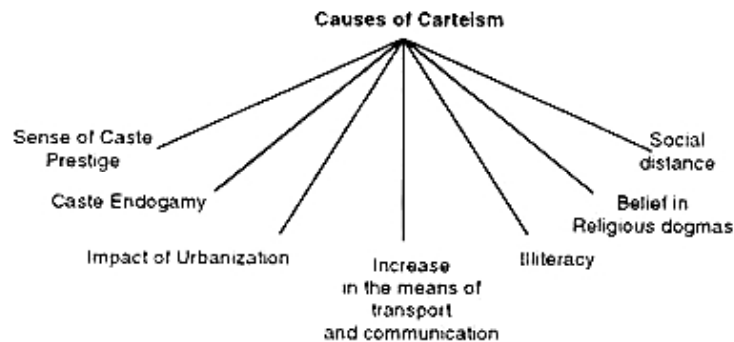
Joneses. It matters little if the members of the other castes are irreparably harmed, if it does not cause any concern to the Smiths and Joneses".

It is clear from the above definitions that casteism is a blind group loyalty towards one's own caste or sub-caste which does not care for the interests of other castes and their members.

Characteristic Features of Casteism :

1. Casteism one caste ignores and does not care for the interests of other castes. It signifies blind caste or sub-caste loyalty.

2. It ignores the human values and social welfare.

3. It hinders the spirit of democracy. It is anti-democratic.

4. It plays a nasty role in elections.

5. As regards casteism. Prof. M.N. Srinivas says, "on a short term basis the country is likely to have more trouble with caste".

6. It is against the ideal of Indian constitution.

Causes of Casteism :

Causes of Carteism

Sense of Caste Prestige — Caste Endogamy — Impact of Urbanization — Increase in the means of transport and communication — Illiteracy — Belief in Religious dogmas — Social distance

(a) Sense of Caste Prestige: The feeling of superiority of one's own caste over other castes is the main cause for the rise of casteism. It leads to a strong desire to enhance caste prestige. Members of a particular caste or sub-caste have the tendency of developing loyalty to their own caste. This type of loyalty towards the caste makes the members of the caste to favour their own caste members wherever they get the opportunity. It leads to casteism.

(b) **Caste Endogamy:** Caste endogamy refers to marriage within the same caste. Caste endogamy is therefore responsible for the emergence of the feeling of casteism. Individuals are more prone to develop their loyalties towards their own caste and sub-caste people. The practice of endogamy makes the people narrow-minded.

(c) **Impact of Urbanisation:** Urbanisation indirectly favours casteism. Due to the impact of industrialization people migrate from the rural areas to urban areas. When they go to a new place, naturally they search for their caste people. They consider their own caste people as their own potential friends and well-wisher. Hence it leads to strengthen caste feeling and casteism.

(d) **Increase in the Means of Transport and Communication:** Advancement and improvement in the means of transport and communication leads to a better organisation of caste. The feeling of casteism is also rapidly propagated through the medium of newspapers and the electronic media.

(e) **Illiteracy:** Lack of literacy leads to narrow-mindedness. Mostly the illiterate people have more caste loyalty. Hence it leads to casteism.

(f) **Belief in Religious Dogmas:** Due to illiteracy, people are governed by belief in religious dogmas, blind beliefs and superstitions. Due to the practice of 'Jati Dharma' they take interest in their own caste. It leads to caste feeling and casteism.

(g) **Social Distance:** Particularly, in rural areas, people belonging to the higher caste maintain social distance from the lower castes. They maintain it through different restrictions on inter-caste marriages, inter-caste dinning etc. The ideologies of an individual are conditioned exclusively by his caste norms and values. This has given rise to casteism.

Thus caste as a system of social organisation has two essential features demarcating it from other social systems. First, one's occupation is determined by the caste in which one is born. The division of labour is so rigid that people cannot take up the occupation other than that followed by their forefathers. Secondly, this rigid division of labour places some castes in superior position while others are inferior castes.

Although caste system played an important role at certain stage of Indian history, it has lost its utility in modern times. The institutional and structural changes in the caste system can be attributed to *Secularisation, Westernisation* and *Sanskritisation*. Due to western education caste bonds began to weaken.

ROLE OF CASTE AND CASTEISM IN INDIA

➤ **Caste and Political Socialisation:** Different caste groups have their loyalties behind different political parties and their ideologies. Right from his birth, an Indian citizen inherits a caste and grows up as a member of a particular caste group. He belongs either to one of the 'high castes' or to the 'scheduled castes'. In the process of picking up his political orientations, beliefs and attitudes, he naturally comes under the influence of caste groups and casteism. 'Caste values' and 'caste interests' influence his socialisation and consequently his political thinking, perceptions and participation. He begins banking upon caste camaraderie for occupying and performing a leadership role in society.

➤ **Caste and Leadership Recruitment:** Caste influences the process of leadership recruitment. This is particularly true of 'caste conscious' people of states like Haryana, Bihar, Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh. In Haryana, leadership comes either from Bishnois or Brahmins. In Andhra Pradesh the Reddy's, or the Kammas and Valamas provide state leaders. Similar has been the case of almost all the other states.

➤ **Caste and Party Politics:** Caste factor is a constituent of Indian party system. Some of the political parties have direct caste bases while others indirectly rely upon particular caste groups. BJP has been largely perceived as a party of Hindus. In particular, some regional political parties stand predominantly influenced by the caste factor. The DMK and AIADMK are non-Brahmin or rather anti-Brahmin political parties of Tamil Nadu. In Punjab, Akali Dal has a Sikh based identity. It stands influenced by the issue of Sikh versus non- Sikh. BSP banks upon the support of the scheduled castes. All political parties in India use caste as a means for securing votes in elections.

➤ **Role of Caste in Electoral Politics:** The caste factor continues to be a major factor of electoral politics in India. All political parties give special weightage to the caste factor in selecting their candidates, in allocating constituencies to their candidates and in canvassing support for their nominees in the elections. In constituencies predominated by Muslims, Muslim candidates are fielded and in areas predominated by Jats, Jat candidates are fielded. Even secularist parties take the caste factor into consideration while selecting there candidates. In election campaigns, votes are demanded in the name of caste.

➤ **Role of Caste in Government-Making:** Since caste is major feature of Indian society and acts as a key factor in various processes of politics, it also plays a

basic role in the decision-making process. Even the issue of re-organisation of states is handled with an eye on the prevention of undue predominance of a particular caste group or community in a particular territory. Caste factor influences the policies and decisions of the state government. The party in power tries to use its decision-making power to win the favour of major caste groups. Most political parties always try to nurture people belonging to scheduled castes as their vote banks. Dalit-Brahmin approach has been adopted by the BSP.

➢ **Caste and Local Politics:** In the Indian rural context, caste has been a plank of mobilization. The role of caste in the working of Panchayati Raj and other institutions of local self-government has been a known reality. We can go to the extent of recording that caste based factionalism in India has been the most hindering factor in the organisation and effective working of Panchayati Raj and urban local institutions.

➢ **Caste Violence:** Caste based violence very often finds its way into Indian politics. The traditional differences between higher and lower castes are often converted into a violent and fierce struggle for power in society. The growing intimidation of the lower castes by the higher or even the intermediary castes has been becoming a part of rural India's political reality. In states like Maharashtra, Bihar, Haryana, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh, caste violence has raised its head even in some urban areas.

Indian constitution abolished caste system, but every political party tries to use caste for political purpose. Since the caste system had done much harm to the country, untouchability of all shapes and forms was abolished in the Constitution. Separate Electorates were also abolished, though the Constitution made special reservations and safeguards for certain castes and classes.

In India although caste seems to be declining in importance as a social factor, it is increasing in importance as a political factor. The role of caste in politics is often referred to as casteism. Casteism may be defined as the tendency to mould the life of the nation on the basis of caste.

The influence of caste penetrates every area and level of political and administrative life of the nation. It begins with the electoral politics. All parties including the so-called secular parties select their candidates for elections with an eye on the caste composition of the constituencies concerned. Every party tries to select candidates from the numerically dominant caste in the electoral area. In electoral

campaigns party leaders make appeal to caste sentiments. It is not uncommon that the voters of a particular caste or caste groups vote en bloc for the candidate of their own caste.

Influence of caste is also visible when a Ministry is formed in a state or at the centre. Every Chief Minister tries to ensure that all dominant castes in the state are adequately represented in his Ministry. The various forms of assistance available under the community development schemes are distributed on caste basis. In many states, reservation in government jobs for backward classes has been provided.

Factors responsible for the dominance of caste in politics :

First, no party has a clear cut ideology or a definite socio-economic programme. Every party in their party manifestoes support Gandhism, democracy, socialism, secularism and all the ideals of democracy. But none of them sincerely act towards achieving these goals. In reality each party tries to capture power. If the parties were to be organised on ideological basis caste and communal factors would naturally be weakened.

Secondly the Indian political system is highly competitive. In their pursuit of power, parties and politicians try to mobilize social groups to get their support and consolidate their positions. According to Rajni Kothari "The alleged casteism in politics is thus no less than politicisation of caste. It is not politics that gets caste-ridden, it is caste that gets politicised.

Caste and Politics: Democratic Improvisation :

Caste and politics influence each other. Political leaders belonging to different castes seek to secure political and other advantages for themselves at the expense of other and to this end they utilize the caste sentiments. Caste consciousness and caste prejudices which exist among the masses are thus turned by politicians into caste passions, caste is taken advantage of as a Vote Bank politics. The political behaviour of the people of different political parties is influenced by the caste factors.

It may be noted that in India the impact of caste is not uniform at all levels of politics. It is most widely spread at local levels. In the Panchayati Raj institutions politics is exclusively dominated by the caste factor. Due to widespread illiteracy, caste prejudices are deep seated in the local constituencies and it is easier for the local politicians to mobilize the voters an caste basis. In the state and central elections caste also plays a significant role. It is evident that the manifestos of the political parties are always based on the welfare of the down-trodden masses.

A critical analysis of casteism reflects the following facts.

- It has endangered the national unity, violated norms of representative democracy and is the root cause of division in the various sub-castes.

- It has also proved a channel of communication which serves as a link between the democratic process and illiterate masses.

- Caste despite its shortcomings has attained universal acceptance. Hence it has become the unit of social action.

- Caste associations and caste tactics have significantly contributed to the success of political democracy by providing bases for representation and leadership. The newly emerging backward castes, because of their numerical majority have got access to power and importance.

However it is difficult to evaluate the role of caste in politics. One view is casteism is playing a progressive role in modernizing Indian society. The primary function of caste politics has been to transfer authority from higher to the lower and middle castes. Casteism has become a means of levelling the old order of inequality and uplifting the down trodden section of society. It plays an integrating and liberating role in our political process on the other hand in the wake of the socio-economic transformation of the society, in the post-independence period, the backward castes have got ample scope to consolidate their dominance which they got due to their numerical superiority. In most cases this has led to confrontation and social tension. It is argued that caste has become a decisive factor and is responsible for accentuating communal consciousness. It is also considered by some as an unhealthy and disruptive force. The advocates of this view say that caste based politics threatens national unity and nation-building process by putting group loyalty above national loyalty.

Thus casteism is inimical to the interest of the masses belonging to all castes. The caste - ridden society fails to become an effective instrument of national growth, solidarity and development and casteism in political sphere is still more harmful to the cause of national integration. Elections which are the very essence of democratic process are initiated by caste psychology and it has provided a new though sometimes a negative dimension to Indian politics. Therefore the suspicion and hatred among different Communities and castes, should be removed forthwith, only then national building will have a fruitful outcome.

REGIONALISM

Definition :

According to the Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences, "In a general way **Regionalism** may be defined as a counter movement to any exaggerated or aggressive form of centralization. Regional problems arise when there is a combination of two or more factors such as geographical isolation, independent historical traditions, racial ethnic or religious peculiarities and local and economic class interests." According to T.O. Hueglin "It is the persistence of sub-national and trans-national differences, identities and commitments."

Fighting for unity...
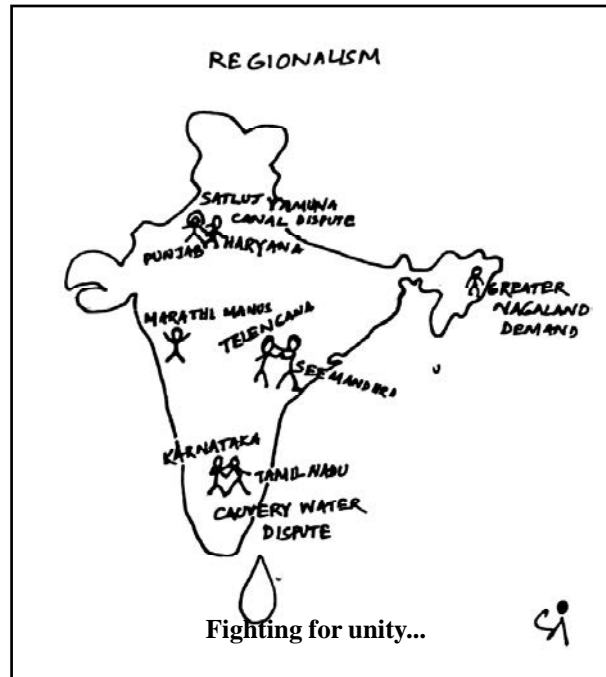
In Indian context Regionalism has three dimensions - political, linguistic and economic. Political dimension is more dominant and dangerous in India. It has shown its dangerous image in almost every part of our country.

Meaning :

Regionalism is associated with region. In geographical sense it means a part of earth's surface. In political sense it means a territory marked by homogeneity in respect of language, culture and community, political, economic and other interests. It is basically a psychological phenomenon. Regionalism tends to make the people feel that their political, economic and cultural interests are distinct from the people outside their region. Regionalism thus inculcates among the people a desire to organise into a distinct political unit for the protection and preservation of their interest. It is the urge of the people of a region or area to maintain a separate identity different from the national identity.

Regionalism is based on two aspects - positive and negative. In the former, the individual attaches too much importance to his own province where he lives, because he loves his area and tries to contribute for the progress and development of his own region. On the other hand, if the people of a region become aggressive towards other people not belonging to their region and are presently living with them, it is called negative regionalism. The native people resort to violence and indulge in hateful acts towards the migrants. This negative aspect of regionalism poses a challenge to nation building.

Factors Responsible for the Rise of Regionalism in India :

1. **Universal phenomenon:** Regionalism is not peculiar to India alone, it is a worldwide phenomenon. Most of the modern nations which have been formed on the basis of linguistic and cultural homogeneity cannot claim to have total homogeneous existence. In every country there is a regional group which have not been thoroughly integrated in the nation state. Examples are Scots in Britain, Tamils in Srilanka or Kurds in Iraq.

2. **Regional Diversity:** In India, regionalism rises because of regional diversity. Due to the distinct linguistic regions, culture and historical traditions, people are very sensitive for their territorial identity. Demand for different states constitutes a search for their identity.

3. **Tribal factor:** In the north-eastern part of India, there are several areas inhabited by tribes, each with its own language, culture and traditions. For the preservation of their culture, they demand for their own region.

4. **Economic factor:** The economic and cultural development of various regions of our country has been uneven. The pace of economic development is not evenly in all provinces. For instance, regionalism in Telengana area before its separation from Andhra Pradesh, in Vidarbha in Maharashtra, can be traced to the uneven economic development.

5. **Religious factor:** In the north-west, the religious factor was responsible for the rise of regionalism and gave birth to the "Two nation theory" of separatist movement for the division of pre-independent India into two - states - India and Pakistan. After independence also the demand for Khalistan for Sikhs, threatened the national integration.

6. **Sons of the Soil theory:** Many times the Regional leaders adopt sons of the soil theory to deprive the people from other areas of the profits of employment, industry, education, etc. This theory intensifies the growth of regional feeling.

7. **Political ambitions:** Ambitious politicians who fail to get into power at the state or national level, seek to exploit regional sentiments, to promote their personal interests.

Forms of Regionalism in India :

    (1)   Demand for secession from the Indian Union.

    (2)   Demand for separate statehood.

    (3)   Demand for full statehood by certain Union Territories.

    (4)   Inter-state disputes.

    (5)   Linguistic states.

    (6)   Demand for autonomy of the states.

    (7)   Demand for proportionate development.

    (8)   Sons of the Soil theory

The above are general forms of regionalism. Given below are some of the specific instances of some of the above forms.

    1.   **Secession from the Indian union :**

    (a)   Demand for Tamilnad - Most extreme form of regionalism first originated in Madras. In 1960, the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK) and the Nam Tamil (We Tamils) launched a joint campaign in the Madras state for the secession of the state from the Indian Union and establishment of an independent sovereign state of Tamilnadu.

    (b)   Demand for Independent Nagaland - The people of the Naga Hills of Assam and the Tuengsang division on the Indo-Burma border started immediately after independence a movement for the creation of an independent Naga state. In 1962, the 13th constitutional Amendment was passed and Nagaland was given the status of a full-fledged state.

    2.   **Demand for an Independent Mizo state (Meghalaya) :**

    (a)   Like the Nagas, the people of Mizo Hills districts of Assam demanded an independent Mizo state and initially it was made a Union Territory in

1972 and ultimately a full-fledged Mizo state, named Mizoram was created in 1987.

(b)   Similarly the people of the hilly areas of Garo, Khasi and Jaintia demanded a separate state and in 1972, their demand was conceded by the Union Government and Meghalaya was formed.

(c)   Demand for some other states in other region : Certain other regions in various states of the union have put forward demands for separate statehood. The areas which constituted the former state of Mysore have demanded separation from Karnataka. The Kumaon and Garhwal areas of Uttar Pradesh have raised their voice for the formation of a separate state of Uttaranchal. The tribal people of Bihar, have agitated for the formation of Jharkhand. Similarly Chattisgarh is formed as a state being separated from Madhay Pradesh.

3.   Demands by Union Territories for full statehood :

Himachal Pradesh, Tripura, Puducherry, Goa, Delhi were such Union Territories which raised demand for full statehood. Himachal Pradesh made full-fledged state in 1970 while Goa and Arunachal Pradesh were declared states. in 1987.

4.   Inter-state Disputes :

Regionalism manifested itself in the form of inter-state disputes. It includes, Maharasthra-Mysore Boundary Dispute relating to Marathi-speaking areas of Bijapur and Dharwar and Punjab-Haryana dispute over Chandigarh.

Inter-state Disputes over River waters:

It is relating to the sharing of river waters. The main disputes were over the waters of Narmada, Krishna and Kaveri rivers. For the Narmada river dispute the states of Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Gujrat and Maharastra were involved. In the dispute over the distribution of the Krishna waters, the states of Mysore (Karnataka), Andhra Pradesh and Maharastra were involved. Similarly for a long time, a dispute persisted among the states of Karnataka Tamilnadu and Kerala over the utilization of the waters of the river Kavery.

5.   Demand for Autonomy of the states :

In the Indian federal system, the union Government wields more powers than the states in legislative, administrative and financial field. Without the central financial

assistance and grant-in-aid, no state could expedite it's development programmes. There is a easy flow of central assistance to the states, where the same party rules in both centre and states, but for the states having different party governments, it is not so easy. As a consequence the states are demanding more autonomy especially in financial matters and protest against the central partiality.

6. Demand for proportionate Development :

In the distribution of resources between states by the union Government, some states had monopoly over the resources, while some other states are deprived of their quota. This uneven development makes it easy for regional protests and upsurges. The north-eastern states of India are so unhappy that violent agitations in these areas, become a permanent crisis for Indian union.

7. Sons of the soil theory :

This dimension of Regionalism is taken an ugly turn in most parts of India. The demand is that local people should be given preference over outsiders in matters, of employment, admission to educational institutions, establishing a new trade or any enterprises etc. The regional parties like Shiv Sena, Assam Gana Sangram Parishad, Mizo National Front, Tripura Upajati Yuba Samiti etc. support this sons of the soil theory. The parochial feelings towards outsiders / migrant communities are so intense that, it takes violent forms.

Thus, it is argued that uneven economic development of the country and rising backwardness of certain regions cultural diversities, social injustice, political aspirations of some leaders and our federal political system have resulted in the rise of regionalism. So what are the remedies for eliminating this threat to national integration ? Let's discuss them.

Remedies :

(1) **Balanced development:** If the central and state governments make honest efforts to reduce regional disparities in development, this problem can be gradually eliminated. The centre should provide financial assistance and grants - in - aid to all the states without any political consideration. The allocation of funds for development, location of projects, division of waters, etc should be made on certain well-known principles and each state will receive the share which is its due on the basis of population. The accelerated development of a region and a well balanced economic development of the state are the genuine goals of any progressive state.

(2) Strong action against secessionist forces: Regional imbalances in our country did not exist in the past. Occasional outbreak of agitations for the protection of the interests of some sections of people cannot be ruled out. But in some regions, the demands relating to secession and re-carving of the boundaries are still serious. This has to be dealt with strong action, on the other hand the demand for more autonomy to the states should be considered to avoid any set back in union state relations.

(3) Special package for Tribal and Backward Regions: The union government should provide special package for the tribal/backward and undeveloped regions and avoid any repressive policy to deal with their demands.

(4) Enactment of legislation from time to time for the social, and economic uplift of the downtrodden masses, is the responsibility of both centre and states. Our politicians should realize the dynamism and pragmatism of the concept of Regionalism and try to solve this issue with honesty and impartiality. The aspirations of tribals, scheduled tribes, linguistic minorities, the socially and economically discriminated people have to be attended to.

Besides the state must give consideration to the following suggestions -

(1) The policy of appeasement of minorities by political parties for securing electoral gains must be discouraged.

(2) By developing common national language and through reforms in educational system, regionalism can be checked.

(3) Democratic institutions must be strengthened.

(4) Disciplined role of national level political parties.

TERRORISM

The more you sweat during peace, the less you bleed during war: - sun tzu

Introduction :

After the Second World War the role of the sovereign nation states has been reduced due to the role of many non-state actors. These actors include terrorist organisations, multinational corporations (MNC) and religious organisations etc. Terrorist organisations have assumed a violent role and are threat to peace and security of nation states.

In this unit, we are going to analyse the meaning, nature, types and dimension of terrorist activities.

Meaning and Nature :

The term terrorism is derived from latin words 'terrere' and deterre. The word 'terrere means to tremble and the term deterre implies to frighten. Thus terrorism means to harm people so that they are so frightened that they start trembling. Terrorists achieve their objectives through a systematic use of violence by threatening the lawful authority of a government or a state. In the olden days violence was used when the ruler failed to redress the grievances of the people or oppressed the people. Thus terrorism has the political motive and violence is the means to achieve this objective.

Today, terrorism is the organised use of violence for political ends and is directed at innocent people. They create fear and terror among the people. They can kill any number of people and destroy any amount of property just to spread fear and terror. Terrorists seek to make themselves known as widely as possible by their acts of terror

Types of Terrorism :

Terrorism is identified with attempts made by individuals or groups to destabilize or overthrow existing political institutions. At the global level terrorism has been used in anti-colonial conflicts whether by either sides or one side. It may be between two religious sects (Catholics and Protestants in Northern Ireland) or disputes between revolutionary forces and established governments (Iran, Indonesia, etc)

Cross-Border Terrorism **:** When terrorism that has roots in one country and it operates with the support of the country of it's origin, but it uses violence to create terror in another country is known as cross-border terrorism. Terrorism in India since 1980 has its origin and full support across the Indian borders in Pakistan or Pak-occupied Kashmir. Thousands of innocent people have been killed in India as a result of this Cross - Border Terrorism.

International Terrorism **:** In international terrorism the innocent people are killed in several countries for example. Al Qaeda group is not limited to its victims in any one country, it is world wide. Thus terrorism involving two or more countries is termed as international terrorism.

However, terrorism can be categorised as follows.

Civil disorder is a form of collective violence which interferes with the peace, security and normal functioning of the community.

Political terrorism - Violent criminal behaviour designed primarily to generate fear in the community or substantial segment of it for political purposes.

Non-political terrorism is terrorism that is not aimed at political purposes but which is designed to create and maintain fear for individual for collective gain.

Quasi-Terrorism - Activities incidental to the commission of crimes of violence those are similar in method of terrorism. Unlike terrorism quasi - terrorism does not induce terror in the immediate victim.

Limited political terrorism - It refers to acts of terrorism which are committed for ideological or political motives but which are not parts of a campaign to capture or control the state.

State terrorism - It may be called structural terrorism defined broadly as terrorist acts carried out by the government in pursuit of political objective often as part of their foreign policy.

Methods of Terrorism :

Violence is the principal means of all terrorist groups. However, different groups use different methods. The terrorist methods have gradually evolved from primitive means to the most sophisticated weapons and even killer gases. They sometimes use the simple weapons like country-made pistols or crude bombs to seek publicity or to frighten the people. But since 1968, the terrorist groups have rapidly refined their methods and weapons.

Depending on the goal and resources, the terrorist groups may select soft targets or hard targets. In some cases indiscriminate firing is resorted to in crowded places like markets or places of worship, at times indiscriminate firing on groups of people by moderate weapons like Ak-47 etc resulted murder of large number of innocent people.

Use of bombs has now become important weapon of terrorism. Serial bomb blasts and the use of RDX are an inhuman act of terror.

Hijacking of aircrafts to make demands that cannot be easily met cause mental torture to hostages or sometimes innocent passengers are killed. The use of hijacked aircraft to kill thousands of people on ground and destroy property became a new technique when world Trade Centre in New York was destroyed by Al Qaeda terrorists.

Suicide squads are a unique method when highly motivated terrorists have used this method of eliminating their target by killing themselves in the attack. In 1991, during the election campaign for Lok Sabha the former Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi was assassinated by a woman terrorist. The Islamist suicide militants use this technique frequently. The terrorist attack on the Indian Parliament on 13th Dec 2001 and Mumbai terrorist attacks of 26/11 were the handiwork of the Pakistani based terrorist outfits. The growing menace of terrorism has been adversely affecting the process of national integration and nation building in India. After 26/11, India has taken strong steps for safeguarding the security of the country. Since 1980s the challenge of terrorism in different forms has been very formidable in J & K, Assam, Bihar, Odisha, Jharkhand, Andhra Pradesh, Chhattisgarh and many north-eastern states of India. In one form or other terrorism continues to be present.

Fight against Terrorism :

Terrorism disrupts the smooth functioning of democratic societies, as the governments are not in a position to provide basic security measures. Terrorists operate in different manners and they use covers to protect themselves from being detected.

Everyday new forms of terrorism are being used. To meet the challenge the greatest requirement is to bring about improvement in the technique of intelligence collection infiltration and surveillance and the like. Through public information programme, education, public assistance against terrorism should be sought for and people should be made more security conscious. Moreover, a positive attitude towards peace - making process should be developed so that people can be protected from terrorism.

The growing incidence of terrorist violence has drawn the attention of the entire world community. The US has taken a lead role to promote international efforts to tackle the threat of terrorism. Nations have been taking serious steps to protect diplomats and embassies. The countries are also adopting air safety measures to curb hijacking of aircrafts.

While India and some other countries have suffered by terrorist attacks, till these countries are trying for international co-operation to eliminate international terrorism. The United Nations has been seriously concerned with the spread of international terrorism. The General Assembly through its conventions has requested the human kind to unite and fight this curse.

Terrorism has no easy solution. It requires both national and international support; state institutions, the civil society and international organisation - all would need to wage an unrelenting war against terrorism. A strong public opinion and a serious attempt to be made to create awareness on terrorism. No compromise would have to be made against lawlessness. Stern laws against terrorism would have to be framed and implemented. Citizens need to stop providing assistance to terrorists. Communal harmony is another essential requirement to counter the threat of terrorism. The people of India must come forward to give a united fight to the terrorist organisations by isolating the forces of terrorism. The terrorists must be encouraged to join the national mainstream. The solution lies in condemning terrorism, boycotting the terrorists, maintaining harmonious and good inter - community relations and supporting fully the state - led operations against terrorism.

POINTS TO REMEMBER

⇨   India, being a country of diversities, nation building involves doing away with all the differences in one hand and providing for territorial integrity on the other hand.

⇨   After independence, the process of nation-building has been started through various constitutional provisions in the form of Preamble, Fundamental Rights, Directive Principles of state policy etc.

⇨   National building can be possible through balanced economic development, social integration and communal harmony for which the constitution has emphasised on secularism. Social Justice and economic development.

⇨   However, the process of national building has been challenged. Major challenges to National Integration in India are Regionalism, Casteism and Communalism.

⇨   Terrorism means to harm people so that they are so frightened that they start trembling. Terrorists achieves their objectives through a systematic use of violence by threatening the lawful authority of a government or a state.

GLOSSARY

Periphery- margin, border

Fissiparous- separatist, breakaway

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MODEL QUESTIONS

Section-A

Multiple Choice Questions :

1. The worst form of regionalism is :

    (a) Secessionism (b) State autonomy

    (c) Sons of soil policy (d) Linguistic regionalism

2. Caste is a

    (a) Association (b) State's group

    (c) Social group (d) Kinship group

3. Communalism constitutes the biggest challenge to :

    (a) Public health (b) Economy

    (c) Religious freedom (d) National unity and integration

4. Which of the following are not challenges to nation building?

    Select the correct answer from the list given below and choose the right key:

    (a) Casteism

    (b) Terrorism

    (c) Oppositions to the Government inside the Parliament

    (d) Bandhs and Hartals

    Key : (i) AB (ii) BC (iii) BD (iv) CD

5. Remedies to solve problems of regionalism :

    Select the correct answer from the list given below and choose the right key:

    (a) Special package for Tribal and Backward Regions

    (b) Distribution of free goods in problem areas

    (c) Strong action against secessionist forces

    (d) Making every district a state under the Constitution

    Key : (i) AB (ii) AC (iii) BC (iv) AD

6. **Jeremi Suri** says that successful nation-building efforts must incorporate five principles. Which is not a feature of nation-building?

Select the correct answer from the list given below and choose the right key:

(a) Nation-building always requires partners

(b) Leadership must start small, addressing basic problems

(c) Nation -building is about people

(d) Nation-building demands high quality brick, cement and steel.

(e) It requires good Orators to spread awareness about nation-building.

Keys : (i) AB (ii) CD (iii) BE (iv) DE

Section-B

Write briefly :

1. What is Nation - building?
2. What is regionalism?
3. What is the role of caste in politics?
4. What is 'sons of the soil' policy?
5. What is communalism?
6. Define Nation Building.
7. Distinguish between State building and Nation building.
8. What are the five principles Nation Building?
9. What is Casteism?
10. What are the Types of terrorism?

Write notes on :

1. Discuss the role of Caste in nation building.
2. The main ingredients of communalism.
3. The Remedies / suggestions to combat communalism.
4. Caste and politics have been influencing each other.
5. The Remedies of *regionalism*.
6. Challenges before India as an independent nation in August, 1947.

Section-C

Long (Essay) Type :

1. Discuss the meaning and importance of Nation Building.
2. Discuss the Current challenges to Nation Building.
3. Discuss the Factors responsible for the dominance of caste in politics.
4. What are the main causes of communalism in India?
5. What are the Factors responsible for the rise of regionalism in India?
6. What are the Forms of regionalism in India?
7. What are the Methods of terrorism? How to fight against terrorism?

Section-D

Miscellaneous :

1. Read the following very different statements made in August 1947 –

   "Today you have worn on your heads a crown of thorns. The seat of power is a nasty thing. You have to remain ever wakeful on that seat…. you have to be more humble and forbearing…now there will be no end to your being tested."

   - **M.K Gandhi**

   "…India will awake to a life of freedom….we step out from the old to the new…we end today a period of ill fortune and India discovers herself again. The achievement we celebrate today is but a step, an opening of opportunity…"

   - **Jawaharlal Nehru**

   Spell out the agenda of nation building that flows from these two statements. Which one appeals more to you and why?

❑ ❑ ❑

CHAPTER - 6

CONTEMPORARY ISSUES IN INDIAN POLITICS

"Social movements are a major vehicle for ordinary people's participation in public politics."

- Charles Tilly

In this chapter

We shall try to know :
➡ *The Issues in Indian Politics*

We will discuss :
➡ What is a Popular Movements?
➡ What are the Popular Movements?
  ● *Women Movement*
  ● *Environment protection Movements*
  ● *Development-Displacement Movements*

POPULAR MOVEMENTS

During 1970's new forms of social mobilization began in India. These movements were known as social movements, popular movements or people's movements. Chipko movement, Narmada Bachao andolan (save Narmada movement), Silent Valley Movement, save Chilka Movement, Gandhamardan Bachao Andolan (save Gandhamardan movement), Lok Satta movement are the examples of such popular movements. In most of these movements the people fight for the cause of women emancipation, environmental preservation and protection of the rights of the displaced persons. One of the leading participant and analyst in this popular movement Sanjay Sangvi observed that the major agenda of these movements are protection of the rights of the landless, unorganized labourer in rural and urban areas, adivasis, dalits, displaced people, peasants and urban poor. The issues of livelihood, opportunities, dignity and development are taken up.

Most of these popular movements have been inspired by Gandhian ideology of Satyagraha and non-violence. These movements are led by the social activists and the non-governmental organizations. These movements mostly distance themselves; from political parties and try to cut across the ideologies of political parties. Some of the popular leaders of these movements in India are Sunderlal Bahuguna, Medha Patkar, Baba Amte and Vandana Shiva etc. In this present chapter we shall come to know about the woman movement, environment protection movement and development-displacement movement of our country.

WOMEN MOVEMENT

Discrimination against women has become a universal phenomenon. From time immemorial, women are subjected to social, economic, political and cultural deprivation. This issue of women exploitation has been a major challenge to process of development during recent years. Women rights to work, to vote, equal wages for equal work, to hold public offices, property, education and protection from sexual harassment are the major themes of women movements which are known as feminist movements. These women movements are otherwise known as feminist movements. Feminism is defined to be a range of political movements and ideology that share a common goal to define, establish and achieve political, economic, personal and social rights for women. This includes seeking equal opportunity for women in education and employment. These feminist movements are considered to be a main force behind major historical changes for women rights.

Charles Fourier a French utopian socialist is credited with having coined the word 'feminism' in 1872. Oxford English Dictionary lists 1852 as the year of first appearance of 'feminist' and 1895 for feminism. The history of modern western feminist

Our number is going down below 50% of the population! So we have reduced our demands... 33% only.
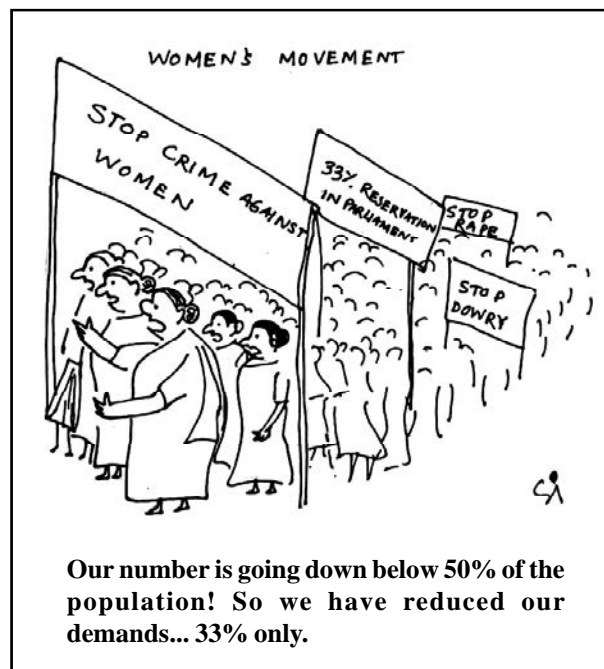
movement is divided into three waves. Each wave deals with different aspects of feminist issues. The first wave comprises of women's suffrage movement of nineteenth and early twentieth century. The second wave of feminism comprises of the ideas and actions of women's liberation movement beginning in 1960's. It battles for the social and legal rights of women. The third wave is a continuation of and a reaction to the perceived failures of second wave feminism during 1990s.

Emergence of Organized Women Movements in the World :

The women's movement appeared in an organized form in United States in 1848. The Seneca Falls Convention of 1848 provided the scope for such movement. During the 1858-59 a number of women pressure groups appeared in Great Britain. Denmark had a women's Association by 1871 and in Sweden there was an association for married women by 1873 and an association for the promotion of women's interests by 1884. In the same year also in Finland women's association emerged. These organizations comprised of middle-class women and they worked closely with men to achieve their goal. The fate of such feminist movements was affected by the peculiar circumstances of each country. Hence, the achievement of these women organizations was not the same everywhere, for example, in Finland and Norway, female emancipation benefitted enormously by its association with a broader struggle for self-determination. Where as in England domestic politics has complicated and delayed women struggle. In Russia an all-Russian union of equal rights emerged following the revolutions of 1905. But it becomes a failure under the pressure of administration. Only the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 resuscitated the women's cause that to in a limited way. In France and Germany the fortune of women's movement were greatly conditioned by cultural and political compulsions. The French thinkers were in the forefront in coining the term feminism. Yet the French feminists made less progress compared to their counterparts in US and Britain.

Gradually the isolated groups of feminists scattered over the world began to draw together to pursue he movement more vigorously. During the First World War many women leaders felt the call of patriotism so strongly that they withdrew from feminist demands for a brief period. So long as the War lasted, this remained a hopeless cause. But after the war ended the feminist movement gained momentum. Some branches of feminism closely track the political leanings of the society such as liberalism, conservatism, Marxism, environmentalism etc. The liberal feminism is an individualistic form of feminism which focuses on the ability of women to maintain their equality with men. The leaders of liberal feminist movement demanded equality,

women's right to suffrage, personal freedom, right to hold public office etc. Mostly this goes with the first wave of feminism. The Marxist feminists or the socialist feminists focus on the ways in which women are oppressed through capitalistic practices and institutions. They hold that the system of private property is also instrumental in women's exploitations. Women are exploited at home and at work-places because of the uncompensated labour. Radical feminism emphasises on the radical ordering of a society. They are out and out against the patriarchy. They demand that male supremacy is to be eliminated in all social and economic contexts. They challenge the existing social norms rather than the political process and they emphasise raising public awareness against violence against women. They criticize public-private dichotomy. Eco-feminism, which emphasises on the environmental perspective of feminism, argues that oppression of women is due to the men's control of land and destruction of natural resources.

WOMEN MOVEMENTS IN INDIA

The history of feminist movements in India dates back to the pre-independence period. The first- phase of such movement began in the mid-nineteenth century when there were protests against evils of the system of 'Sati'. The second phase began during 1915 to pre-independence period when Gandhi incorporates the women movements into the Quit India Movement. During this period many women organization emerged in India. The third phase of women movement is the post-independence period. During this phase focus was given on equal treatment of women at home and at workplaces and right to political equality.

Status of Women in India :

In spite of the progress made by the Indian feminist movements women in modern Indian society still faces oppression and discriminations. The plight of women in general is distressing. They are still in deplorable condition. Gender bias, absence of freedom both at home and workplaces, social evils, diseases, poverty, denial of education, absence of adequate opportunities for employment, crimes against women, lack of adequate representations are some of the factors which are responsible for their poor and secondary status in the society.

Despite many laws and declarations many problems still remain which inhibit women from taking full advantage of the rights and opportunities given to them. Still there are many anti-feminist customs and traditions which dominate our cultural life. Religious laws and expectations and personal laws enumerated by specific

religions conflict with the constitutional rights of women. Patriarchy still persists. There is poor representation of women in the Indian workforce. Females have a higher drop-out rate than males from middle and primary schools. There are lower levels of literacy among women. Between the years 1991 to 2001 the female-male ratio of populations of India fell from 94.5 girls per 100 boys to 92.7 girls per 100 boys. In rich state like Punjab, Haryana, Maharashtra this ratio fell sharply. This indicates that preference for male-child is still persisting and this is an evidence of **natality** and inequality. In the economic field the women work in house. In poor families women collect fire wood, water from long distance. In rich families they also help in family business. But their contributions are not recognized. They are also engaged in organized and unorganized sectors like agriculture and allied occupations. Educated women also are engaged in senior management jobs and all India services even though less in number. Since a working woman is sandwiched between her domestic responsibilities and occupational responsibilities she has no time or freedom to enjoy the fruits of her labour.

In the political field her experience is no better. The women representation in legislature is comparatively low. Her voice is not heard and interests go unprotected.

In the social sphere there is a dismal picture of the status of women in India. In many states, the infant mortality of girls is higher. According to the National Family Health Survey (1998-99) only 52 percent of women are consulted for decisions concerning their own health. Women's wage rate is on an average only 75 percent of that of men. Studies reveal that female members of the family receive less medical care than male members. They are deprived of educational facilities. Thus lesser fed, lesser loved and lesser educated the women lead a life of economic and social deprivation. They represent the fastest increasing group of impoverished. What is most unfortunate is that even in today's society atrocities against women is rising high and the incidence of domestic violence is alarmingly high.

Reasons for Crime against Women :

(i)   There is hardly any deterrent. The culprits get away easily. The conviction rate is very low. Records reveal that in Delhi, the capital city the conviction is vey less even though number of cases for dowry deaths is very high.

(ii)   Even though there are many Acts and laws to prevent crimes, against women, the enforcement part is very weak.

(iii) Absence of mass mobilization and participation is another reason. With the kind of bureaucracy, police and political set-up we have enactment of laws is not enough. Mass campaigns are to be vigorous.

(iv) Delay in delivery of justice is also another reason for increasing violence against women. Family courts must give prompt decisions.

(v) Public apathy and indifference, social stigmas also play adverse roles and women oppressons are increased.

Women Leaders in India :

Many women leaders who participated in the freedom movement in India also fought for the cause of women. Pundit Ramabai, Annie Besant, Margret E Consins, Sarala Devi Choudhuri, Vijaya Lakhsmi Pandit, Kamla Devi Chattopadhyaya, Sita Devi, Kusum Trivedi, Raj Kumari Amrit Kaur, Sarojini Naidu, Durgabai Deshmukh, Rustam ji Faridoonji, were some of the women leaders who fought for the cause of women rights. During recent times women leaders like Indira Gandhi, Nandidni Satapathy, Jayalilitha, Basundhara Raje Sindhia, Sushma Swaraj have made their mark in political spheres. Persons like Ramadevi, Malati Devi Choudhury made their contributions in freedom struggle and social upliftment for women. In the field of environmental conservations women leaders like Vandana Shiva, Medha Patkar achieved prominence. Thus in all the spheres women leaders have excelled and they are no less than male counterparts.

Impact of Women Movements in India :

As a consequence of the women movements a lot of changes have ushered in the social, political and legal spheres for the women upliftment. Since early 1950s many programmes have been taken up for women development. Working women hostels were established under STEP (Supports to training-cum-employment for women). The schemes of condensed courses of education and vocational training are implemented for them. Mahila Mandals Indira Mahila Kendras, Self help Groups under Mahila Samruddhi Yojana are established. Measures have been taken up to spread literacy among women and extend employment opportunity for them. Especially special attention is given for the upliftment of rural women.

The Government of India has enacted laws like the special Marriage Act 1954, the Hindu Marriage Act 1955, the Hindu Minority and Guardianship Act 1956, the Hindu Adoption and Maintenance Act 1956, suppression of Immoral Traffic Act

1956, and the Dowry Prohibition Act 1961 in order to give legal protection to women. The National Commission for Women was set up on 31st January 1992. This commission safeguards the women rights, and protects women from atrocities and violence. On the strength of the report of this Commission and as a result of the pressure of women movements many more enactments are made. They are – Medical Termination of Pregnancy Act 1971, the Equal Remuneration Act 1976, the Child Marriage Restraint Amendment Act 1978, the Criminal Law Amendment Act 1983, the Family Courts Amendment Act 1984, The Dowry prohibition (Amendment) Act 1984. The objectives of these laws are to enhance the status of women and to safeguard them from violence. In the states of Indian Union, women commissions are established. Separate police stations are established to handle cases of violence and crimes against women. Most important enactments in direction of women welfare are the 73rd Amendment Act-1992 and the 74th Amendment Act 1992. These acts have strengthened the position of women in local self governments. Under the 73rd Amendment Act, seats are reserved for women in Panchayatiraj system and under the 74th Amendment Act seats are reserved for women in the urban local government institutions. Thus the women movements have yielded positive results in empowering women in various fields.

ENVIRONMENT PROTECTION MOVEMENTS

Environment protection movement is another important popular movement going on in the world. The main objective of these movements is protection of environment.

Environment includes water, air, land, and the interrelationships which exist among and between water, air and land and human beings, other living creature plants, micro-organisms and property. The environment provides the life-support system. For many reasons the environment is being threatened. It is widely accepted that the challenges posed by environment degradation pollution, resources scarcity and

Whom should I support?
The industries or the forest dwellers?
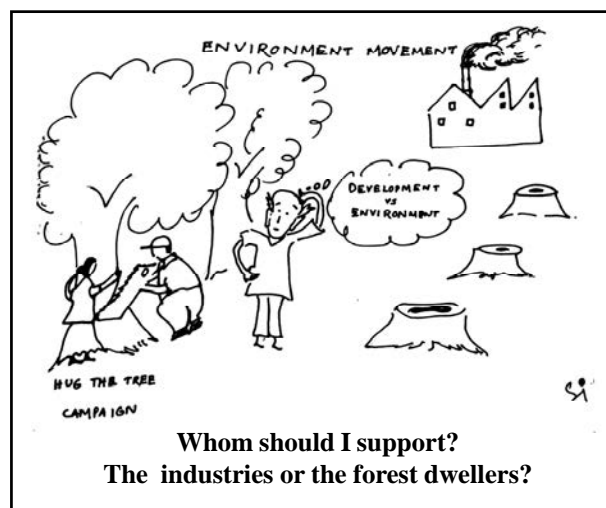
population exploitation cannot be handled by any one individual country. It has therefore become a global concern.

Land degradations soil erosion, water contaminations, air pollution, global warming. Ozone depletion etc have become the major environmental issues before the world. Many development projects of the developed and developing countries are causing threats to the environment. Man's greed has led to over exploitations of nature. Urbanizations and industrializations have their hazardous impact on environment. The growing concern for environment and related issues produced responses from every section of the global society. The primary actors in global politics are the nation-states. The nations are coming to agreement to safeguard the world environment. The United Nations conference on the Human Environment (1972) was the first organized worldwide common effort to derive a common outlook on environmental issues. This is known as the Stockholm conference. It puts the environmental issues on the agenda of international politics. It made platforms for future agreement for protection of the environment. The UN environmental programmes were created to coordinate and integrate the environment related activities of various UN agencies. The world commission on Environment and Development in its report entitled 'Our common Future' which is also known as Brunt land Report has laid down the goals of environmental preservation and economic development and ushered in the concept of sustainable development.

Environment Protection Movements in India :

India being a developing country has undertaken a lot many development projects. We have also pursued the policies for rapid industrialization and urbanizations. In the process of economic development environment is sacrificed to a great extent. The manufacturing industries, the increase of vehicles, waste generations, and mining and use of fertilizers have become the major sources of environmental pollution in India. Over the last few years there is substantial growth in industrial pollution. The industries release toxic effluents which pollute air and contaminate water. Industries become the biggest polluters. With increase in cities and towns number of vehicles has grown up; the vehicular emissions cause air pollutions and cause diseases. The growth in human population and change in life style lead to generations of wastes. The municipal solid wastes include dust ashes, refuse and rubbish, wastes from market places etc. The disposal of solid wastes has become a big problem and this waste becomes a source of pollution. We have many rich mining areas. The open cast mining is a major component of mining operations

in India. This operation leads to environmental problems like land degradation, pollutions of surface and ground water, air pollution and deforestation. Use of pesticides and fertilizers has also led to environmental pollution. Even though these have helped us in meeting the challenges of fighting food scarcity, their use has affected the physical property of soil and led to surface water contamination and reduced the nutrient quality of plants. All these features cause environmental hazards. India being a civilized country is fully aware of the adverse impacts of environmental hazards. Protection of environment has become the primary objective. A country-wide environmental consciousness has grown among the people in the recent years. People have realized that we shall perish unless we protect our environment.

Some of Major Environmental Movements in India :

The environmental movements are popular movements for the conservation of environment. These movements are meant for the sustainable management of natural resources. These movements put pressure on government to pursue eco-friendly public policies. These movements include both organized and formal activities and informal activities. Many non-governmental organizations champion the causes of these movements. Some of them are local; some of them are national and global. Let us discuss some of the major environmental movements in India.

(a) Chipko Movement: The Chipko Movement took place in the Chamoli and Tehri-Garhwal districts of Uttarakhand. The main objectives of these movements were to protect the trees on the Himalayas slopes from the exploitations by forest contractors. 'Chipko' in the local language means to hug. The women in the area hugged the trees to protect them. Hence, this was known as 'Chipko movement'. Some of the important leaders associated with this movement are Sunderlal Bahuguna, Chandi Prasad Bhatt, Gaura Devi, Ghanshyam Raturi etc. The then Government set up a committee to look into the matter and finally the people won and could save the forest.

(b) The silent valley movement: Silent valley is an evergreen tropical forest in Palakkad district of Kerala. The Kerala state electricity board proposed to set up a hydro electric dam across a river in this valley. People of the area apprehended that the project would spoil the moist evergreen forest and cause ecological disturbances. Several voluntary organizations opposed the project and mobilized the local people to go for a movement. In June 1983, the central Government reconsidered the issue

and a commission under the chairman of Prof. M.G.K Menon was set up to give its opinion. On the strength of its recommendations, this project was called off. The Kerala Satra Sahitya Parishad- a local NGO and poet activist Sugatha Kumari played active role in this movement.

(c) Bishnoi Movement: This Bishnoi movement took place in the Marwar region of Rajasthan. During 1700s this movement started to protect the sacred trees from being cut down by the then king's soldiers for construction of a new palace. Amrita Devi a woman activist of Khejarli of Marwar region raised her protest voice and mobilized other villagers of the area. Around 363 Bishnoi villagers have sacrified their lives during the movement to protect the Bishnoi faith that believes in protection of trees and animals. Finally the king surrendered to the public demand and ordered to stop tree-felling. This area was declared to be a protected area. This legislation to protect trees and animals still exists.

(d) Jungle Bachao Andolan: This movement has taken place in the Singhabhum district of Bihar in 1982. The movement started when government decided to replace the natural sal forest with highly- priced teak trees. The tribal mostly spearheaded this movement.

(e) Appiko Movement: The Appiko movement started in the year 1983 in the Uttara Kannada and Shimoga district of Karnataka. The movement started against tree-felling and commercialization of natural forests. Panduranga Hegde helped launching this movement. This movement is known as 'Appiko chaluvali'. The locals embraced the trees and protected them from being cut by contractors. Thus they used the same technique as being used in Chipko movement. The agitators staged padayaatras (foot march), street plays, and folk dances in order to spread environment awareness among the people. The movement was a successful one. It could save the region from environmental degradation.

(f) Narmada Bachao Andolan (save Narmada movement): There is popular environment movement in the year 1985 against setting up of large dams in the river Narmada which flows in the states of Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra. Leaders like Medha Patekar, Baba Amte gave direction to the movement. Many social and environmental activities, NGOs and Human Rights groups are involved in the movement. The movement first started as a protest against the construction of Sardar Sarovar Dam. The movement took up the cause of the displaced persons and demanded for proper rehabilitation and also for environmental conservation. This

movement is still on and it created an anti-big dam opinion in India and questioned the so-called development policies of the Government.

(g) Protest against Tehri-Dam project : The protest movement against the Tehri-Dam project began during 1990s. Leaders like Sunderlal Bahuguna supported the movement. The objections raised by the agitators are that the project would submerge the large forest areas is the Tehri region along with the river Bhagirathi in Uttarakhand and disturb the eco-system of the region.

Some Important Environmental Movements in Odisha :

Odisha has rich natural resources. It has long seashore, forest and good collection of flora and fauna. During different periods of time environmental protection movements have taken place to protect the natural resources from the threats of the so-called development projects. Some of the movements are discussed below in brief.

(a) Save Gandhamardan Movement : Gandhamardan Hills and the forest are situated in the Bargarh and Bolangir districts of Odisha. This region is rich with medicinal plants. The movement to save Gandhamardan started against the decision of Government to grant lease to BALCO for bauxite extraction on the Hills. The NGOs like Gandhamardan Yuba Parishad and Gandhamardan Bachao Samiti took the leadership in the movement. Leaders like Bhabani Shankar Hota had contributed a lot to the cause of the movement. The Government was compelled to set up a committee under the chairmanship of Prof. B.D Nagchoudhury. On its recommendation the Government was compelled to abandon the project. Thus the movement was successful in fulfilling its aims.

(b) Save Chilka movement : Under the leadership of an environmentalist, Sri Banka Bihari Das and the Odisha Krushak Mahasangha an agitation was organized in 1990s to save Chilka lake, the largest brackish water lake in Asia. The movement demanded the conservation of natural resources in and around Chilka which were likely to be threatened by Tata's ambitious project for shrimp culture. The movement gained momentum through the support of the local people and Tata's project was withdrawn. The movement also demanded to protect the lake from siltation.

(c) Movement for conservation of Simlipal Biosphere : The Simlipal Forest area in the district of Mayurbhanj in Odisha has rich flora and fauna. There was movement to declare it a biosphere. The local activists, the Odisha Environmental Society and leaders like Sri Prasanna Kumar Das took the lead in this movement.

The Union Government had to declare it as a biosphere reserve which is first of its kind in the state. The movement could thus contribute towards the conservation of the environment of the region.

(d) The Buddhagram movement: The Buddhagram movement is an environment protection movement going on in the village Kesharpur and the adjoining areas in the district of Nayagarh. The speciality of this movement is that it is not a protest movement against any project. Rather it is a movement that spreads environment awareness among the people and as a result the villagers could create forests on the barren land. Thus it is a successful movement so far as campaign for greening is concerned. The activists and the local NGO called 'Brushkya O Jeevar Bandhu Parishad' could make people aware about environmental preservation and they used techniques like padayatras, street-plays, folk dances and other Gandhian ways like Satyagraha for mass mobilization. Intellectuals like Prof. Narayan Hazary and Prof. Subash Chandra Hazary were associated with this movement.

(e) Baliapal Peoples' Movement Against Missile Test Base: The government of India proposed to establish a missile test base, called the National Test Range (NTR) for the research, production and launching of missiles. The selected site fell in two blocks of Balasore district of Odisha- Baliapal and Bhograi-covering 102 sq. km. (55 villages). The establishment of such a project was part of a programme to make India into a major military power.

After the announcement, a people's movement grew in the affected villages of those two blocks against the government's decision to take over their land and relocate them elsewhere. They prevented the entry of the then collector by putting barricades. There was a stiff resistance from the local people as the project threatened the betel and paddy cultivation, the basic source of livelihood of the people of the region. The theme of the movement was put succinctly by a PUDR (Peoples Union of Democratic Rights) pamphlet, namely, "Bheeta Maati - Our Soil, Our Earth, Our Home".

Uttar Balasore Kshepanastra Ghati Pratirodh Samiti was formed comprising of four fronts such as Students' Front, the youth Front, the Women's Front and the fisherman Front. The fisherman Front took the issue to the streets.

After many years of protest and agitation the people of the area were successful in their goal and the Missile test range was relocated in the Wheeler Island (presently known Abdul kalaam Island). This movement was launched for rehabilitation environmental conservation.

Besides these there were movements to save environment in other areas of the state. There were movements to save river Ib and Mahanadi from pollution caused by Orient paper mill of Brajarajnagar. In Talcher-Angul, belt the NGOs fought against the pollution caused by Thermal power plant and NALCO, and to save river Brahmani from pollution caused by industrial effluents. Movements are on in the districts of Kalahandi against the Vedanta project of Niyamgiri. Quite recently there was anti-POSCO movement fought in the district of Jagatsinghpur. This also is meant for environmental conservation of the region.

Impact of Environment Protection Movements on Government :

The environmental protection movements not only have moulded the public attitude and prompted them to conserve nature but also influenced the policies of the Government for conservation and sustainable use of natural resources and emphasized the need for eco-friendly development policies. The emphasis laid on environment by the fourth five years plan led to the establishment of the National Council of Environmental Planning and Co-operation in 1972 in the Department of Sciences and Technology. Another empowered committee was set up on 29th February, 1980 for viewing the existing legislative measures and administrative machinery for ensuring protection of environment. On the recommendations of this committee headed by N.D Tiwari, a separate Ministry Of Environment And Forests was set up in 1985. This ministry becomes the administrative and nodal agency for policy formulation, planning and coordination of environmental programmes. This is the nodal agency of United Nations Environment Programmes. Its main objectives are protection and conservations of flora and fauna, forest and wildlife, control of pollution etc. The Department takes up measures for environmental impact assessment and promotes environmental and forestry research. The Central Pollution Control Board was established to enforce the Acts like Prevention and Control of Pollutions Air Act 1981 and the Prevention and Control of Pollution of Water Act (1974). It advises the Central Government on matters of protection and control of pollution. It advises on matters of environmental awareness promotion and researches in this field of environmental conservation. In the states and union territories also State Pollution Control Boards and Pollution Control Committees are established and they perform the more or less similar functions of the central board.

India today has a plethora of environment protection laws. The prominent ones are the wildlife protection act(1972), the forestry conservation act 1980, the water (prevention and control of pollution act 1974, and the air (prevention and control of

pollution) act of 1981, the motor vehicle act 1988, the public liability insurance act 1991 etc. The Judiciary also plays pro-active role in field of environment protection. In cases like industries relocation case, air pollution case the Supreme Court has given historic judgment favouring environmental conservation. The National Environment Policy, 2004 has embodied the objectives of environmental conservation.

DEVELOPMENT-DISPLACEMENT MOVEMENTS

After independence India has resorted to the policy of planned development. The five-year plans have engineered many development projects. Such projects include dams, power-plants, mining, industrial and allied infrastructures, urban development projects, transport network etc. Even though it is claimed that such projects are meant for the economic upliftment of the people, they have posed serious human rights issues. The effect of some of such development projects are found to cause some form of displacement of people from their original habitat due to land acquisitions. Most of this displaced population is the rural poor and the tribal. One of the worst tragedies for anybody is to get uprooted from a place where he has lived for generations, and to move to place which is completely strange to him. Mad rush for development has taken away the right to livelihood of many people. The twenty-ninth report of the commission on scheduled caste and scheduled tribes (1990) says that even though tribal people are roughly 7.5 percent of the population, over 40 percent of those displaced till 1990 belong to these communities. A report of the official working group on Development and welfare of scheduled tribes during the eighth five-year plan(1990-95) on rehabilitation of tribal people based on a comprehensive study of 110 projects concluded that of the 1.694 million people displaced by these projects, almost 50 percent (8,14,000) were tribal people. The serious consequence that follows these development induced displacement is that the tribal lose their homeland, agriculture and other traditional occupations. Selected few gain from such projects at the cost of many. Natives are deprived of their right to livelihood. What makes the problems of forcible displacement worse is the problem of rehabilitations and resettlement of the displaced people. In many cases the government pursues a defective rehabilitation policy which aggrieves the displaced people. The authorities develop trust deficit among these people. There is in many cases absence of mutual agreement for just compensation and lack of right-based human approach to solve the problems. Thus this issues of development induced displacement involves environmental and livelihood issues and issues of resettlement

and rehabilitation. The affected people go on protest movements when proper and just rehabilitation packages are not extended to them by Government. In all the cases of displacement, the process has caused wide spread traumatic, psychological and socio-cultural consequences. The process of displacement leads to destruction of traditional production system, destruction of ancestral sacred zones, places of worship, graves, disruption of family system and informal social network, scattering of kinship groups. Scholars have pointed out eight impoverishment risks which have developed around the conditions of the displaced. They are-'landlessness, joblessness, homelessness, marginalization, food security, increased morbidity, mortality, loss of access to common property and social disarticulations. We can better understand the problems if few of the projects that lead to displacement movements can be discussed.

(a) **Dandakaranya Project:** After the partition a lot of refugees from East Pakistan (present Bangladesh) rushed to India. During the first and second phase the upper caste rich Hindus and rural middle class farmers settled in West Bengal. During 1960s and 1970s after the communal riots in East Pakistan the lower caste Hindus comprising of 'Nama sudra' were pushed into Indian Territory. These refugees were rehabilitated in the Dandakaranya area. The Dandakaranya project area comprises of four zones e.g. Malkangiri and Umerkote of Odisha, Parlkote and Kandagaon of Madhya Pradesh (at present Chhattisgarh)   with its head quarters at Koraput of Odisha. This project was commissioned in 1958. This area was mostly inhabited by tribals. The Dandakaranya Development Authority (DDA) started functioning taking the interest of the refugees with disregard to the interest of the native tribals who were displaced. Since, tribals have no record of rights over land they were forcibly displaced. The displaced tribes from Malkangiri, Umarkote and Raighar were comprising of Koya, Bhatras and Gonda. These tribes became landless and forced to stay in hilly and forest tracts. The benefit of health and education programmes could not reach them. As literacy rate of the refugees is more than that of the tribes most of the job opportunities were grabbed by the refugees. They underwent culture-shock. The forcible displacement had affected them socially, culturally and economically. Even though the DDA had given rehabilitation packages to the refugees, no such benefits were granted to the poor displaced tribal. This led to discontentment of the tribes and protest movements. Dandakaranya projects has been perceived as an example of exploitation of the poor tribes under the guise of refugee resettlement. Some are of opinion that this project is the best rehabilitation programme of refugees but the worst example of displacement and rehabilitation of tribal.

(b) Nuclear Power Projects: The problems of displacement are also associated with the nuclear power projects. And there are protest movements against establishment of nuclear power plants. Displacement is an immediate consequence faced by the people around power plants. This became a rallying point for protest. This has happened against the Koodankulam Nuclear Power plant in Tamilnadu. In Maharashtra establishment of commercial nuclear reactor has led to displacement problems for the fishing community of 53 families. The displaced families could get justice after four decades after judicial intervention. The court ordered the state to provide the displaced fishing community necessary facilities for their livelihood. The Jaitapur Nuclear Power Project in Maharashtra has also invoked protest movements from the displaced people from adjoining five villages- Madban,Niveli, Karel, Mithgavane and Varliwada. The Department of Atomic Energy maintained that the land to be acquired for the purpose of the plant is unproductive. But the protesters opposed this by claiming that the area supports a thriving agricultural and horticultural economy and sustain the livelihood of many. People also resisted the establishment of six reactors in Kovvada in Srikakulam district of Andhra Pradesh. Resistance movements are on rise against the proposed power plants at Haripur (west Bengal), Fetebad (Haryana), Chukta (MP). The protestors argued that the project will seriously affect environment and livelihood of the people.

(c) Industrial Projects: The process of rapid industrialization has led to exploitations of land, water and forest resources in our country. And it has led to displacement of human population from their home and hearth. In Odisha, establishment of steel plants and aluminium plants had created problems of displacement. This has happened in many parts of the country. Some of the major industries in Odisha which are facing resistance from the people to be displaced are TATA steel at Kalinganagar (Jajpur), Jindal Steel And Power Plant (Angul), TATA Thermal Plant (Naraj,Cuttack), Alumina Plant at Tikiri (Rayagada), Vedanta University at Puri, Vedanta Aluminum Plant at Lanjigarh (Kalahandi), NTPC power plant at Gajamara (Dhenkanal), Sterlite Iron Steel Company Ltd. at Rainsuan(Keonjhar).

(d) Irrigation and Hydroelectricity Power Projects: There are major irrigation and multipurpose projects like Hirakud Dam Project, Rengali Project, Balimela Project in Odisha which have caused displacement problems. The Tehri dam project and the Narmada valley project are running into troubles as the authorities of these projects have overlooked the environment and displacement problems. The popular movements over the issues of displacement and rehabilitations in many cases

are led by the local leaders of the affected areas. The voluntary organizations and the political parties have also lent support to these movements. The so-called development projects have displaced both the tribal and non-tribal people. In these cases the displacement is induced by development. In many cases the rehabilitations facilities are not up to the satisfaction of the displaced people. There are instances where the displace moviments assume militant dimension. The resettlement and rehabilitation policies of the Government (both State & Central) should be planned in a way to address the problems of the displaced. The views of the affected people must be taken into consideration sincerely. The land acquisition acts and compensation acts must have enough provisions to safeguard the interest of the displaced. The NGOs and voluntary organizations like Odisha Adivasi Mancha, Prakrutik Sampad surakhya parisada, Niyamgiri Surakhya samiti, Nagarika Surakhya Samiti, Keonjhar Surakhya Samiti, Vedanta Vishwavidyalaya Birodhi Sangharsha Samiti, are spreading the displacement movements in various regions of our state Odisha. As a result of these movements either the projects were withdrawn in many cases or the resettlement and rehabilitation policies are made in such a way that the interests of the displaced people are safeguarded.

POINTS TO REMEMBER

⇨ The popular movements in forms of women movements, environment protection movement and development- displacement movement began during 1970s.

⇨ The major agenda of these movements are protection of rights of women, the landless, tribals, peasants and the displaced people.

⇨ Most of these popular movements are inspired by Gandhian ideologies. These movements are led by civil society organizations.

⇨ The feminist movements are the main force behind major social changes in women rights.

⇨ There is first, second and third wave of feminism. The first wave was launched to get women suffrage. The second wave includes battle for social and legal rights for women. The third wave is a continuance of the second wave.

⇨ The women's movement started in US in 1848 in Great Britain during 1858-59, in Finland in 1858-59, in Russia during Bolshevik revolution of 1917 in organized form.

⇨ The Liberal Feminists demand equality with men. The Marxist or Socialist Feminism condemns the system of private property as an instrument in women's exploitation. Women are exploited because of uncompensated labour. The radical feminists are out and out against the patriarchy and challenge the existing social norms. Eco-feminism emphasises on environmental perspective and argues that oppression of women is due to the men's control of land and destruction of natural resources.

⇨ The women movement in India dates back to pre-independence period in India.

⇨ Women organization emerges in India and in the post-independence period they demand equal treatment in home and work place.

⇨ Women leaders emerge in social and political field and they have opposed violence against women both in domestic and public sphere.

⇨ As a consequence of women movement changes have been ushered in social, economic, political and legal sphere.

⇨ Government has enacted several laws for protection of women rights, women commission is established in the National and state level.

⇨ The women movements yielded positive results in the field of women empowerment and strengthen their position in the system of local self government.

⇨ Environment protection movement are going on around the world today and their main objective is to protect environment from degradation and pollution.

⇨ Air pollution, water contamination, land degradation, global warming are the major environmental issues.

⇨ There are both man-made and natural causes of environmental degradation.

⇨ The United Nations Conference on Human Environment, 1972 was the first organized worldwide common effort to discuss environmental issue.

⇨ The Brundtland Report (our common future) has laid down the goals of environment conservation and economic development and ushered in the concept of sustainable development.

⇨ Some of the major environment protection movement in India are Chipko Movement, Silent Valley Movement, Bishnoi Movement, Jungle Bachao Andolan, Appiko Movement, Narmada Bachao Andolan, protest against Tehri-Dam etc.

⇨   Some important environment protection movement in Odisha are save Gandhamardhan movement, Save-Chilka movement, movement for Conservation of Simlipal biosphere, the Buddhagram movement.

⇨   Impact of environment protection movement is felt in the sphere of legislation. Ministry of environment and forest has made a number of legislation to protect environment. The central and state pollution control boards are established.

⇨   In India there are many development projects. Even though it is claimed that these projects are meant for economic development the effects of such projects are found in displacement of the people from their habitat due to land acquisition.

⇨   This is known as development induced displacement.

⇨   The affected people take resort to protest movements.

⇨   Few of these projects that led to displacement movements are Dandakaranya projects, Nuclear power projects at Koodankulam, Jaitapur, and Industrial projects like TATA steel at Kalinganagar. Jindal steel and power plant at Angul, Vedanta alumina plant at Lanjigarh, irrigation projects like Hirakud Dam, Rengali Dam, Tehri Dam project etc.

⇨   As a result of these displacement movements the projects are withdrawn in many cases or the resettlement and rehabilitations policies are moulded to safeguard the interest of the displaced.

⇨   This popular movement are mostly organized and led by the local leaders and social activists, voluntary agencies and non-Government organizations.

GLOSSARY

Disarticulation- to make or become disjointed

Development induced displacement- Displacement of people because of Development

Morbidity- A diseased state or condition

Patriarchy- An ideology or a system of society where the father or the eldest male member is the head

Rehabilitation- the act of restoring someone to former privileges, reputation after a period of disfavour

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MODEL QUESTIONS

Section-A

Multiple Choice Questions :

1.   Which of the following statement is correct:
     (a)   Charles Fourier is credited with having coined the word feminism in 1872.
     (b)   Feminists plead in favour of patriarchy.
     (c)   Medha Patkar is associated with Chipko movement.
     (d)   The ministry of HRD is the nodal agency for planning and coordinating environment programmes.
     (e)   Development projects do not lead to displacement.

2.   Which of the following statements is incorrect:
     (a)   Hirakud dam project is a major irrigation and hydro power project.
     (b)   The Wildlife Protection Act (1972) is an example of environmental protection act.
     (c)   Appiko movement has taken place around the issues of unemployment and poverty.
     (d)   Sardar Sarovar Dam is constructed on the river Narmada.
     (e)   Radical Feminists are out and out against patriarchy.

3.   Which of the following statement is correct:
     (a)   Charles Fourier is credited with having coined the word feminism in 1872.
     (b)   Feminists plead in favour of patriarchy.
     (c)   Medha Patkar is associated with Chipko movement.
     (d)   The ministry of HRD is the nodal agency for planning and coordinating environment programmes.
     (e)   Development projects do not lead to displacement.

4.   Which of the following statements is incorrect:
     (a)   Hirakud dam project is a major irrigation and hydro power project.
     (b)   The Wildlife Protection Act (1972) is an example of environmental protection act.
     (c)   Appiko movement has taken place around the issues of unemployment and poverty.

(d)   Sardar Sarovar Dam is constructed on the river Narmada.

(e)   Radical Feminists are out and out against patriarchy.

Section-B

Write briefly :

1.   What is a popular movement?

2.   What is a women movement?

3.   What is environmental protection movement?

4.   What is development induced displacement?

5.   Briefly state the objectives of Liberal Feminism.

6.   Briefly state the objectives of the Radical Feminism.

7.   What is first wave of feminism?

8.   What is domestic violence against women?

9.   What is the objective of Chipko movement?

10.   What is rehabilitation?

Section - C

Questions requiring essay type answers :

1.   Discuss one of the important women movements in India.

2.   Analyze the impact of women movements in the social, political and legal spheres in India.

3.   Write an essay on the important environment protection movements in India.

4.   Discuss some major development induced displacement movements.

5.   Explain the measures taken by Government of India to prevent and control pollution.

❏ ❏ ❏

CHAPTER - 7

INDIAN FOREIGN POLICY

"Therefore I say that it is a narrow policy to suppose that this country or that is to be marked out as the eternal ally or the perpetual enemy of England. We have no eternal allies, and we have no perpetual enemies. Our interests are eternal and perpetual, and those interests it is our duty to follow."

- Lord Palmerstone (Henry John Temple), Source: Wikipedia

❏ **Basic Features**
❏ **India its neighbours**
❏ **China**
❏ **Pakistan**

In this chapter

We shall try to know :
➡ *What is Foreign Policy*
➡ *What are the Basic Features?*

We will discuss :
➡ *Who are the neighbours?*
➡ *What is India's relation with China?*
➡ *What is India's relation with Pakistan?*

No permanent friends, no permanent enemies only permanent national interest ...

The present age is of nation, states and internationalism in which no state, however strong it may be, cannot live in isolation. Every state has to establish economic, social, political, scientific and cultural relations with the other countries for safeguarding its national interests. The truth is that establishing relations with the other countries has become an important and essential function of every state

and the policy adopted by one state, keeping in view the protection and promotion of its national interests in order to determine its relations with others, is known as the foreign Policy.

Every surviving independent nation state has its foreign policy. So also has India. Simply speaking foreign policy refers to principles basing on which a state promotes its national interests and objectives while interacting with other countries and international organisations including the United Nations. According to Hartman, "The Foreign is systematic statement of deliberately selected national interests." According to Ruthna Swami, "Foreign Policy now is the bundle of principles and practices that regulate the intercourse of a state with other states." It has some fundamental features. The thrust of foreign policy keeps on changing according to changing international situation. But a change of government may not necessarily change the basic principles of foreign policy. As interdependence is the growing feature of international relations, so every nation state enters into some sort of relationship with other nations & international organisations in order to achieve its national objective. India's foreign policy is shaped by several factors including history, culture, geography and economy. It seeks to promote as well as in the world, so as to enable to attain security and socio-economic development of the people. Again globalisation has a great impact upon the foreign policy of India.

Determinants of foreign policy:

Foreign Policy is the result of the interplay of a large number of factors that affect the formulation of policy in different ways and different circumstances. The following determinants affect and shape India foreign policy.

- **History and tradition:** In the worlds of Nehru, "a country's foreign policy emerges from its own tradition, urges, and objectives and more particularly from its recent past." Similarly, India's foreign policy is the product of traditional values of its society and commitments of national movements during freedom struggle. So, non-violence, truth, tolerance, love and friendship with all are the values which India has cherished from the ancient scriptures like Veda, the Dharma Shastras, the Jainism and the Buddhism. The values and ideals of great persons like Vivekananda, Aurobindo and Mahatma Gandhi have been reflected in India's foreign policy.

- Since India has a strong tradition of cultural past, she is opposed to political domination or aggression. Anti-colonialism is, therefore, rooted in our history.

The general preference for pacifism and peaceful methods of settling dispute can be traced to Gandhian doctrine of non-violence. It is claimed that the policy of non-alignment corresponds to Indian tradition and philosophy.

- **Domestic factors:** Geography, size, location and topography have played vital role in shaping our foreign policy. India is situated on the cross-roads of Asia. All the major sea and air routes of the World pass through it. India and Indian Ocean are an indispensable link in world trade and commerce. So, its location is important from the strategic and economic point of view.

- **Economic and military strength:** in the decades succeeding independence, India was economically backward and militarily vulnerable. In order to expedite the pace of economic development and military strength, she required financial and technical assistance which she could only avail from rich and developed nations of the world. Hence, India adopted a foreign policy based on mutual co-operation.

- **Domestic and International environment :** According to G.F. Kennan, " foreign policy, like many other things begins at home". A country's foreign policy is an exercise in the extension of its self-interest. It is the reflection of the internal affairs of a nation. In other words, it is an extension of domestic policy. So, both foreign policy and domestic policy are, therefore, inseparably interlinked.

  International events such as bipolarity, the growth of destructive weapons, North-South divide, emergence of new nuclear weapon states, the hostility with neighbours such as China and Pakistan, rise in Islamic terrorism etc also influence foreign policy.

- **Personal and political factors :** In the words of J.K. Galbraith "foreign policy like domestic policy, is a reflection of the fundamental instincts of those who make it". Any country's foreign policy at a given time is have its ruling elites perceive and respond to the prevailing challenges both internal and external. No doubt, the fabric of India's foreign policy is largely the handiwork of Nehru. Besides Nehru, other personalities who contributed in shaping India's foreign policy are, Sardar Patel, V.K. Krishna Menon, K.M. Panikkar etc. Similarly, another Prime Ministers Indira Gandhi took kin interest in foreign policy assisted by D.P. Dhar. T.N. Kaul and P.C. Alexander. The present Prime Minister of India, Narendra Modi is also giving top-priority and taking keen interest in foreign policy.

BASIC PRINCIPLES AND FEATURES OF INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

The foreign policy of India is based on some principles and it has following features as discussed below:

(1) World Peace: The foreign policy of India is for promoting world peace. India wants friendship not only with her neighbours but also with the rest of the countries of the world. It is a firm believer of pacific settlement of disputes. India has border dispute with China and problems with Pakistan related to Kashmir and the issue of cross-border terrorism. India wants to solve these continuations issues through dialogue. Art 51 of our Constitution also reflects the objective of our foreign policy as there is a linkage between peace for development and survival of mankind.

(2) The Principle of Panchasheel: It involves five principles such as i) mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty ii) non-aggression iii) non-interference in each other's internal affairs iv) equality and mutual benefit and, v) peaceful co-existence. These principles of Panchasheel were adopted in the Bandung Conference of Afro-Asian Countries in the year 1955.

(3) Non-alignment: The essence of non-alignment is the ability of a state to exercise a reasonable degree of independence of policy and action in world affairs without joining in any power blocs (East and West). India, Egypt and Yugoslavia along with other peace-loving countries of the world were the founders of the organisation of non-aligned countries. The organisation worked wonderfully during the heydays of Cold War. Since NAM was a product of bipolarity, many scholars have now questioned the relevance of NAM after the end of Cold War & the demise of Soviet Union.

(4) Opposition to Colonialism, Imperialism and Racism: India has always opposed colonialism and racism as she was a victim of colonial exploitation and oppression by British for more than 300 years. She has always supported the freedom struggle of the dependent people of the Afro-Asian Countries. She supported Indonesia fighting the Dutch Colonialism in 1947 and stood against South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia and the apartheid policy in South Africa. Colonialism is over. But neo-colonialism and neo-imperialism have raised their heads. The Trans National Corporations (TNCs) representing these new dangers pose a serious threat to the independence of developing and backward nation.

(5) Support to the United Nations: India has a great faith in the United Nations for securing peace and security in the world. Being a founding member, it

has great faith in the ideals and functions of the UN. Apart from this, India has always expected UN to actively involve countries to moderate their differences through talks. India now feels a reformed UN can play a bigger role in world politics and so, sincerely desires the expansion of Security Council and democratisation of UN.

India's foreign policy has undergone a sea-change over the years, more specifically since 1991 onwards. Fundamental changes in foreign policy have taken place as there are revolutionary changes both at the domestic and global front. Internally, the introduction of New Economic Policy (NEP) and the emergence of Coalition government and externally the collapse of Soviet Union and the new wave of economic globalization compelled India to find new anchors for its foreign relations. Now, India's foreign policy gives more importance to self-interest and pragmatism. India is a rising power. The success of her foreign policy depends upon political stability, increase in military strength, economic development and cordial/ friendly relationship with the neighbouring countries.

INDIA-CHINA RELATION

India is a regional power, a nascent great power and a potential superpower. India's growing international clout gives it a preeminent position in global affairs. She has adopted a sound foreign policy through which India works for promotion of international peace and co-operation and developing friendly relations with all countries, especially the immediate neighbours such as Pakistan, Bangladesh, China, Bhutan, Myanmar, Nepal, Sri Lanka etc. At present India has friendly relation with all the neighbour countries barring two. One is Pakistan and the other is People's Republic of China (PRC).

Although India-China relationship goes back to 2nd century B.C., China relationship between the two began only after 1949. Besides being the most populous countries, both also have the most ancient civilization of the world. At present both India and China are seen to be rising 21st century powers and regarded as giants of Asia. But there have been many turn and twist in their relationships. It is characterised by few 'benign phases' but more 'malign phases'.

In the initial years, India was the first Country to recognise the Communist China and extended full support to China's claim for membership in the United Nations. India's friendship with China was the result of Nehru's perception of the global environment. He wished that Sino-Indian collaboration would act against any

outside interference in Asia. India also supported China's claim over Taiwan (Formosa). It also refused to be a party to peace treaty with Japan without China. Leaders of both these countries propounded the doctrine of 'Panchasheel' and started off their relation on the best of terms and understanding. 'Hindi-Chini-bhai-bhai' became a catchy slogan during the fag end of 50s'.

But two developments shook India's faith in the Communist China. The first one was Chinese invasion of Tibet and the second one was in connection with the Korean peace negotiations.

Tibet :

Tibet is situated in the North of the Himalayas. Since the days of Kublai Khan, Chinese have been claiming suzerainty over it. Nehru's China policy received the first jolt in the year 1950, when China invaded and occupied Tibet. India's suggestions for a peaceful settlement of the Tibetan issue were treated as interference by Communist-China. When Tibetans revolted against the oppressive rule of China, it ruthlessly suppressed the movement and subsequently declared Tibet as an integral part of China. The religio-political head of Tibet, Dalai Lama fled to India and took political asylum much to China's discomfiture. This incident took Sino-Indian relations to a breaking point. Later on India accepted Chinese sovereignty over Tibet without much protest.

Korean Peace Treaty :

The Korean War was perhaps one of the most dangerous movements of the Cold War, fuelled by ideological conflict and geopolitical jealousies. On 25th June 1950, North Korea invaded South Korea, causing the United States of America to immediately jump into the war despatching troops under the banner of the United Nations. During the Korean crisis, the Indian attitude remained friendly towards China. India was vehemently opposed to and even warned against the crossing of the 38th parallel by the UN forces. India's warning was ignored and the UN tried to brand Peking as an aggressor when the later intervened on behalf of North Korea. India challenged the move and then opposed the UN resolution. The role of India as a mediator in the Korean Crisis invited global attention much to the uneasiness of China.

The bonhomie and the spirit of Bandung between the two countries disappeared by the late 50s'. The border issue (MC Mohan line) and the status of Kashmir gave

birth to a period of bitterness in the bilateral relationship. China suddenly started derecognising MC Mohan Line as an international border between India and China. Secondly, she also claimed the Aksai-Chin region of Kashmir as an area originally belonging to the Sinkiang province. Thirdly, China challenged Kashmir's accession to India. It highlighted two points regarding Kashmir. First, it regarded Kashmir as a disputed territory. Second, it supported self-determination in Kashmir. Adding salt to injury, she started building a road connecting Sinkiang to Tibet. This road is popularly called as the Aksai-Chin road, crossed into the Eastern Ladakh. This border dispute turned into a full fledged war which lasted from 20th October to 21st November, 1962.

The Sino-Indian war of 1962 had many consequences. First, it was a blow to Nehru's image and prestige at home as well as abroad. India's loss was heavier in political terms as compared to military terms. Indeed, the political fallout of this military defeat was disastrous. Nehru was criticised for his incompetence in handling foreign affairs and his failure to defend the country's honour. Externally, the incident stymied India's image as the leader of the third world countries. Secondly, India's non-alignment policy received a severe jolt as Nehru personally appealed USA, for military assistance. Finally, India lost 38,000 sq.kms of its territory to China (35,000 sq. Km in the north-eastern part and 3,000 sq. Km in the western sector). In addition, China lays its claim to approximately 95,000 sq. Km of land in India's eastern sector. Efforts for peaceful solution of border issue were made by Sri Lanka. But Colombo proposals proved to be futile. Since this armed conflict with China, diplomatic relations between the two countries remained almost-negligible.

However in the 70s', both the countries realised their usefulness of diplomatic relations. by 1976 both China and India started exchanging ambassadors and several rounds of negotiations on the border issue were held at regular intervals. The Chinese armed incursions at the Sumdorang Chu Valley (Indian side of the border), in the year 1987, even after the seventh round of dialogue on border dispute, was again marred bilateral relations. in the meantime, cataclysmic changes were seen at the international level. Both the Superpowers (USA & the then USSR) moved towards unprecedented accommodation and co-operation. In this changed scenario India and china tried their best to reshape their relation. It is Rajiv Gandhi who brought a thaw in the frozen relationship by paying a five day successful visit to China in the year 1988. The two counties pledged to settle the border dispute through dialogue. This visit was followed by reciprocal visit of commerce ministers of each country that contributed towards resumption of trade activities.

But the relationship soon turned sour in the aftermath of a series of nuclear test by India on May 1998. A reported statement by the then defence minister of India George Fernandez, characterising China as a source of threat to India infuriated the Chinese. But the bitterness could not continue long. The political interactions at the highest level continuously took place since early 1990s'. The officials of both the countries hold periodic meetings to address the border disputes. With India-China trade growing at 30% per disputes. With India-China trade growing at 30% per year since 1999, a more positive perspective on relations with China has emerged. Now, China is India's largest trading partner. The annual bilateral trade between the two countries has crossed $ 5 billion mark. According to provisional figures, in 2015-16, India's export to China stood at USD 7.56 billion while imports were USD 52.26 billion.

Despite growing economic and strategic ties, there are several hurdles for India and Peoples' Republic of China to overcome. India faces trade imbalances heavily in favour of China. The border dispute is yet to be solved and the Indian media outlets have repeatedly reported Chinese military incursions into the Indian territory. Both the countries have steadily established military infrastructure along border areas. Besides this, China's opposition to India for permanent membership in Security Council, membership in the Nuclear Supplier Group (NSG), criticism to India's induction into the Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR), repeated attempts to block UN ban on JeM chief and alleged Pathankot attack mastermind Maulana Massood Azhar show her anti-India proclivity. China's growing influence in Pacific Ocean, strong strategic bilateral relations with Pakistan, finally her dominance in BRICS summit held in Goa, in the year 2016, have been a source of constant irritation for India.

Overall, India's relationship with China is poised at the cross-roads. It can go in several directions depending on how the tow deal with each other's concern and their ability to reach in reasonable settlement on some of the pending issues. Both need a stable a productive and working relationship as their status and power in the world changes. The rest of Asia too wants to see peace and stability maintained in this major relationship of the 21st century.

INDIA-PAKISTAN RELATION

India and Pakistan are the two large countries of South Asia. Since their independence in 1947, the relations between the two countries have been in the state

of constant flux. Several decades of armed conflict, bilateral talks and gradually rising trust deficit have become distinctive features of mutual Indo-Pakistani relations. Even though they share linguistic, cultural, geographic, and economic links, their relationship has been plagued by hostility and suspicion. Both India and Pakistan hold different views regarding their conflict; to Pakistan it is Kashmir, where as for India it is Cross-border terrorism across the LOC, supported by Pakistan. The indo-Pakistan conflict has also hampered the development of economic and trade cooperation between them.

The Partition of India in 1947 created two large countries independent from Britain: Pakistan as two wings in the East and West separated by India in the middle. Soon, after independence, India and Pakistan established diplomatic relations with each other. Subsequent years were marked by bitter periodic conflict, and the nations went to war four times. The war in 1971 ended in defeat and another partition of Pakistan. The eastern wing split off as a new country named Bangladesh, while the western wing continued as Pakistan

Conflict over Kashmir :

Kashmir is the root cause of conflict between India and Pakistan. Kashmir was a princely state, ruled by a Hindu, Hari Singh. But the majority of its population were Muslims. The Maharaja of Kashmir was equally undecided to join either India, because he knew his Muslim subjects would not like to join a Hindu-dominated India; or Pakistan – which as a Hindu he was personally averse to both the ideas. Pakistan coveted the Himalayan kingdom, while Indian leader Mahatma Gandhi and Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru hoped that the kingdom would join India.

In that period of indecision, before the merger, the state was attached by Pakistan-sponsored armed infiltrators in September 1947. They were repulsed but a portion of Kashmir came under infiltrators. Today, the part of Kashmir is known as Pak occupied Kashmir (POK). This was a proxy war that broke out between the Indian and Pakistani armies in Kashmir during 1947 itself. But this did not turn into a full war.

When India sent its forces and thwarted the Pakistani attempt to conquer Jammu and Kasmir. Maharaja Hari Singh entered into an agreement which is known as "The Instrument of Accession". It is a legal document executed by Maharaja Hari Singh, ruler of the princely state of Jammu and Kashmir, on **26 October 1947**. By

executing this document under the provisions of the Indian Independence Act **1947**, Maharaja Hari Singh agreed to accede to the Dominion of India.

During the conflict, the matter was raised in UNO by India. The UN appointed commission called United Nations commission for India and Pakistan to restore peace and arrange for plebiscite in Kashmir. However it failed to bring desired result.

Pakistani position on Kashmir :

Pakistan argues that Kashmir is pre-dominantly a Muslim populated state and according to 'Two Nation Theory', its natural place is in Pakistan. It further says that all three major rivers of Pakistan – Indus, Jhelum and Chenab – originate in Kashmir. So health of Pakistan's agriculture depends on Kashmir "being a part of Pakistan'. India counters Pakistan argument by saying that it never accepted Jinnah's two nation theory. Moreover, there are more Muslims living in independent India than in Pakistan. India decided to refer the Kashmir question to the Security Council of the UN in the year 1948. It requested Security Council to ask Pakistan government to sort out the difficulties. Pakistan demanded that Kashmir accession to India was illegal. The resolution affirmed the right of Indian army to defend the state. The Security Council resolution could not be implemented because both India and Pakistan failed to comply with its conditions.

Pakistan maintains Kashmir's' rights to self-determination through a plebiscite in accordance with an earlier Indian statement and a UN Resolution. India on the other hand asserts that the Maharaja's decision, which was the norm for every other princely state at the time of independence, and subsequent elections, for over 40 years, on Kashmir has made it an integral part of India. Thus status of Kashmir has become controversial. Due to all such political differences, this dispute has also been the subject of wars between the two countries in 1947 and 1965, and a limited conflict in 1999. The state/province remains divided between the two countries by the Line of Control (LoC), which demarcates the ceasefire line agreed upon in the 1947 conflict. India and Pakistan, two nations united by history but divided by destiny, has travelled a long way in an attempt to bring peace to the highly volatile valley. When the issue was referred to the United Nations, Pakistan soon emerged as a critical factor in India's relations with the US and subsequently with China.

A more serious armed conflict between the two countries began in 1965. Lal Bahadur Shastri was then the Prime Minister. In April 1965 Pakistan launched armed attacks in the Rann of Kutch area of Gujarat. This was followed by a bigger offensive

in Jammu and Kashmir in August- September. Pakistani rulers were hoping to get support from the local population there, but it did not happen. In order to ease the pressure on the Kashmir front, Shastri ordered Indian troops to launch a counter-offensive on the Punjab border. In a fierce battle, the Indian army reached close to Lahore.

The hostilities came to an end with the UN intervention. Later, Indian Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri and Pakistan's General Ayub Khan signed the Tashkent Agreement, brokered by the Soviet Union, in January 1966. Though India could inflict considerable military loss on Pakistan, the 1965 war added to India's already difficult economic situation.

Bangladesh War, 1971 :

Beginning in 1970, Pakistan faced its biggest internal crisis. The country's first general election produced a split verdict – Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's party emerged a winner in West Pakistan, while the Awami League led by Sheikh Mujib-ur Rahman swept through East Pakistan. The Bengali population of East Pakistan had voted to protest against years of being treated as second class citizens by the rulers based in West Pakistan. The Pakistani rulers were not willing to accept the democratic verdict. Nor were they ready to accept the Awami League's demand for a federation.

Instead, in early 1971, the Pakistani army arrested Sheikh Mujib and unleashed a reign of terror on the people of East Pakistan. In response to this, the people started a struggle to liberate   'Bangladesh' from Pakistan. Throughout 1971, India had to bear the burden of about 80 lakh refugees who fled East Pakistan and took shelter in the neighbouring areas in India. India extended moral and material support to the freedom struggle in Bangladesh. Pakistan accused India of a conspiracy to break it up.

Support for Pakistan came from the US and China. The US-China rapprochement that began in the late 1960s resulted in a realignment of forces in Asia. Henry Kissinger, the adviser to the US President Richard Nixon, made a secret visit to China via Pakistan in July 1971. In order to counter the US-Pakistan-China axis, India signed a 20-year Treaty of Peace and Friendship with the Soviet Union in August 1971. This treaty assured India of Soviet support if the country faced any attack.

After months of diplomatic tension and military build-up, a full-scale war between India and Pakistan broke out in December 1971. Pakistani aircrafts attacked

Punjab and Rajasthan, while the army moved on the Jammu and Kashmir front. India retaliated with an attack involving the air force, navy and the army on both the Western and the Eastern front. Welcomed and supported by the local population, the Indian army made rapid progress in East Pakistan.

Within ten days the Indian army had surrounded Dhaka from three sides and the Pakistani army of about 90,000 had to surrender. With Bangladesh as a free country, India declared a unilateral ceasefire. Later, the signing of the Shimla Agreement between Indira Gandhi and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto on 3 July 1972 formalised the return of peace.

A decisive victory in the war led to national jubilation. Most people in India saw this as a moment of glory and a clear sign of India's growing military prowess. As you would read in the next chapter, Indira Gandhi was the Prime Minister at this time. She had already won the Lok Sahba elections in 1971. Her personal popularity soared further after the 1971 war. After the war, assembly elections in most States took place, bringing large majorities for the Congress party in many states.

India, with its limited resources, had initiated development planning. However, conflicts with neighbours derailed the five-year plans. The scarce resources were diverted to the defence sector especially after 1962, as India had to embark on a military modernisation drive. The Department of Defence Production was established in November 1962 and the Department of Defence Supplies in November 1965. The Third Plan (1961-66) was affected and it was followed by three Annual Plans and the Fourth Plan could be initiated only in 1969. India's defence expenditure increased enormously after the wars.

Apart from the conflicts over Jammu and Kashmir there are many issues of tension between India and Pakistan. The main factors which have contributed to the strained relations between the two countries are

Siachen Glacier :

There has been demand for withdrawal of Indian troops from Siachen. However, Siachen holds a strategic importance for India and India has refused to agree to the demand. It was suggested to make it a demilitarized zone. India and Pakistan almost managed this in November 1992. The agreement on Siachen was regarding mutual withdrawal of troops from new positions, the creation of a "zone of complete disengagement,' and the delineation of a "zone of peace and tranquillity". The process broke down before a formal treaty could be agreed to.

Tulbul / Wullur Project:

The issue was between India and Pakistan. It relates to a barrage to be constructed by the J & K on the Jhelum just below the Wullur lake. The object of the barrage is to allow navigation over a distance of some 20 kilo metres, between Wullur lake and the Kashmir town of Baramulla.

Sir Creek Problem:

Sir Creek is a 60 kilo metres estuary in the Rann of Kutch. The Rann of Kutch lies between Gujarat on the India side and Sindh on Pakistan side. The main problem arises between India and Pakistan because of the boundary line which divides Sir Creek.

Arms Race:

Developed nations led by the USA have expressed their concern over dangerous arms race going on in Indian subcontinent. India conducted her first nuclear test in 1974 after that Pakistan has been secretly developing its nuclear capabilities.

Terrorism and Drug Trafficking:

Pakistan has been trying a proxy war by supporting terrorist activities in Kashmir. India has often tried to draw the attention of international community towards it. Kashmir remains the biggest issue of dispute between India and Pakistan.

Terrorism remains our core concern in the relationship with Pakistan and has been repeatedly raised with Pakistan, including at the highest level, whereby India has consistently urged Pakistan to fulfil its repeated assurance given to us not to allow the territory under its control to be used for supporting terrorism directed against us or for any other anti-India activity. More recently, during the meeting of Indian PM with Pak PM, PM underlined our concerns regarding terrorism and stressed that it was imperative to bring the perpetrators of the Mumbai attack to justice.

The Kashmir conflict did not prevent cooperation between the governments of India and Pakistan. Both the governments worked together to restore the women abducted during partition to their original families. A long-term dispute about the sharing of river waters was resolved through mediation by the World Bank. The India- Pakistan Indus Waters Treaty was signed by Nehru and General Ayub Khan in 1960. Despite all ups and downs in the Indo-Pak relations, this treaty has worked well.

Composite Dialogue :

The Composite Dialogue between India and Pakistan from 2004 to 2008 addressed all outstanding issues. It had completed four rounds and the fifth round was in progress when it was paused in the wake of the Mumbai terrorist attack in November 2008. Amongst its achievements can be cited a number of Confidence Building Measures (CBMs) related to peace and security; enhanced people to people contacts through bus and train services; revival of the Bilateral Joint Commission after 16 years; setting up of the Judicial Committee to look into the humanitarian issue of civilian prisoners/fishermen held in each others jails and growth in bilateral trade by 550% between year 2003-04 and 2007-08 from US$ 344.59 million to US$ 2.23 billion.

Trade Normalisation :

With a view to build confidence of the business community on both sides, representatives of various trade regulatory bodies of India met, in India and in Pakistan, representatives of leading chambers of commerce and industry of Pakistan and discussed matters pertaining to trade regulations, standards, labelling and marking requirements. The two countries have initialled three agreements, viz., Customs Cooperation Agreement, Mutual Recognition Agreement and Redressal of Trade Grievances Agreement.

Trade Infrastructure :

The Home Minister of India, in the presence of, among others, the Commerce Ministers of India and Pakistan, and the Chief Ministers of the states of Punjab of the two countries inaugurated the Integrated Check Post (ICP) at Attari on April 13, 2012. The Attari ICP represents vastly improved infrastructure to facilitate trade and travel. Spread over 118 acres, it contains a passenger terminal measuring 9,600 sq mts, a dedicated cargo terminal measuring 4,700 sq mts, and separate import and export ware houses measuring over 10,000 sq mts, apart from over 50,000 sq mts of parking space for trucks, and equally large area for future expansion. In recent months, various segments in Pakistan have spoken in favour of opening more land trade routes with India, including Munabao- Khokhrapar.

Other Initiatives :

Industry representatives and officials from the two countries have held discussions on trade in electricity and also trade in petroleum products and Liquefied

Natural Gas. Officials of the central banks of both countries have also met to discuss cooperation in banking sector, inter alia, by opening branches of two public sector banks in each other's country. Pakistan welcomed India's recent decision to allow investment from Pakistan (notified by the Government of India in July 2012). Pakistan has also expressed appreciation for India's support for getting approved the EU trade concession package for Pakistan by the General Council of WTO.

Recent Developments - Dealing with SINO-PAK

Indira Gandhi once said that she could visualise a time in the future when India and Pakistan would have normal, even friendly, relations but she did not have the same hope for relations with China because, she said, it was essentially an expansionist power. How do recent events validate her instinct and analysis?

As far as Pakistan is concerned, it is universally acknowledged that it is the military establishment which is most opposed to normalising relations with India; indeed, it appears to have a vested interest in keeping India-Pakistan relations tense. Friendly relations with India would seriously undermine the raison d'être for the inflated size of the armed forces. They would lose control over the security policy, over Afghan and Indian policy as well as control over nuclear arsenal. In other words, the military establishment would become an adjunct of the civilian government, thereby losing not only its pre-eminent position but also its self-cultivated image of being the only institution that can safeguard and save the people, in effect, from themselves. It might also lose at least a part of its economic empire. Thus, for the Pakistan military, it makes sense not to normalise relations with India.

Consensus for détente :

On the other hand, going by the election manifestos of major political parties in Pakistan there seems to be a growing consensus among politicians for détente with India. Their manifestos not only did not contain anti-India rhetoric; they also indicated a willingness to promote peace with India. The party of incoming Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif even went to the extent of declaring that it will open the transit route for trade between India, Afghanistan and beyond through Pakistan. Since winning the election convincingly, he has reiterated his desire to work for better relations with India, which Prime Minister Manmohan Singh has warmly reciprocated. Imran Khan's party also spoke of progressive detente with India. This trend needs to be noted and welcomed in India. It suggests that the political mainstream might be ready to stand up to the military in case the latter came in the way of normalising

relations with India. Whether it is able to do so will remain to be seen, but at least it has made public its intention to do so. Mr. Sharif has declared that he will be the 'boss' and that civilian supremacy will be asserted. If that happens, the possibility of normal relations between the two countries can certainly be entertained. Indians have a tendency to lurch from euphoria to hostility in reacting to developments in neighbouring countries. We need to wait and watch.

Does this mean that Pakistanis have finally accepted that India has no evil designs on their country and that they have nothing to fear from us? Opinion polls in Pakistan have suggested that India is not on the top of their list of most worrisome subjects. The realisation that the country is being torn from within by forces nurtured by their own agencies seems to have dawned on them. The business lobbies — and Mr. Sharif is a businessman — are certainly interested in opening trade and investment opportunities on a reciprocal basis. Pakistan has not kept the deadline of implementing the promised Most Favoured Nation status to India but one may expect this to happen in view of the declared intention of all parties to do so post-election. By and large, most people in Pakistan have reached the sensible conclusion that China, their all-weather friend, is not going to bail them out and that the best, perhaps the only, salvation for their fast-collapsing economy is to ride piggyback on India's vast economy. The big question of how they tackle the terrorist outfits acting against India from Pakistani territory will remain.

Increasing aggression :

China, by contrast, has become much more aggressive, and not just towards India. Having secured two decades of peaceful growth, China is now ready, it feels, to take on the world. Confirming this assertiveness are its actions in the South China Sea, Senkaku/Diaoyu islands, and its unwillingness to discuss water issues with neighbours. China is more than willing to exploit its greatly enhanced clout in global economy to press its interests. It vigorously pursues its ambition to have the Yuan accepted as an alternative currency in international trade. It scored an important success by concluding a deal with Australia to trade directly using only the Yuan and the Australian dollar, bypassing the U.S. dollar.

As far as India-specific actions are concerned, there are any number of examples of China's difficult attitude, as indicated by the deployment of several thousand PLA personnel in Pakistan-occupied Kashmir and its intrusions across the Line of Actual Control. The most important indication of China's true assessment of India's

importance for it is the suo moto statement of President Xi Jinping that the border problem will not be solved any time soon, making it clear that it certainly will not be resolved during his 10 years in office.

Hence, the reported statement by a Chinese official in Delhi that China would like to focus on reaching an agreement on the 'framework' for the settlement of the border issue needs to be noted. China will continue to make noise about the need for the two countries to cooperate in the international arena on issues such as climate change, but it remains firmly opposed to India's aspiration for a permanent seat on the United Nations Security Council (it would have been preferable for India not to have had any reference to this matter in the final declaration of the BRICS summit in South Africa than to have agreed to the most unpalatable formulation as finally agreed). This is what a Chinese scholar thought of India way back in 1903: "Indians have generally not cared if their territory is lost … Chinese determination is stronger than the Indian … we can foresee that Chinese accomplishments will certainly surpass those of the Indians." Has anything changed?

The comparison with Pakistan and China brings out an interesting aspect. For many years, we in India had been asking Pakistan to follow the example of our relationship with China, in which both countries took a conscious decision to keep aside the core issue of border for the time being and concentrate on other aspects of bilateral relations that offered scope for cooperation to mutual benefit. Trade in particular was identified as offering a huge potential for expanding bilateral relations. This has happened, although the trade is heavily lopsided in China's favour.

What is more, China is gobbling up our precious natural resources such as iron ore which we ought to be preserving for use in our own steel plants. It was the expectation at least on our part that increased economic relations would create conditions propitious for the two countries to deal seriously and pragmatically with the border problem. In this, we have been sadly mistaken.

Pakistan, on the other hand, insisted that there can be no progress on any of the bilateral issues so long as the core issue of Jammu and Kashmir was not resolved. It is premature to draw definitive conclusions, but about a year ago, Pakistan relented and agreed to move forward on trade before the core issue was settled. It agreed to grant India MFN status, apparently with the military's consent, even in the absence of any progress on the Kashmir issue.

An interesting debate :

What is the better approach? Settle the core issue first and then normalise, or normalise and then tackle the core issue? This is not just an academic question. Those arguing for the former would in effect suggest standstill in bilateral relations since the core issues are not going to be resolved, given the inflexible and politically difficult positions of all sides. Those in favour of the latter approach in effect would be reconciled to an indefinite status quo, since there would be no incentive to tackle the core issue. The debate needs to be joined.

Postscript :

There has been a serious turn of events in Indo-Pak and Sino-Indian relations after the coming to power of Sri Narendra Modi led NDA Government. In spite of the best efforts of this government to normalise relations, both China and Pakistan, have become more aggressive and there is increasing tension between the three neighbours. There is an escalation of cross border terrorism, several ceasefire violations in the border areas of J & K by Pakistan. In retaliation, India resorted to "Surgical Strike". The tension has further gone up because of the staunch support of China in every international subject, in support of Pakistan. The pattern of relations between the three neighbours is fluid and unstable for the time being.

POINTS TO REMEMBER

Determinants of Indian Foreign Policy :

⇨   Geographical Factors: It includes the size, location, natural resources, population, etc of the country.

⇨   Historical Factors: The historical background of India and its traditional have also affected its foreign policy.

⇨   Economic Factors: There was a great deficiency of food –stuff in the country and the prices were soaring high rapidly, Unemployment and poverty reigned supreme in the country, so there was the necessity of foreign assistance to solve these problems.

⇨   Ideological Factors: The impact of western Liberalism, Socialism and Gandhism is clearly visible on India's Foreign Policy.

⇨   National Interests: Every nation keeps-in-view its national interests while framing its foreign policy because the main aim of policy is promotion of national interests.

⇨ 6: Personal Factors: India's foreign Policy is also influenced by the big personalities of India.

⇨ Search for National Security: The protection of national interests reigns supreme in determining the foreign policy.

⇨ Ideals Which Inspired Our National Leaders: The Leaders who led the freedom struggle of India, were the supporters of Liberalism and against racial discrimination. All the Leaders such as Rabindranath Tagore, Mahatme Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru, Aurobindo Ghosh and C. Rajagopalachari were of the opinion that there can not be any contradiction between national and international interests.

⇨ Constitutional Factors: The determinants of the foreign policy of India have been mentioned in Article-51 of the Part IV of the Constitution.6.

⇨ Personal Factors: India¡|s foreign Policy is also influenced by the big personalities of India.

International influence on Indian Foreign Policy :

⇨ Influence of International Situation: No nation can save itself from the affects of international situation. So, the international situation also affects the foreign policy. Establishment of Uni-Polar World Order:-The world had become unit-polar and America had established itself as the only super power in the world. Note-In 2009, India, joining with Brazil, Russia and China and in 2011 with South Africa BRICS was founded with the purpose to establish just, democratic and multi-polar international order.

⇨ Friendly Relations with Neighbouring Countries: For development India needs peace and it can be established only by having friendly relations with neighbouring countries. Relations with Commonwealth of Nations: After independence India decided to remain with Commonwealth.

⇨ Faith In United Nations: India is one of the founder member of the United Nations and has firms faith in the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

Basic Principles of Indian Foreign Policy :

⇨ Non-Alignment
⇨ Faith in International Co-operation
⇨ Development of relations with the countries of East Asia
⇨ Faith in United Nations

⇨ Anti-Apartheid

⇨ Opposition to military Alliances

⇨ Faith in Panch sheel: (i) Mutual respect for each others' territorial integrity and sovereignty (ii) Non-Aggression (iii) Non-interference in the internal affairs of other states, (iv) Equality and mutual co-operation (v) To adopt the policy of Peaceful co-existence

GLOSSARY

Detente- the easing of hostility or strained relations, especially between countries.

Globalisation- the process by which businesses or other organizations develop international influence or start operating on an international scale.

suo motu- on its own motion

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MODEL QUESTIONS

Section-A

Multiple Choice Questions :

1. Which one of the following is not one of the five principles of Panchasheel?
   (a) mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty
   (b) non-interference in each other's internal affairs
   (c) equality and mutual benefit and,
   (d) Appeasement.

2. Apart from the conflicts over Jammu and Kashmir there are many issues of tension between India and Pakistan. Which one of the following is not a major issue of tension?
   (a) Siachen Glacier
   (b) Tulbul / Wullur Project
   (c) Resumption of Cricket Series
   (d) Sir Creek Problem

Section-B

Write briefly :
1. Siachen Glacier
2. Sir Creek Problem

Write notes on :
1. Tibet
2. Korean Peace Treaty
3. Kashmir
4. Bangladesh war, 1971

Section-C

Long (Essay) Type :

1. Identify any two aspects of India's foreign policy that you would like to retain and two that you would like to change, if you were to become a decision maker. Give reasons to support your position.

2. India's foreign policy was built around the principles of peace and cooperation. But India fought three wars in a space of ten years between 1962 and 1971. Would you say that this was a failure of the foreign policy? Or would you say that this was a result of international situation? Give reasons to support your answer.

3. Does India's foreign policy reflect her desire to be an important regional power? Argue your case with the Bangladesh war of 1971 as an example.

4. What are the Determinants of Indian Foreign Policy?

5. What are the basic principles and features of India's Foreign Policy?

6. Discuss India – China Relation.

7. Discuss India – Pakistan Relation.

Section-D

Miscellaneous :

1. Write 'true' or 'false' against each of these statements.

    (a) Non-alignment allowed India to gain assistance both from USA and USSR.

    (b) India's relationship with her neighbours has been strained from the beginning.

    (c) The cold war has affected the relationship between India and Pakistan.

    (d) The treaty of Peace and Friendship in 1971 was the result of India's closeness to USA.

2. Match the following in group A with that of Group B :

A	B
(a) Panchsheel	(i) Tibetan spiritual leader who crossed over to India
(c) Bandung Conference	(ii) Five principles of peaceful coexistence
(d) Dalai Lama	(iii) Led to the establishment of NAM

❑ ❑ ❑

CHAPTER - 8

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS
UNITED NATIONS ORGANISATION

❏ United Nations
❏ Major Organs of United Nations
  ● General Assembly
  ● Security Council
  ● International Court of Justice
  ● Reforms of the UN
  ● India's position in UN
  ● International Economic Organizations: World Bank and the IMF.

In this chapter

We shall try to know :

➡ *What is International Organizations*

We will discuss :

➡ *What are the Major Organs of United Nations*

➡ *Composition and functions of the General Assembly*

➡ *Composition and functions of the Security Council*

➡ *Composition and functions of the International Court of Justice*

➡ *Reforms of the UN*

➡ *India's position in UN*

➡ *International Economic Organizations: World Bank and the IMF.*

We The Peoples of the United Nations Determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind, and to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small, and to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained, and to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom…

-First part of the Preamble of UNO

Vasudheiba Kutumbakam

War is a bane to the humanity as it causes a lot of death and destruction. Seeing the devastation, sanity prevails. Concerted efforts are made by States to strengthen peace and security throughout the World. Both the League of Nations (1920) and United Nations (1945) came to picture after the end of World War-1 and World War-2 respectively to prevent war and promote peace.

The UN is an international intergovernmental organisation established on 24th October 1945 with fifty one countries through the San Francisco conference. It is the only true global organisation ever to be constituted. The principal aim of the UN is to safeguard peace and security in order to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war. As in the words of Dag Hammarskjold, the Second Secretary General of the UN "The UN was not created to take humanity to heaven, but to save it from hell". Indeed this organisation is highly indispensable as it represents the great hope of humanity for peace and progress.

However, the UN was not the first organisation that was created to guarantee world peace. Its predecessor, the League of Nations, was founded at the Paris Conference of 1919 with very similar goals especially to prevent conflict. Despite League of Nation's initial success, it could not prevent the 2nd World War. The League could never genuinely live up to its name; it was never properly a "League of Nations". Some major States most notably the US did not join it while some other prominent countries like Japan & Italy left this organisation subsequently.

Origin :

So after end of the World War II, the United States of America, the UK, the Former USSR and some other members of allied powers held several meetings and decided to establish such an organisation. The name United Nations was suggested by the then US President Franklin Roosevelt and it was first used in the Declarations of the United Nations made on 1st January 1942. The organisation was set-up through the signing of the United Nations Charter by fifty one States. It tried to achieve what the League of Nations could not between the two World Wars.

The UN's objective was to enforce Collective Security, to arbitrate over international disputes and to bring about disarmament. Now the UN consists of 193 member countries. It is located at First Avenue, UN plaza, New York, USA. The building stands on a 17 acre tract of land donated by John D. Rockfeller, on Manhattan island, a suburb of New York. It has a flag adopted on 20th October 1947 wherein the white UN emblem is superimposed on a light blue background. The emblem

consists of the global map projected from the North Pole and embraced in two olive branches. The UN conducts its business in six official languages. These are Arabic, Chinese, English, French, Russians and Spanish.

The UN Charter :

The Charter of the UN is nothing but its Constitution. It was framed in October 1944 by the Dumbarton Oaks (Washington DC) conference. The Preamble consists of 19 chapters and 111 articles. It also speaks widely about the aims, purposes and the principles of the UN.

Aims of the United Nations :

a. to safeguard peace and security in order to "save succeeding generations from the scourge of war.

b. to "reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights".

c. to "uphold respect for international law".

d. to "promote social progress and better standard of life".

Purposes of the UN :

It is mentioned under the article 1 of the UN charter. These are-

a. to maintain international peace and security and to take adequate steps to avert wars.

b. to develop friendly relations among nations on the basis of equality.

c. to achieve international co-operation in solving international problems of economic, cultural, social or humanitarian character.

d. to be a centre for harmonising the actions of nations in the attainment of these common ends.

Principles of the UN:

The Principles of the UN are mentioned under Article 2 of the Charter that serve as means to achieve the objectives of the UN. These are:

a. All the member states are equal.

b. The member states shall fulfil their obligations to the UN honestly.

c. The member states shall settle their international disputes by peaceful means.

d. The member states shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against any other state.

e. The member states shall give to the UN every assistance in action it takes in accordance with the UN charter.

f. The states which are not the members of the UN should also act in accordance with these principles for the maintenance of international peace and security.

g. No member state shall interfere in the internal affairs of any other state.

Structure of the UN :

There are six principal organs of the UN. These are

a) General Assembly

b) Security Council

c) Economic and Social Council

d) Trusteeship Council

e) International Court of Justice

f) Secretariat.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY :

It is the main deliberative organ of UN. Each member state sends five representatives to this body; but each state has to exercise one vote only. In this way, it ensures "sovereign equality to its members". The session of the General Assembly is convened on third Tuesday in the month of September every year. Special session of the Assembly can be convened if requested by the majority of members of the General Assembly or at the request of the Security Council. Decisions on important questions, such as those on peace and security, admission of new members and budgetary matters, require a two-third majority. Decisions on other questions are taken by simple majority. The General Assembly has President for each session. The Assembly debates issues, discusses matters and makes recommendations on any item covered by the UN charter.

Functions and Powers :

Under the Charter, the functions and powers of the General Assembly include:

- To consider and make recommendations on the principles of cooperation in the maintenance of international peace and security, including the principles governing disarmament and arms regulation;

- To discuss any question relating to international peace and security and, expect where a dispute or situation is being discussed by the Security Council, to make recommendations on it. To discuss and, with the same exception, make recommendations on any question within the scope of the Charter or affecting the powers and functions of any organ of the United Nations;

- To initiate studies and make recommendations to promote international political cooperation, the development and codification of international law, the realization of human rights and fundamental freedom for all, and international collaboration in economic, social, cultural, educational and health fields;

- To make recommendations for the peaceful settlement of any disputes, regardless of origin, which might impair friendly relations among nations.

- To receive and consider reports from the Security Council and other United Nations organs;

- To consider and approve the United Nations budget and to apportion the contributions among members;

- To elect the non- permanent members of the Security Council, the members of the Economic and Social Council and those members of the Trusteeship Council that are elected

- To elect jointly with the Security Council the Judges of the International Court of Justice; and, on the recommendation of the Security Council; to appoint the Secretary- General.

The General Assembly's regular session usually begins each year in September. At the start of each regular session, the Assembly elects a new President, 21 Vice-Presidents and the Chair Persons of the Assembly's six main committees. To ensure equitable geographical representation, the presidency of the Assembly rotates each year among five groups of States: African, Asian, Eastern European, Latin American and Caribbean, and Western European and other States.

In addition to its regular sessions, the Assembly may meet in special sessions at the request of the Security Council, of a majority of Member States. Once member may call emergency special session within 24 hours of a request by the Security Council on the vote of any nine Council members, or by a majority of the United Nations members, or if the majority of members concurs.

At the beginning of each regular session, the Assembly holds a general debate, often addressed by heads of state and government, in which member states express their views on the most pressing international issues.

SECURITY COUNCIL

It is the most powerful executive organ of UN. Its main function is maintenance of international peace and security. It consists of 15 members of which five are permanent (P.5) and ten are non-permanent. The five permanent members are the United States of America, Russia, China, France and Britain and the nor-permanent are elected by the General Assembly for a period of two (2) years. Usually the support of nine (9) members including p-5 is highly required while taking a decision having urgency.

The Presidency of the Council rotates monthly, according to the English alphabetical listing of its member states. The Council has 15 members-five permanent members and 10 elected by the General Assembly for two- year terms.

Each Council member has one vote. Decisions on procedural matters are made by an affirmative vote of at least nine of the 15 members. Decisions on substantive matters require nine votes, including the concurring votes of all five permanent members. This is the rule of "great power unanimity," often referred to as the "veto" power.

Functions :

- When international peace and security is threatened, it is the Security Council that tries for a peaceful solution to the problem. It is the Council that determines when and where UN peace-keeping forces should be deployed. It has the power to investigate any dispute or situation which might lead to international friction. If fighting breaks out, it has the power of ordering collective military actions as it did during Korean Crisis (1950) and Iraq-Kuwait Crisis (1990-91).

- The Security Council has primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. It is so organized as to be able to function

continuously, and representatives of each of its members must be present at all times at United Nation Headquarters.

- When a complaint concerning a threat to peace is brought before it, the Council's first action is usually to recommend to the parties to try to reach agreement by peaceful means. In some cases, the Council itself undertakes investigation and mediation. It may appoint special representatives or request the Secretary-General to do so or to use his good offices. It may set forth principles for a peaceful settlement.

- When a dispute leads to fighting, the Council's first concern is to bring it to an end as soon as possible. On many occasions, the Council has issued cease-fire directives that have been instrumental in preventing wider hostilities.

- It sends United Nations peacekeeping forces to help reduce tensions it troubled areas, keep opposing forces apart, and create conditions of calm in which peaceful settlements may be sought.

- The Council may decide on enforcement measures, economic sanctions. (This may be trade embargoes or collective military action.)

- A member state against which preventive or enforcement action has been taken by the Security Council, may be suspended from the exercise of the rights and privileges of membership by the General Assembly on the recommendation of the Security Council. The Assembly on the Council's recommendation may expel a member state that has persistently violated the principles of the Charter from the United Nations.

- A state that is a member of the United Nations but not of the Security Council may participate, without a vote, in its discussions when the Council considers that the country's interests are affected. Both members of the United Nations and non-members, if they are parties to a dispute being considered by the Council, are invited to take part, without a vote, in the Council's discussions; the Council sets the conditions for participation by a non-members state.

All members of the United Nations agree to accept and carry out the decisions of the Security Council. While other organs of the United Nations make recommendations to governments, the Council alone has the power to take decisions that member states are obligated under the Charter to carry out.

INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE

It is the principal judicial organ of the UN, which has been constituted on the model of the earlier World Court. It is located at the Peace Palace in The Hague (Netherlands). It began work in 1946, when it replaced the Permanent Court of International Justice, its predecessor, as an integral part of the Charter of the United Nations.

Composition :

The Court is composed of 15 judges elected to a nine-year term of office by the United Nations General Assembly and Security Council sitting independent of each other. It may not include more than one judge of any nationality. Elections are held every three years for one-third of the seats, and retiring judges may be re-elected. The members of the Court do not represent their governments but are independent magistrates. The judges must possess the qualifications required in their respective countries for appointment to the highest judicial offices, or be jurists of recognized competence in international law. The composition of the Court has also to reflect the main forms of civilization and principal legal systems of the world.

Functions of the Court :

The Court has a dual role: to settle in accordance with international law the legal disputes submitted to it by states, and to give advisory opinion on legal questions referred to it by duly authorized international organs and agencies.

The ICJ gives its verdict on such disputes/cases brought to it by concerned states. Last year (2016) the verdict of ICJ over the dispute between China and Philippines over some islands in South China Sea was indeed historic. Besides this, it resolves legal issues and interprets international treaties.

Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) :

It is the organ of United Nations that work for the economic and social progress and development and strives to promote higher standard of living for all. It consists of 54 members and are elected by the General Assembly for a period of three years. It also helps the UN in solving the socio-economic problems of the world. So it coordinates the economic and social work of the UN. Besides promoting economic growth of developing countries, it also administers development and humanitarian assistance projects. It promotes human rights, spread of the benefits of science and technology and fostering world co-operation in areas such as better housing, family planning and prevention of crimes.

The Economic and Social Council coordinates the work of the 14 UN specialized agencies, 10 functional commissions and five regional commissions; receives reports from 11 UN funds and programmes and issues policy recommendations to the UN system and to member states. ECOSOC is responsible for promoting higher standards of living, full employment, and economic and social progress; international cultural and educational cooperation; and encouraging universal respect for human and financial resources of the entire UN system.

In carrying out its mandate, ECOSOC consults with academic, business sector representatives and more than 2,100 registered nongovernmental organizations. This year2003, ECOSOC President H.E. Gert Rosenthal will chair the high-level segment and it will cover" Promoting and integrated approach to rural development in developing countries for poverty eradication and sustainable development." The Council will adopt a Ministerial Declaration, providing policy guidance and recommendations for action.

The Trusteeship Council :

It was created to look after the administration of eleven trust territories that are either backward or disputed areas. The responsibilities for development and good administration of these territories had been taken over by United Nations. But with the attainment of independence of these territories by the end of 1994, this council at present has no work to perform. The Secretary General of UNO has recommended for its abolition.

The Trusteeship Council suspended operation on 1st November 1994, with the independence of Palau, the last remaining United Nation trust territory, on 1st October 1994. By a resolution adopted on 25 May 1994, the Council amended its rules of procedure to drop the obligation to meet annually and agreed to meet as occasion required – by its decision or the decision of its President, or at the Security Council.

In setting the Trusteeship Council as one of the main organs of the United Nations and assigned to it the task of supervising the administration of Trust Territories placed under the Trusteeship System. Major goals of the System were to promote the advancement of the inhabitants of Trust Territories and their progressive development towards self-government or independence. The Trusteeship Council is made up of the five permanent members of the Security Council- China, France, Russian Federation, United kingdom and United States.

The aims of the Trusteeship System have been fulfilled to such an extent that all Trust Territories have attained self-government or independence, either separate states or by joining neighbouring independent countries.

Functions and powers :

The Trusteeship Council is authorize to examine and discuss reports from the Administering Authority on the political, economic, social and educational advancement of the people of Trust Territories and, in consultation with the Administering Authority, to examine petitions from and undertake periodic and other special missions to Trust Territories.

The Secretariat :

The organ that looks after the day-to-day work of UN is called Secretariat. It consists of a Secretary General and other staff personnel who run the UN administration. The Secretariat has an important role in setting the agenda for the United Nation's deliberative and decision-making bodies such as the General Assembly, Economic and Social Council and the Security Council. It also implements the decision of these bodies. Staff members are drawn from 160 countries. Now, it has more than 44,000 staff.

It is an international staff working in duty stations around the world to carry out the diverse day-to-day work of the Organization. It services the other principle organs of the United Nations and administers the programmes and policies laid down by them. At its head is the Secretary-General, who is appointed by the General Assembly on the recommendation of the Security Council for a five-year, renewable term. The duties carried out by the Secretariat are as varied as the problems dealt with by the United Nations. These range from administering peacekeeping operations to mediating international disputes, from surveying economic and social trends and problems to preparing studies on human rights and sustainable development.

Secretariat staff also informs the world's communications media about the work of the United Nations; organize international conferences on issues of worldwide concern; and interpret speeches and translate documents into the Organization's official languages.

The United Nations, while head quartered in New York, maintains a significant presence in a Addis Ababa, Bangkok, Beirut, Geneva, Nairobi, Santiago, and Vienna, and has offices all over the world.

REFORMS OF THE UN

Reforms are fundamental to any organisation to serve the needs of the changing environment. The United Nations is no exception. Long days have passed since the inception of the UN. The great institution needs some reforms. Some claim restructuring of the UN especially the Security Council is the need of the hour to meet the challenges of 21st century while others attach importance to change in processes.

The way United Nations was organised and the way it functioned reflected on the then world politics. While the priorities immediately after the World War II were focussed on containing the impact of Cold War, drastic changes occurred in the global political scenario in the last decade of 20th Century. The once powerful USSR collapsed like a pack of cards conceding ground to the USA as the sole global super power. Simultaneously, Asian economies led by China grew at an unprecedented pace. Besides these, new problems raised their heads such as genocide, civil war, ethnic conflict, Islamic terrorism, nuclear proliferation, climate change, environmental degradations, health problems etc. The changing situation demanded an effective UN which can be achieved only through the introduction of reform.

The most important organ that needs reform is Security Council. When the membership of the UN was only 51, the Security Council consisted of 5 permanent members. Now the strength of the UN is 193. But the Security Council continues to have the same number of permanent members. Of course in the year 1965, the strength of non permanent members of the Security Council was increased to 10 from 6. So time is ripe enough to induct more members into the Security Council. Developed countries like Germany and Japan and developing countries such as India, Brazil and even South Africa want permanent membership. The stationary Security Council should be more broad-based. Again the council lacks equitable representation of states. There has been no representation of member states from two important continents such as Africa and South America as permanent members in the council. So, necessary steps should be taken in this regard.

Some suggest the veto power enjoyed by P-5 members should be withdrawn and decision should be taken on majority vote. It would strengthen the democratic character of United Nations. That can be done so by amending the Charter of the UN. Again it is alleged that the General Assembly has been reduced to a 'talking shop'. It should be made strong and turned into a forum for consensus on important global issues and incidents. Abolition of UNIDO (United Nations Industrial

Development Organisation) & Trusteeship Council is needed as both these organisation have no role to play at present. As the Economic and Social Council has failed to perform its assigned functions, suggestion has been made to replace it by the creation of the Economic Security Council (ESC). The function of the proposed ESC would be, among others, to deal with economic emergency situations, dealing with major non-military threats such as the degradation of environment, global poverty, unemployment, food security, drug trafficking, migration etc. The strength of the ESC should be within 25 and decision should be taken by consensus.

International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) and International Monetary Fund (IMF) should be brought within the fold of UN. Now these two are specialised agencies only in name. These institutions don't give the UN full access to their meetings and also refuge to accept UN's involvement in their budget meeting. This state of affairs is due to the policies of the rich industrialised states who dominate in these bodies. Last but not the least, financial contribution to the UN by member states should be made mandatory.

Unless the UN is redesigned in the light of these constructive proposals, its functioning cannot be improved in these changing times. While some countries expect the UN to play greater role in peace and security missions, others want its role to be confined to development and humanitarian work in the field of health, education, environment, population control human rights, gender and social justice.

INDIA'S POSITION IN THE UN

India being a founding member of the United Nations strongly supports the purposes and the principles of the UN and has made a significant contribution to implementing the goals mentioned in the charter. She was among the original members that signed the Declaration by United Nations at Washington D.C. on 1st January 1942 and also participated in the United Nations Conference on International Organisation at San Francisco from 25th April to 26th June 1945, despite herself being a British colony at that time. As a Charter member of the United Nations, India has been participating in all of its specialised agencies and organisations. She has always promoted the cause of UNO and co-operated with it as and when called for. Even India's foreign policy has been firmly committed to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

Whenever a United Nations Force has been set up for peace-keeping, India has offered her service. India has contributed troops to the United Nation peace-

keeping efforts in Korea, Egypt and Congo in its earlier years and, in Somalia, Angola, Haiti, Liberia, Lebanon, Rwanda, South Sudan in later years. India has already taken part in 35 of UN peace-keeping operations in four Continents. Presently India is ranked as the largest troop contributor to United Nations.

India has always been a big supporter of the United Nations in its move against racial discrimination and freedom of the Colonies. Being a non-aligned country, India played a key role through the United Nations in reducing the tension between the two power blocs when Cold War was at its peak. Besides this, India was a member of the Security Council for 7 terms i.e. 14 year. In each term, as a non-permanent member of the Security Council, she discharged her function, commendably. At present, India is a member of G-4 group of nations along with Japan, Germany & Brazil. Members of this group back each other Seeking a permanent seat in the Security Council & advocate in favour of democratisation of UN and reformation of the United Nations Security Council.

Conclusion :

Over a period of time the stature of this great institution has declined. So, time has now come to retrieve the lost glory. It has to be strengthened in order to increase its effectiveness. Its role has so far been commendable especially in protection of human rights, socio-economic development, humanitarian assistance and spread of science and technology. The international community expects more from this institution. They want that the institution should be strengthened financially and militarily to make it vibrant. Besides this, efforts should be made to make it free from American influence as America is the biggest financier to this institution. So, with transparent restructuring and democratisation this institution can play a great role in the 21st century.

INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORGANISATIONS

While several international economic institutions emerged after World War II, these institutions became prominent/in the era of globalisation i.e. last decade of 20th century and came to dominate International trade and commerce. These institutions are World Bank, IMF and the GATT. The system was known as the Bretton-woods system. The Bretton-woods agreement is a clear example of multilateralism. However, this system under the hegemony of USA collapsed in the 70s' because the United States unilaterally refused to abide by its rules and procedures.

WORLD BANK

The World Bank is an intergovernmental organisation established in the year 1944. The Head Quarter of the Bank is located at Washington D.C., USA. At present the bank consists of 189 members. Initially, the bank focused on promoting post war reconstructions but promoting development became the main task overtime. Now it shows greater concern with the issues of development and poverty reduction.

It is a bank that provides loans, financial and technical assistance to support reconstruction and development. It give priorities to the developing countries, with a growing emphasis on the task of reducing poverty and improving the quality of life of the people living there. In short, one can say this bank works for human resource development especially in the field of health & education; agriculture and rural development; environmental protection including pollution reduction and enforcing regulations. Besides this, it helps countries for the development of infrastructure such as roads, urban regeneration and electricity; governance including anti-corruption & development of legal institutions. For the development of such areas it provides financial assistance in the form of loans and grants to the member countries.

Structure :

The bank consists of a President and a Board of Directors. The President is responsible for the overall management of the bank and the Board of Directors oversees the approval of loans and guarantees, formulation of new policies, the budget and key strategic decisions. Voting within the Bank is weighted according to the financial contribution of the member state.

From the 1980s', the bank in association with the IMF, embraced a strategy of "structural adjustment as many developing countries were confronted with growing debt crisis. Structural adjustment programmes (SAPs) linked loans and other forms of support to conditions requiring adoption of a range of market reforms and later, even to political conditions. In this way, it exercise enormous influences on the economic policies of the developing countries. That is the reason why at times it is criticised for setting the economic agenda of the poorer nations, attaching stringent conditions to its loans and enforcing free market reforms.

INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND

The IMF is an international organisation which is a specialised agency within the United Nation's system. Its main objectives include promotion of international

cooperation, to facilitate the expansion and balanced growth of international trade, to promote exchange stability, to assist in the establishment of a multilateral system of payments and to make its general resources available to its members experiencing balance of payment (BOP) difficulties. Its membership consists of 189 countries which today account for 80% of World trade. Membership of IMF is a prerequisite to membership in the World Bank. So, there exists a close relationship between these two organisations.

All the members of the IMF do not enjoy an equal weightage. The top 10 countries have 55% of the votes. They are the G-8 members (USA, Britain, France, Germany, Canada, Japan, Italy & Russia), Saudi Arabia and China. The US alone has 17.4% voting rights.

Structure :

The IMF consists of a Board of Governors, an Executive Board, a Managing Director and the staff. Each member country is represented by a Governor on the Board of Governors, which is the fund's highest authority. The Board of Governors, meets annually. A member country's voting power is related to its contribution to the Fund's financial resources, which in turn is determined by its relative size in the world economy. The Board of Governors delegates most of its power to the Executive Board, which is responsible for conducting its business. The Executive Board is presided over by the Managing Director.

The resources of IMF come from subscription by members and borrowings. Every member is required to subscribe to the fund an amount equivalent to its quota. Each member is assigned a quota expressed in special drawing rights (SDRs). The states can borrow from the IMF to meet their balance of payment needs, under various policies and facilities. Those who borrow from the fund are required to follow an economic policy programmes aimed at achieving a viable balance of payments position over a specified period of time. This is known as the conditionality and reflects the principle that financing and adjustment must go hand in hand. These conditionalities and Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) are a subject of debate in the developing countries. These include withdrawal of subsides, devaluation of currencies, privatisation of economy etc. This sometimes leads to unemployment and adversely affects poorer sections of the society.

POINTS TO REMEMBER

➪   UN came into existence on 24th October 1945, with 51 countries through the San Francisco conference.

➪   The charter of United Nations has Preamble, 19 chapters and 111 article.

➪   The main aim of UN is to safeguard peace and security in order to save the succeeding generations from the scourge of war.

➪   At present the total membership of UN is 193.

➪   The head quarter of UN is at First-Avenue, UN Plaza, New York, the USA.

➪   The UN conducts its business in six official languages such as Arabic, Chinese, English, French, Russian and Spanish.

➪   The UN has six organ. These are General Assembly, Security Council, Economic and Social Council. Trusteeship council, International Court of Justice and the Secretariat.

➪   Restructuring the Security Council of UN is the need of the hour.

➪   The World Bank is an international economic organisation established in the year 1944.

➪   It provides loans, financial and technical assistance to support reconstruction and development. While providing assistance it gives priorities to the developing countries.

➪   International monetary fund is a specialised agency of UN. Membership of IMF is a perquisite to the membership in the World Bank.

GLOSSARY

Veto- refers to the **veto** power wielded solely by the five permanent members of the United Nations **Security Council** (China, France, Russia, United Kingdom, and United States), enabling them to prevent the adoption of any "substantive" resolution.

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MODEL QUESTIONS

Section-A

Multiple Choice Questions :

1. Which two of the following are not the aims of the United Nations? Select the correct answer from the list given below and answer choosing the right key:
   A. to safeguard peace and security in order to "save succeeding generations from the scourge of war.
   B. to "conduct the Olympic games in its true spirit".
   C. to "supervise the International Cricket Council" .
   D. to "promote social progress and better standard of life".
   Keys: (i) AB   (ii) BC   (iii) CD   (iv) DA

2. Which two of the following are not the Purposes of the United Nations? Select the correct answer from the list given below and answer choosing the right key:
   A. to maintain international peace and security and to take adequate steps to avert wars.
   B. to "reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights".
   C. to achieve international co-operation in solving international problems of economic, cultural, social or humanitarian character.
   D. to be a centre for harmonising the actions of nations in the attainment of these common ends.
   Keys: (i) AB   (ii) BC   (iii) CD   (iv) DA

3. Which two of the following are not the Principles of the United Nations? Select the correct answer from the list given below and answer choosing the right key:
   A. The member states shall fulfil their obligations to the UN honestly.
   B. The member states shall settle their international disputes by violent means.
   C. The member states shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against any other state.
   D. The member states shall not give to the UN any assistance in action it takes in accordance with the UN charter.
   Keys: (i) AB   (ii) BC   (iii) CD   (iv) BD

4. There are six principal organs of the UN. Select the two principal organs from the list given below and answer choosing the right key:
    A. International Monetary Fund
    B. Security Council
    C. Economic and Social Council
    D. World Bank
    Keys: (i) AB   (ii) BC   (iii) CD   (iv) DA

5. Which two of the following are the Functions of the General Assembly? Select the Functions from the list given below and answer choosing the right key:
    A. It has primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security;
    B. It sends United Nations peacekeeping forces to help reduce tensions it troubled areas;
    C. To elect the non-permanent members of the Security Council, the members of the Economic and Social Council and those members of the Trusteeship Council that are elected
    D. To elect jointly with the Security Council the Judges of the International Court of Justice; and, on the recommendation of the Security Council; to appoint the Secretary- General.
    Keys: (i) AB   (ii) BC   (iii) CD   (iv) DA

6. Which two of the following are not the Functions of the Security Council? Select the Functions from the list given below and answer choosing the right key:
    A. To consider and approve the United Nations budget and to apportion the contributions among members;
    B. When a complaint concerning a threat to peace is brought before it, the Council's first action is usually to recommend to the parties to try to reach agreement by peaceful means.
    C. To receive and consider reports from the General Assembly and other United Nations organs;
    D. It sends United Nations peacekeeping forces to help reduce tensions it troubled areas.
    Keys: (i) AB   (ii) BC   (iii) AC   (iv) DA

Section-B

Write briefly :

1. What is veto power?
2. Which Members of the Security Council can exercise veto power?
3. Where is the Head Quarter of the UN located?
4. How many Judges are there in the ICJ?
5. How the Judges of the ICJ appointed?

Write Notes on :

1. Origin of the U N
2. Aims of the United Nations
3. Purposes of the UN
4. Principles of the UN
5. Composition of Security Council
6. Structure of the World Bank
7. International Monetary Fund
8. Composition of the International Court Of Justice
9. India's position in the UN

Section-C

Long (Essay) Type :

1. Compare the Composition, Functions of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund.
2. Discuss the composition and functions of the General Assembly.
3. Discuss the composition and functions of the Security Council.
4. Discuss the composition and functions of the International Court of Justice.
5. Discuss the composition and functions of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund.
6. Examine the needs for the reforms of the UN.

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CHAPTER - 9

CHANGING DIMENSIONS OF SECURITY

❏ **Changing Dimensions of Security in Contemporary World**

❏ **Traditional Security Concerns:**

Arms Race and Disarmament

❏ **Non-Traditional Security Concerns:**

Human security;

Global Poverty,

Inequality,

Health and Education

In this chapter

We shall try to know :

➥ *What is Security?*

We will discuss :

➥ *What are Arms Control*

➥ *Disarmament*

➥ *Human Security*

➥ *Global Poverty*

➥ *Inequality*

➥ *And issues of Health and Education?*

Human Security is "…to protect the vital core of all human lives in ways that enhance human freedoms and human fulfilment. Human security means protecting fundamental freedoms– freedoms that are the essence of life. It means protecting people from critical (severe) and pervasive (widespread) threats and situations. It means using processes that build on people's strengths and aspirations. It means creating political, social, environmental, economic, military and cultural systems that together give people the building blocks of survival, livelihood and dignity."

The UN Commission on Human Security in its final report on Human Security.

Security :

Literally Security means safety: To be safe from harm, the absence of threats. In International Politics and Relations also the meaning is same. But there are different levels of security. We will try to understand it in 'national', 'international', 'global' or 'human' terms.

The value of security :

Security is valued by individuals, families, states, and other actors. Security, however, is not the only thing they value; and the pursuit of security necessitates the sacrifice of other values. It is therefore necessary to ask how important is security relative to other values? There are three approaches of answering this question: (1) the prime value approach, (2) the core value approach, (3) and the marginal value approach.

The prime value approach : Security is a prerequisite for the enjoyment of other values such as rights, freedom, prosperity, etc.

The core value approach : Security is one of several important values. Other values such as rights, freedom, prosperity, etc are as important as security.

The marginal value approach : It is rooted in the assumption that the law of diminishing marginal utility is as applicable to security as it is to other values. The marginal value approach provides a solution to the resource allocation problem. This approach is based on the assumption that the value of security is relative. It differs from actor to actors and from situation to situations.

It will be argued that the marginal value approach is preferable to the other two. It does not assert the primacy of security necessity over other necessities like water, food, or air. A certain minimum amount of each is needed to sustain life, but this does not mean that the value of a glass of water is the same for a person stranded in a desert and a person drowning in a lake. The value of an increment of something depends on how much of it one has. According to the marginal value approach, security is only one of many policy objectives competing for scarce resources and subject to the law of diminishing returns. Thus, the value of an increment of national security to a country will vary from one country to another and from one historical context to another, depending not only on how much security is needed but also on how much security the country already has. Rational policy-makers will allocate resources to security only as long as the marginal return is greater for security than for other uses of the resources.

There is nothing new about treating national security as one of many public policy objectives competing for scarce resources and subject to diminishing returns. Some scholars of Politics have used this approach, and defence economists have long advocated it.

The multidimensionality of security is not new. Economic security, environmental security, identity security, social security, and military security are different forms of security, not fundamentally different concepts. Each can be specified in terms of the dimensions. Changing world circumstances and new issues do not necessarily require new concepts. The adjectives indicate the differences, while the noun draws attention to the similarities. Both are important. (David A. Baldwin: The concept of security, Review of International Studies, 1997)

CONCERNS FOR SECURITY IN RETROSPECTION

Traditional Security Concerns :

Concern for security is as old as human society. We read about wars, weapons, soldiers, fortresses, moats, battleships and several other things about warfare from books and mythologies. All these are examples of concern for security; to ensure security to land, people, and property. The chief elements of Security were Weapon production and preparedness for war. Later on came Alliances and Friendship Treaties between nation states, of no-war against each other, or helping each other against a common enemy. This continued till the emergence of Germany and Italy as powerful contenders in the world arena, to acquire and establish colonies for their own economic and political gain. Germany wanted some elbow-room for itself. So came the arms race in the last part of 19th Century in the modern use of the term. When arms race between colonial rivals reached the optimum level, there came the two world Wars. The destruction wrecked by the two Armageddon made the leaders of the victorious and the victorious and vanquished nations to limit production and use of arms. However, the onset of Cold War between two rival ideology and state systems, between Capitalism and Communism, between USA and USSR led to a great escalation of arms race. However good sense prevailed over two rival camps sporadically that led to the other security issue- Disarmament.

Changing Dimensions :

The content of security changes over time, depending on era and context. As far back as the 1930s, American national security thinking revolved very much around economic security, changing to an overriding concern with military security during the Cold War era. Towards the late 1960s, the idea of security as being something 'more' than military security was put forward by Robert McNamara, till then president of the World Hank. During the 1970s and 1980s, the conceptualisation of security

slowly broadened within the developed and developing world. In Europe, the Helsinki process and the idea of comprehensive security slowly gained ground. In Africa, the Front-Line States (FLS) increasingly came to include economic and social security as part of their security agenda which initially consisted of opposing apartheid and South African military destabilisation. The FLS founded the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC, now the Southern African Development Community or the SADC) in 1980 the first example, it would seem, of a link between security and development. The essential meaning of security as freedom from threat has not changed.

Contemporary conceptualisation of security is multidimensional and aims at the people as the main referent of security (human security). It is therefore also not necessarily pointing to 'the end of security', but may change over time as era and context change.

While the term "human security" may be of recent origin, the ideas that underpin the concept are far from new. For more than a century -at least since the founding of the International Committee of the Red Cross in the 1860s -a doctrine based on the security of people has been gathering momentum. Core elements of this doctrine were formalised in the 1940s in the UN Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and the Geneva Conventions.

The specific phrase "human security" is most commonly associated with the Human Development Report of 1994. Published by the UNDP, the Report was an attempt to capture the post-Cold War peace dividend and redirect the freed resources towards development agenda.

Since then, the concept of human security has increasingly centred on the human costs of violent conflict. Here, practice has led theory. Two initiatives, in particular, the campaign to ban landmines and the effort to create an International Criminal Court, have demonstrated the potential of a people-centred approach to security.

Security is the deepest and most abiding issue in politics. At its heart is the question: how can people live a decent and worthwhile existence, free from threats, intimidation and violence? Security has usually been thought of as a particularly pressing issue in international politics because, while the domestic realm is ordered and stable, by virtue of the existence of a sovereign state, the international realm is anarchical and therefore threatening and unstable. For realists, as the most important actors in the international system are states, security is primarily understood in terms of 'national' security. As, in a world of self-help, all states are under at least potential

threat from all other states, each state must have the capacity for self-defence. National security therefore places a premium on military power, reflecting the assumption that the more militarily powerful a state is, the more secure it is likely to be. This focus on military security nevertheless draws states into dynamic, competitive relationships with one another, based on what is called the security dilemma. This is the problem that a military build-up for defensive purposes by one state is always liable to be interpreted by other states as potentially or actually aggressive, leading to retaliatory military build-ups and so on. The security dilemma gets to the very heart of politics amongst states, making it the quintessential dilemma of international politics (Booth and Wheeler 2008). Permanent insecurity between and amongst states is therefore the inescapable lot of those who live in a condition of anarchy.

However, the state-centric ideas of national security and an inescapable security dilemma have also been challenged. There is, for example, a long established emphasis within liberal theory on collective security, reflecting the belief that aggression can best be resisted by united action taken by a number of states. Such a view shifts attention away from the idea of 'national' security towards the broader notion of 'international' security. Furthermore, the security agenda in modern global politics has changed in a number of ways. These include, on the one hand, the expansion of 'zones of peace' in which the tensions and incipient conflicts implied by the security dilemma appear to be absent. Thus 'security regimes' or 'security communities' have developed to manage disputes and help to avoid war, a trend often associated with growing economic interdependence (linked to globalization) and the advance of democratization. On the other hand, September 11 and the wider threat of terrorism has highlighted the emergence of new security challenges that are particularly problematical because they arise from non-state actors and exploit the greater interconnectedness of the modern world. International security may therefore have given way to 'global' security. A further development has been the trend to rethink the concept of security at a still deeper level, usually linked to the notion of 'human security'. Interest in human security has grown both because the decline of inter-state war in the post-Cold War means that the threat from violent conflict now usually occurs *within* states, coming from civil war, insurrection and civic strife, and because of the recognition that in the modern world people's safety and survival is often put at risk more by non-military threats (such as environmental destruction, disease, refugee crises and resource scarcity), than it is by military threats.

International security: Conditions in which the mutual survival and safety of states is secured through measures taken to prevent or punish aggression, usually within a rule-governed international order.

Security regime: A framework of cooperation amongst states and other actors to ensure the peaceful resolution of conflict.

Security dilemma: The dilemma that arises from the fact that a build-up of military capacity for defensive reasons by one state is always liable to be interpreted as aggressive by other states.

Security dilemma :

Security dilemma describes a condition in which actions taken by one actor to improve national security are interpreted as aggressive by other actors, thereby provoking military counter-moves. This reflects two component dilemmas.

First, there is a dilemma of interpretation– what are the motives, intentions and capabilities of others in building up military power? As weapons are inherently ambiguous symbols (they can be either defensive or aggressive), there is irresolvable uncertainty about these matters.

Second, there is a dilemma of response– should they react in kind, in a militarily confrontational manner, or should they seek to signal reassurance and attempt to defuse tension? Misperception here may either lead to an unintended arms race or to national disaster.

However, rather than marking the beginning of a new era in global security, 9/11 may have indicated more a return to 'business as normal'. In particular, the advent of a globalized world appeared to underline the vital importance of 'national' security, rather than 'international' or 'global' security. The emergence of new security challenges, and especially transnational terrorism, re-emphasized the core role of the state in protecting its citizens from external attack. Instead of becoming progressively less important, 9/11 gave the state a renewed significance. The USA, for example, responded to 9/11 by undertaking a substantial build-up of state power, both at home (through strengthened 'homeland security') and abroad (through increased military spending and the invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq). A unilateralist tendency also became more pronounced in its foreign policy, as the USA became, for a period at least, less concerned about working with or through international organizations of various kinds. Other states affected by terrorism have also exhibited

similar tendencies, marking a renewed emphasis on national security sometime at the expense of considerations such as civil liberties and political freedom. 9/11, in other words, may demonstrate that state-based power politics is alive and kicking.

Global politics is an ever-shifting field, with, if anything, the pace of change accelerating over time. Debates have emerged about the changing nature of power and the shifting configuration of global power, about whether national security has been displaced by international, global or even human security, and about the extent to which justice now has to be considered in cosmopolitan or global terms. Why has there been growing interest in the notion of 'human' security?

New security challenges :

The decline of inter-state war does not mean that the world has become a safer place. Rather, new and, in some ways, more challenging, security threats have emerged. This particularly applies in the case of terrorism, as demonstrated by 9/11 and other attacks. Terrorism, indeed, shows how globalization has made the world more dangerous, as terrorists gain easier access to devastating weaponry, and can operate on a transnational or even global basis. Such threats underline the need for states to develop more sophisticated military strategies, both to ensure tighter domestic security and, possibly, to attack foreign terrorist camps and maybe states that harbour terrorists.

TRADITIONAL SECURITY CONCERNS

Concern for security is as old as human society. We read about wars, weapons, soldiers, fortresses, moats, battleships and several other things about warfare from books and mythologies. All these are examples of concern for security; to ensure security to land, people, and property. The chief elements of Security were Weapon production and preparedness for war. Later on came Alliances and Friendship Treaties between nation states, of no-war against each other, or helping each other against a common enemy. This continued till the emergence of Germany and Italy as powerful contenders in the world arena, to acquire and establish colonies for their own economic and political gain. Germany wanted some elbow-room for itself. So came the arms race in the last part of 19th Century in the modern use of the term. When arms race between colonial rivals reached the optimum level, there came the two world Wars. The destruction wrecked by the two Armageddon made the leaders of the victorious and the victorious and vanquished nations to limit production and use of arms. However, the onset of Cold War between two rival ideology and state systems,

between Capitalism and Communism, between USA and USSR led to a great escalation of arms race. However good sense prevailed over two rival camps sporadically that led to the other security issue- Disarmament.

We will discuss those two issues in the following paragraphs in relation to the concerns for security.

ARMS RACE

Arms race as a separate notion appeared at the end of the 19th and at the beginning of the 20th century. An arms race, in its original usage, is a competition between two or more nations/ states to have the best armed forces. Each state tries to increase the numbers of weapons, size of the armed forces, invest in and improve military technology. International conflict specialist Theresa Clair Smith defines the term as "the participation of two or more nation-states in apparently competitive or interactive increases in quantity or quality of war material and/or persons under arms."

The term is also used to describe a competitive situation, in which the purpose is only to be more powerful than one's rival states. It refers to the rivalry and competition in only one field of economy- in the military industry. Superiority in this field had always been the goal of the nations and armies. Arms race includes development of new system of weapons and its innovative use. It appears to be the race of battleships, weapon systems, airplanes, nuclear weapon and spaceships.

Very brief history of Arms Race :

Pre-First World War naval arms race was between Great Britain and Germany and between some South American nations. From 1891 to 1914, a naval arms race between the United Kingdom and Germany took place. British concern about rapid increase in German naval power resulted in a costly building competition of Dreadnought-class ships. This tense arms race lasted until 1914, when the I World War broke out. After the war, a new arms race developed among the victorious Allies, which was temporarily ended by the Washington Naval Treaty (1921-22). It was a **treaty** among the major nations, those who had won World War I, which agreed to prevent an arms race by limiting **naval** construction. In addition to the British and Germans, there were similar rivalry between smaller naval powers like, between Russia and the Ottoman Empire; the Ottoman Empire and Greece; France and Italy; the United States and Japan; and Brazil, Argentina, and Chile.

Nuclear arms race : A nuclear arms race developed after the Second World War; there after began the Cold War, an intense period of arms race between the Soviet Union and the United States and some other countries. This was one of the main consequences of the cold war. On both sides, perceived advantages of the adversary (such as the "missile gap") led to large spending on armaments and the stockpiling of vast nuclear arsenals. Proxy wars were fought all over the world (e.g. in the Middle East, Korea, Vietnam) in which the superpowers' conventional weapons were pitted against each other. After the dissolution of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War, tensions decreased and the nuclear arsenal of both countries were reduced.

In the 20th century arms race between the USSR and the USA played one of the dominant roles after the conclusion of the II World War. Post War arms race was primarily connected with nuclear weapons. At the end of the World War II United Stated was the only nuclear weapons power in the world. USA obtained strategic dominance over other rivals during the war, when it dropped two atomic bombs over Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Afterwards began the Cold war. But this nuclear dominance lasted for only for four years. In 1949 USSR tests its first atomic bomb. It was a real shock for the Western world as well a new landmark in the Cold War. Later on USSR developed not only nuclear but also hydrogen bombs.

There were several distinctive features of arms race that needs to be mentioned.

(a) First, arms race involves huge amount of financial resources.

(b) Second, apart from creation of different types of arms, arms race presumes creation of a particular economic system where production and technology are geared to meet the security demand of the state.

(c) Third, this also demands high quality education, particularly in base science and technology in the country.

(d) Fourth, emphasis on defence preparedness leads to neglect of other sectors of production. So lack of synchronisation of different sectors of society and economy may lead to the ultimate failure of arms race as a policy and a practice. It not only loses the race, but also experiences inevitable changes in its state structure. This was exactly what happened with USSR in its arms race with USA.

The nuclear arsenal of USSR and USA became so high that any military actions or starting the open war could lead to the destruction of the world. It needed substantial

financial expenditure to produce weapons of mass destruction as well as silos to store those. There was the also need to store the weapons during peacetime at substantial cost. When one country invented or developed some type of weapon, other was using all financial and other resources to obtain the same or even better.

Arms race was one of the features of the Cold war. Even though it led to many scientific discoveries in technological and military fields, extensive participation of USSR in it led to non-efficient internal policies. Arms race had a very negative impact on USSR. Its economy was in doldrums. USA, on the other hand, succeeded in more efficient use of new scientific and technological revolution.

It is obvious that during more than 40 years of arms race both USA and USSR got over militarized and in USSR low level of well-being of the population. Arm race led to the total deformity of the USSR economy. Military expenditure constituted about 80% of the total industrial production. Civic facilities and agriculture was just an appendix to the enormous military complex. In the early 1970s this situation promoted general economic underdevelopment of the USSR that led to qualitative decline of Soviet military and technological potential as well as to weakening of international positions of the country. Other sectors' neglect had also negative influence upon internal social and economic development of USSR and its allies.

Conclusion :

As a traditional security concern Arms Race had its use in the context of colonization and cold war. In a way the term "arms race" is used to describe any competition where there is no absolute goal, only the relative goal of staying ahead of the other competitors in military terms or technical knowledge. An arms race may also imply futility as the competitors spend a great deal of time and money, yet end up in the same situation as if they had never started the arms race. The evolution of arms race as a system is nothing but one-upmanship between rival states and cannot be categorised as a holistic security concern.

DISARMAMENT

Disarmament means the reduction or withdrawal of military forces and weapons. Disarmament is the act of reducing, limiting, or abolishing weapons. Disarmament generally refers to a reduction in a country's military or specific type of weaponry. Disarmament is often taken to mean total elimination of weapons of mass destruction, such as nuclear arms. General and Complete Disarmament was defined by the United Nations General Assembly as the elimination of all WMD,

coupled with the "balanced reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments, based on the principle of undiminished security of the parties with a view to promoting or enhancing stability at a lower military level, taking into account the need of all States to protect their security.

The arms race poses a great threat to world peace. Almost all the countries have been involved in the arms race. At the time of the Second World War USA was the only country which had developed the nuclear bomb which it used with devastating effect to end the war. Later other countries like Great Britain, China, Russia, and France also developed the nuclear bomb.

The developing nations are not far behind. They also are joining this race. India, a peace loving country, was also compelled to do so in 1998 to assure its people regarding national security. This race for armament has created a serious challenge to international security. It has exposed the whole world to great danger.

Necessity of Disarmament :

There are two types of leaders in a nation: Hawk type and Dove type. When decision making remains with the Hawks (war mongers), the state remain in a constant state of preparation for war. The cost of war is so huge that the hawks must remain sidelined. The realisation of the benefits of disarmament among the people can keep them in check.

The economic burden on all nations is tremendous, but for the poorest within societies the price is often unbearable. The Governments of too many nations choose armaments over the much-needed social welfare programmes, education and healthcare on which their citizens, particularly their most vulnerable depend. Those nations that are directly affected by conflict, economic development halts, and are often reversed.

What then is the **relationship between human security and disarmament**? To achieve human security will require much more than disarming, but without significant efforts to disarm, efforts to build human security will almost certainly be incomplete. A community flooded in illicit guns is less likely to be a secure place for people. A nation stacked with conventional weapons—tanks, mines, cluster bombs, fighter jets- whether they are used against external enemies or internal populations, is much less likely to be (and remain) a secure place for people. A world over-stacked with thousands of nuclear weapons and hundreds of thousands of missiles capable

of carrying those long distances with great accuracy is less likely to be a secure place for its denizens.

But it is not only a question of the weapons themselves; it is also a question of the resources—monetary and human—that go into developing, building, maintaining and even dismantling and disposing of these weapons. This does not even begin to factor into the equation the billions of dollars that have been spent and will be needed to rebuild societies shattered by conflict and violence.

- Even greater than the economic cost of war is the human cost. Millions of lives have been lost or broken, inflicting an incalculable cost.

- There is also the danger of nuclear device exploding accidentally or war erupting because of human or mechanical error.

- It is estimated that there are enough nuclear weapons in the world today, to wipe out the whole planet more than hundred times over.

- In such a scenario there is a crying need for peace. So, disarmament is the only hope of humanity. It is necessary today for the very survival of mankind.

- It is necessary to put a check on the imperialistic designs of certain countries.

India is never in favour of arms race. One of the basic principles of India's foreign policy is disarmament. India supports the reduction of arms and elimination of nuclear weapons by all the countries of the world. That is why she did not sign CTBT (Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty) because it has so far failed to set any deadline for complete nuclear disarmament.

What we need today is world peace and international stability. Unless the countries will follow the policy of disarmament, nothing good can be achieved. Though undoubtedly, some progress has been made through talks and proposals in paper still race of armaments continues unabated. And this is the problem of disarmament.

For genuine peace, first we need change in the mind set of all nations. Fear and hatred between nations must be eliminated. It is a fact that we cannot establish world peace in a day or two; it can be achieved slowly and gradually. It all depends on the world community. If every nation extends its hand for peace, a day of global brotherhood will be realised. There will be no war, no arms, and no violence.

Disarmament requires all states to give up certain kinds of weapons. For example, the 1972 Biological Weapons Convention (BWC) and the 1992 Chemical Weapons Convention (CWC) banned the production and possession of these weapons. More than 155 states acceded to the BWC and 181 states acceded to the CWC. Both conventions included all the great powers. But the superpowers — the US and Soviet Union — did not want to give up the third type of weapons of mass destruction, namely, nuclear weapons, so they pursued arms control.

Arms control regulates the acquisition or development of weapons. The Anti-ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty in 1972 tried to stop the United States and Soviet Union from using ballistic missiles as a defensive shield to launch a nuclear attack. While it did allow both countries to deploy a very limited number of defensive systems, it stopped them from large-scale production of those systems.

The US and Soviet Union signed a number of other arms control treaties including the Strategic Arms Limitations Treaty II or SALT II and the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START). The Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) of 1968 was an arms control treaty in the sense that it regulated the acquisition of nuclear weapons: those countries that had tested and manufactured nuclear weapons before 1967 were allowed to keep their weapons; and those that had not done so were to give up the right to acquire them. The NPT did not abolish nuclear weapons; rather, it limited the number of countries that could have them.

- ✓   The UNO's sincere effort in this direction is continuing. Its objective is Disarmament which must not fail because it in the base of peaceful co-existence.

- ✓   Disarmament is not only about eliminating weapons; it is also about creating opportunities to think about security in new ways, to re-prioritize our budgets, and to rethink our sense of ourselves as nations in community with one another.

NON-TRADITIONAL SECURITY CONCERNS

HUMAN SECURITY :

Traditionally, for a long time the concept of security has been interpreted narrowly:

- •   first, as security of territory from external aggression;
- •   secondly, as protection of national interests in foreign policy;
- •   thirdly, as global security from the threat of a nuclear holocaust.

It has been associated with the interests of nation-states than with those of the people. In this process, the legitimate concerns of common people and their quest for individual security in their daily lives: protection from the threat of diseases, hunger, unemployment, crime, social conflict, political repression and environmental degradation, were forgotten. But, in essence, the principles of human security have always been embedded in the relations among modern sovereign nation states.

However, it is only with the end of the Cold War that sufficient attention has been accorded both to the concept and the diplomacy of human security. In the post Cold War period it is increasingly becoming evident that many conflicts and their causes are within nations rather than between nations. For most people, a sense of insecurity come not so much from the traditional security concerns such as military aggression of another nation, but from the concerns about their survival, self-preservation and well being in the day-to-day context.

The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) in its Human Development Report of 1994 first articulated this dimension of security, which ' has come to be known as human security. Since then, the concept of human security has attracted considerable attention in various international fora. However, while there is a broad consensus that human survival, human well being and human freedom are vital elements of human security, a clear idea as to what the concept denotes has not yet emerged. The term 'human security' has been used in many different contexts to justify certain course of action either ongoing or planned for future.

What is Human Security?

Human security is a perspective to look at international relations not from the viewpoint of nation states but from the perspective of the security of the individual. In simple words, human security means safety of people from both violent and non-violent threats. Once we accept this definition, it is necessary to examine issues of international affairs in terms of their impact and implications for human security. So the policy planners and scholars accept and look at issues from the perspective of human security. It means, one must ask whether an action by a country or by the international community as a whole is enhancing or undermining the safety of the people.

What are the main features of Human Security?

Human security brings together the 'human elements' of security, rights and development. As such, it is an inter-disciplinary concept that displays the following characteristics:

- *people-centred*
- *multi-sectored*
- *comprehensive*
- *context-specific*
- *prevention-oriented*

Meanings and Dimensions of Human Security :

It is a new template to understand and analyse the transformative changes taking place in the international system in the aftermath of the Cold War. Better described, human security is a shift in the angle of vision to identify and meet the challenges and threats to international peace and security. Threats to the safety of individual and security of communities today are such that they also directly threaten international peace and security. The post-Cold War international system is beset with greater instability and lesser predictability.

Threats to international peace and security today are more diffuse and multidimensional. Nature of threats and sources of threats have changed. *First,* the challenges and dangers in today's world threaten more and directly, the safety and wellbeing of individuals and communities.

- Some old threats and conflicts, which the overarching rivalry between the two superpowers had kept under covers during the Cold War, have resurfaced with greater intensity. These are ethnic, racial and tribal animosities which, in the post-Cold War World, have taken the form of intrastate conflicts and civil wars.

- Not separated from the above, rather making them deadlier, are some new types and sources of violence and conflict such as those emanating from terrorism, religious fundamentalism, narcotics-trafficking and money laundering activities.

- Besides, one also witnesses as intensity in these conflicts, reflected in 'ethnic cleansings', 'hate campaigns' and nationalist xenophobia, etc. It hardly needs to be stressed that many of such conflicts threaten not only the safety of human beings but also the security of the states.

- Significantly, such conflicts of today are more often intra- than inter-state. Then there are other features too of such conflicts. Such as, they affect the

civilian populations more than the armed combatants. Of the total 86 armed conflicts recorded in 1997, as many as 84 were intra-state.

- Eight out of ten casualties in recent conflicts have been civilians. More people have died in local-often intra-state-conflicts than in wars between states.

- Also, more casualties have been on the account of the use of small weapons that are easily available, and have remained beyond all discussions on disarmament. Today, about 500 million small weapons, which have an unusual longevity of life, are in use. Or, some such weapons are cheap and available in abundance, for instance the anti-personnel landmines, which are used by the terrorists, insurgents and all kinds of groups.

- The worst of all is that these 'wars' are often being fought with 'child soldiers'. In intra-state conflicts during the 1990s, the world has remained a mute spectator to the use of children as armed combatants and as suicide bombers.

- Another notable aspect of today's conflicts is that while they may be local in nature, they have wider regional and international dimensions.

- International networks dealing in illicit trades in arms, narcotics, and money laundering are in some complex ways linked to these seemingly local conflicts. Even the support of diasporic communities has been enlisted to carry out campaigns of 'ethnic cleansing', terrorist violence, arms procurement and money transfers.

- A *second* source challenging the safety of human beings is the current unbridled process of economic *globalisation*. Globalisation has both positive and negative aspects. What is being witnessed today is perhaps more of the negative aspects of globalisation.

- Particularly the developing economies are getting adversely affected. As national economies integrate with the global market forces, traditional productive structures are getting destroyed and distorted, causing deprivation and displacement of large populations.

- Patterns of investment and mega-development projects, such as hydro-electrical projects, and economic policies of 'export promotion' are directly responsible for the degradation and destruction of environment.

- Large populations, particularly the indigenous communities in many countries, have lost their livelihood and, were forced to migrate elsewhere including across national borders.

- Large volume of speculative capital now operates through the international financial system. The new international banking practices allow the speculative capital rapid mobility across national borders and financial barriers. The pressing needs for foreign investment and the liberalisation of financial markets in most of the developing countries have facilitated the movements of speculative capital in and out of the national economies almost at will. Consequently, national stock markets soar one day only to bottom out the next day. Countries such as Mexico in 1994, Indonesia and other countries of South East Asia in 1997 and Brazil in 1998 have experienced the onslaught of the speculative capital which shook their economies to its foundation and has rendered the notions of national sovereignty and national control infructuous. Admittedly, the financial crises of this type have a 'contagion' effect for the health of the regional and international economies.

Human security is an attempt to respond to the new global realities. It takes the individual as the nexus of its concerns, as the true lens through which to view politics, economy, environment and the society. It is an effort to construct a global society where the safety of individual is the priority, and where global, regional and bilateral institutions are built and equipped to enhance human security.

The concept of human security has received sufficient attention only after the end of the Cold War. It means safety of the people or communities from both violent and non-violent threats and should be seen from the perspective of the security of the individual rather than that of nation-states. It is an effort to create a global society where safety of the individual is the priority and institutions are built to enhance human security.

This does not mean that state security and human security are mutually exclusive. Nor does human security limit sovereignty of state. It only means that safety of the individual cannot be dealt within a *statist* framework as states alone cannot meet the challenges of the international system. The concept of human security is premised on the interdependence of states which is deepening further in the wake of the process of globalisation and emergence of civil society.

- Human security suggests a wide range of actions and a number of instruments. It is not simply a humanitarian programme - it underscores the need to address the root cause of insecurity and entails building new state capacities.

- The pursuit of the human security agenda has been an unconventional political process with the use of new kinds of diplomatic tools and participation of international civil society in the conduct of international relations.

- While agreeing with the ideals of human security, there are certain problems in its practical implementation. The prescriptions and the way it is conceived is somewhat impracticable especially for developing countries who perceive threats directly to their territorial integrity and the nation building process.

- Also, relations among nation states are still based on certain formal rules and customs of sovereignty and inviolability of states. The prescription of humanitarian intervention as a last resort by human security is unacceptable to many developing countries.

Understanding Human Security :

"Human Security and national security should be -and often are- mutually reinforcing. But secure States do not automatically mean secure peoples. Protecting citizens from foreign attacks may be a necessary condition for the security of individuals, but it is not a sufficient one."

Human Security Brief 2007, Human Security Research Group, Simon Fraser University, British Columbia, Canada

All of this comes at a time when it is increasingly being recognized in the international community that there needs to be a broadening of the way we think about security. Human security (with its focus on the security of the individual within society) needs to be added to our ideas about national security (with its focus on defence of the State from external attack). Threats today come not simply-or even predominantly-in the form of enemy troops, but also in the form of poverty, lack of opportunity and discrimination. These factors can be destabilizing just as armed conflict is destabilizing, and often they go hand-in-hand with violent conflict.

At its most basic level, human security requires protection from violence and the threat of violence. But more than simply an absence, human security also requires a presence-the presence of structures and resources that enable people to survive, to have a livelihood and to live in dignity. Human security requires not just freedom from fear, but also freedom from want. It requires that basic needs-food, shelter, healthcare-be met; that opportunities-in education or training, in seeking a vocation or livelihood-be provided; that the human rights of all be respected.

New Dimensions of Human Security: New challanges- Terrorism, Global Poverty, Inequality, Health and Education :

The non-traditional concerns- both human security and global security—focus on the changing nature of threats to security. We will discuss some of these threats in the section below.

In our attempt to understand these non-traditional concerns, we have to understand these not sector-wise but in a holistic manner, because these aspects of security are closely interlinked with each other. For a better grasp of the new concerns of security we must know the links of one with the other aspects.

Terrorism :

Terrorism refers to political violence that targets civilians deliberately and indiscriminately. International terrorism involves the citizens or territory of more than one country. Terrorist groups seek to change a political context or condition that they do not like by force or threat of force. Civilian targets are usually chosen to terrorise the public and to use the unhappiness of the public as a weapon against national governments or other parties in conflict.

The classic cases of terrorism involve hijacking planes or planting bombs in trains, cafes, markets and other crowded places. Since 11 September 2001 when terrorists attacked the World Trade Centre in America, other governments and public have paid more attention to terrorism, though terrorism itself is not new. In the past, most of the terror attacks have occurred in the Middle East, Europe, Latin America and South Asia.

(For better understanding students are adviced to read terrorism from Chapter-5 as well.)

Global Poverty :

Poverty is a source of conflict. Analysts have identified competition for scarce resources as a source of possible conflict between Israel and its Arab neighbours, India and Pakistan, Turkey and Syria, Egypt and Ethiopia. The world's poorer countries, where families often see the need for more children to compensate for a high infant mortality rate and to raise their income potential, account for a significant proportion of the growth in the world's population, which has doubled between 1950 and 1998.

Thus, Global Poverty is another source of insecurity. World population—now at 650 crore - will reach 700 to 800 crore within 25 years and may eventually level out at 900 to 1000 crore. Currently, half the world's population growth occurs in just six countries—India, China, Pakistan, Nigeria, Bangladesh and Indonesia. Among the world's poorest countries, population is expected to triple in the next 50 years, whereas many rich countries will see population shrinkage in that period. High per capita income and low population growth make rich states or rich social groups get richer, whereas low incomes and high population growth reinforce each other to make poor states and poor groups get poorer. Globally, this disparity contributes to the gap between the Northern and Southern countries of the world. Within the South, disparities have also sharpened, as a few countries have managed to slow down population growth and raise incomes while others have failed to do so. For example, most of the world's armed conflicts now take place in sub-Saharan Africa, which is also the poorest region of the world. At the turn of the 21st century, more people were being killed in wars in this region than in the rest of the world combined.

Population growth, in turn, contributes to resource scarcity and environmental stress, often resulting in conflict. For example, South Asia, one of the poorest and most heavily populated regions of the globe, faces intensified competition and the possibility of conflict over scarce water resources. Examples include the Indo-Pakistan dispute over the Wular Barrage, the Indo-Bangladesh water dispute over the Farakka Barrage, and the Indo-Nepal dispute over the Mahakali River Treaty (Power and Interest News Report 2006).

While no direct link can be established between poverty and terrorism, terrorists often 'exploit poverty and exclusion in order to tap into popular discontent—taking advantage of fragile states such as Somalia, or undemocratic regimes such as in Afghanistan in the 1990s, to plan violence' (UNDP 2005: 47).

Even among its advocates differences exist as to whether human security is about 'freedom from fear' or 'freedom from want'. The former stresses protecting people from violent conflicts through measures such as a ban on landmines and child soldiers. For the latter, human security is a broader notion involving the reduction of threats to the well-being of people, such as poverty and disease.

Ultimately, however, both sides agree that human security is about security of the individuals rather than states, and that protecting people requires going beyond traditional principles of state sovereignty.

Poverty in the South has also led to large-scale migration to seek a better life, especially better economic opportunities, in the North. This has created international political frictions. International law and norms make a distinction between migrants (those who voluntarily leave their home countries) and refugees (those who flee from war, natural disaster or political persecution).

States are generally supposed to accept refugees, but they do not have to accept migrants. While refugees leave their country of origin, people who have fled their homes but remain within national borders are called 'internally displaced people'. Kashmiri Pandits that fled the violence in the Kashmir Valley in the early 1990s are an example of an internally displaced community.

The world refugee map tallies almost perfectly with the world conflicts map because wars and armed conflicts in the South have generated millions of refugees seeking safe haven. From 1990 to 1995, 70 states were involved in 93 wars which killed about 55 lakh people. As a result, individuals, and families and, at times, whole communities have been forced to migrate because of generalised fear of violence or due to the destruction of livelihoods, identities and living environments. A look at the correlation between wars and refugee migration shows that in the 1990s, all but three of the 60 refugee flows coincided with an internal armed conflict.

Health and Disease :

There is an interactive relationship between armed conflict and non-violent threats to human security such as poverty and disease. Wars and internal conflicts can lead to impoverishment, disease outbreaks, and environmental destruction. Conversely, poverty, inequality, and environmental degradation can lead to weakening and even collapse of states. Human security research should look not just at the direct and indirect consequences of conflict, but also the range of socioeconomic, political, and ecological factors that contribute to conflict. Such an understanding of human security opens the way for reconciling the two conceptions of human security as freedom from fear and freedom from want.

Health epidemics such as HIV-AIDS, bird flu, and severe acute respiratory syndrome (SARS) have rapidly spread across countries through migration, business, tourism and military operations. One country's success or failure in limiting the spread of these diseases affects infections in other countries.

By 2003, an estimated 4 crore people were infected with HIV-AIDS worldwide, two-thirds of them in Africa and half of the rest in South Asia. In North America and

other industrialised countries, new drug therapies dramatically lowered the death rate from HIV-AIDS in the late 1990s. But these treatments were too expensive to help poor regions like Africa where it has proved to be a major factor in driving the region backward into deeper poverty.

Other new and poorly understood diseases such as Ebola virus, Hantavirus, and hepatitis C have emerged, while old diseases like tuberculosis, malaria, dengue fever and cholera have mutated into drug resistant forms that are difficult to treat. Epidemics among animals have major economic effects. Since the late 1990s,

Britain has lost billions of dollars of income during an outbreak of the mad-cow disease, and bird flu shut down supplies of poultry exports from several Asian countries. Such epidemics demonstrate the growing interdependence of states making their borders less meaningful than in the past and emphasise the need for international cooperation.

Expansion of the concept of security does not mean that we can include any kind of disease or distress in the ambit of security. If we do that, the concept of security stands to lose its coherence. Everything could become a security issue. To qualify as a security problem, therefore, an issue must share a minimum common criterion, say, of threatening the very existence of the referent (a state or group of people) though the precise nature of this threat may be different. For example, the Maldives may feel threatened by global warming because a big part of its territory may be submerged with the rising sea level, whereas for countries in Southern Africa, HIV-AIDS poses a serious threat as one in six adults has the disease (one in three for Botswana, the worst case). In 1994, the Tutsi tribe in Rwanda faced a threat to its existence as nearly five lakh of its people were killed by the rival Hutu tribe in a matter of weeks. This shows that non-traditional conceptions of security, like traditional conceptions of security, vary according to local contexts.

Key facts about disease :

Those who take a broad definition of human security look not only at threats to the survival and safety of the individual from violent conflict, but also from such non-violent factors as disease, environmental degradation, and natural disasters. Below are some of the key trends in disease.

The world has seen the appearance of at least 30 new infections diseases, including avian flu, HIV/AIDS, Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome, Hepatitis C,

and West Nile virus, in the past three decades. Twenty diseases previously detected have re-emerged with new drug-resistant strains.

AIDS is the leading cause of death in Africa and the fourth leading cause of death worldwide. Around 40 million people worldwide are infected with HIV, 95% of whom live in developing countries. In 2004, approximately 5 million people were newly infected with the virus. HIV/AIDS killed more than 20 million people worldwide, and 3.1 million people died of AIDS-related causes in 2004. It is estimated that per capita growth in half of the countries in sub- Saharan Africa is falling by 0.5–1.2% each year as a direct result of AIDS. By 2010, per capita GDP in some of the hardest-hit countries may drop by 8% and per capita consumption may fall even farther (The Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria).

Malaria causes about 350–500 million infections in humans and approximately 1–3 million deaths annually—this would translate as about one death every 30 seconds. The majority, which amounts to 85–90% of malaria fatalities, occurs in sub-Saharan Africa. The economic impact of malaria has been estimated to cost Africa US $12 billion every year (World Health Organization).

Annually, 8 million people become ill with tuberculosis, and 2 million people die from the disease worldwide. Presently, tuberculosis is the world's greatest infectious killer of women of reproductive age and the leading cause of death among people with HIV/AIDS. The outbreaks of highly pathogenic H5N1 avian influenza that began in South-East Asia in mid-2003 and have now spread to parts of Europe are the largest and most severe on record. To date, nine Asian countries have reported outbreaks (listed in order of reporting): the Republic of Korea, Vietnam, Japan, Thailand, Cambodia, the Lao People's Democratic Republic, Indonesia, China, and Malaysia (World Health Organization 2006).

The concept of human security reflects a number of developments that have incrementally challenged the traditional view of security as the protection of states from military attack. What initially began as a rejection of orthodox notions of economic growth in favour of a broader notion of human development has been reinforced by new security threats such as genocides in the Balkans and Africa, the Asian financial meltdown of 1997, and the threat of global pandemics. The concept of human security represents an ongoing effort to put the individual at the centre of national and global security concerns while expanding our understanding of the range of challenges that can threaten individual safety and well-being to encompass both armed conflict as well as social, economic, and ecological forces. To be sure, human

security has a long way to go before being universally accepted as a conceptual framework or as a policy tool for national governments and the international community.

The linkages between armed conflict, poverty, disease, and environmental stress are poorly understood and need clarification and elaboration. Nonetheless, there can be little doubt that threats to human security, whether understood as freedom from fear or freedom from want, are real world challenges which cannot be wished away or dismissed because of a lack of agreement over the concept and meaning of human security.

Inequality :

"Economic inequality and income gap are the biggest global threat to security and social peace, said Nobel Peace Prize Laureate Kailash Satyarthi. Income gap is widening gradually..... Only eight people own wealth which amounts wealth owned by half the total population of the world, he said while presenting a key-note paper.

Definition :

When unequal opportunities or rewards exist in a society for people of different social status or position, it is called social inequality. Inequality has different dimensions and each state has varying dimensions.

Varieties of Inequality :

1. **Inequality of income:** different people receive different wages, either for different jobs or for the same job.

2. **Inequality of consumption:** different people consume different products in differing amounts and of varying quality, such as, food, clothes, shelter and other accessories of life; some people live in palatial buildings, some are homeless, etc.

3. **Inequality of liberty:** some people are subjected to more threats and interference than others. Some people can break the law, without consequence because of wealth, while others are imprisoned and subjected to punishment and jail because of poverty.

4. **Inequality of security:** some people live more precarious lives than others. Some people are systematically subject to more frequent risks of loss, or have less assistance or fewer resources to fall back on should things go badly.

5. **Inequality of status:** some people get more respect than others. Some people are treated with disdain and denied the prerequisites of basic human dignity. Some people are ignored and invisible, while others get more attention from the press and news media.

6. **Inequality of capabilities:** some people have better access to the things that make comfortable: work, income, health, safety, and an opportunity to be heard. For others t is sweat and toil throughout life.

Potentially all of these inequalities might be troublesome, but the inequalities grow in importance (and injustice) as they move away from nominal measures like "income" and towards real measures like liberty, security, status, and ultimately capabilities. Also, the varieties of inequality are interrelated, but not always in a clear way. For instance, some people have high incomes but low security.

Now, we discuss inequality in the context of security. Above varieties of Inequality may be broadly classified in to two. Accordingly there are two types of inequality: *Vertical* inequality and *horizontal* inequality. Vertical inequality consists in inequality among individuals or households i.e. at the individual level, while horizontal inequality is defined as inequality among groups, typically culturally defined – e.g. by ethnicity, religion or race i.e. between groups.

Horizontal inequality is the inequality - economic, social or other - that does not follow from a difference in an inherent quality such as intelligence, attractiveness or skills for people. In sociology, this is particularly applicable to forced inequality between different subcultures living in the same society. In economics, horizontal inequality is seen when people of similar origin, intelligence, etc. still do not have equal success and have different status, income and wealth. Overall, the terminology is not precise.

But the scholars say that the threat to human security comes more from horizontal inequality rather than vertical inequality. Why?

Conflict in society is always a threat to security. As seen today, the root causes of conflict in transitional societies lie in the incentives for group mobilization. Conflicts are essentially group activities, usually with instrumental political aims. Groups are formed for different reasons in different countries and at different times, but division usually occurs along lines of shared characteristics such as culture, language and location. Sometimes leaders can incite group mobilization from above, but for this to be effective there must also be bottom-up incentives for people to

become followers, and these incentives arise from the uneven distribution of resources or power. When men fight across ethnic lines, it is nearly always the case that they fight over some fundamental issues concerning the distribution and exercise of power, whether economic, political or both. This is the context in which the concept of horizontal inequality becomes useful for human security analysis.

Recent research on complex humanitarian emergencies concluded that 'horizontal inequalities' between groups, whether ethnic, religious or social, are the major cause of the current wave of civil conflicts. It is not only a matter of inequality- and insecurity - of income, but also of political participation (in parliaments, cabinets, armies and local governments), in economic assets (in land, human capital and communal resources) and in social conditions (in education, housing and employment).

Some researchers blame globalization with its uneven impact on the development process, for exacerbating divides in communities, nations and regions, impacting on human security. Social tensions and conflicts are ignited when there are extremes of inequality between the marginalized and the powerful. Indonesia shows what can happen when an economic crisis sets off latent social tensions between ethnic groups- or between the rich and poor. More people have died or suffered from violent conflict between groups within countries than in wars between countries in the past two decades.

There is an important, although complex, relationship between three areas of life that have until now been mostly considered to be independent-violent political conflicts, poverty in social and economic areas, and democracy, civil and political rights. In countries experiencing conflict situations, these three areas of activity must be dealt with simultaneously. However, they are dealt with separately in current arrangements for international co-operation. This leads often to 'gaps', most visibly between conflict resolution (political), relief for people (humanitarian), and development (longer term socio-economic and political development). New types of institutional arrangements would help to fill such gaps.

Plenty of ways to tackle the problem of social inequality are present. Here are some of them:

- Ensure that high quality education are available and affordable for all.
- Ensure that high quality healthcare services are available and affordable for all.

- Tackle the problem of polarized wages. It seems that the average real wages are falling but the executive pays are increasing. It is high time to resolve this inequality.

- Along with better jobs, training opportunities should be provided too for developing new skills.

- More and more job opportunities should be created throughout the country for all.

- Last but not the least, fair taxes should be levied. Relief must be provided to the low income group.

Even little steps can bring huge changes time after time in reviving the social wellbeing of the people.

Education :

"*You cannot have development without security, and security is impossible without development*" is the mantra today.

Most people don't see the connection between education and the national security needs. Education has been identified as a key solution to resolving Security challenges globally. Sustainable global security can only be achieved when education is made a priority by states and their institutions. When properly realized, education can be a global asset to fight poverty, inequality, insecurity, and disease.

Linking education to development and security is an innovative new philosophy in which cultural, religious, and ideological diversity in education throughout the world is encouraged and respected. It advocates that whenever "the other" is discussed, maximum sensitivity, respect, and tolerance must be exercised by all to prevent any possible exclusion or alienation. Also, education highlights the fact that there are all kinds of moral truths in varieties of societies, that see the world from different perspectives and none of them have to necessarily be more right than the other. It is an alternative approach to education. It outlines the ways that 'education for all programmes' is a must to ensure a well-educated, tolerant, peaceful world which ensures maximum security.

Education can be juxtaposed to security at three levels: individual, national and international.

Individual Security and Education: Human security is closely linked to the development of *human capabilities* in the face of change and uncertainty. It is posited

that technology through education was critical to human capacity development. The function of society is to ensure positive freedom. Enjoyment of freedom is meaningless without capabilities to do so. Free and compulsory education for all, up to a basic level helps build capabilities. This leads to opportunities for employment, income generation through various avenues and jobs. People are individually secure when there are gainful employments. Guaranteed employment/ income give the individual security against poverty, disease and other disabilities. Similarly, Education provides opportunity to join the military, law enforcement agencies which further enhances security. Alternatively, no/low education makes them dependent upon others and less empowered to voice their needs and problems.

National Security and Education: There is close link between national security and education. National security has two facets: protecting people from external and internal violence by the armed forces and police; defending the border and maintaining law and order so that people are safe and secure. But new dimensions of security predicate that mere physical safety is not enough. People must not suffer from poverty, illiteracy, disease and inequality. Education for all is a kind of primary solution to all threats to security.

There is evidence that state expenditures on primary and secondary education improve school performance and in the long run, raise per capita income of the state. Education is smart economic development policy - which is why we must propose universal education as a national security priority. Ensuring access to educational opportunities will strengthen the economy and ensure its growth, drive technological advancement and innovation across every industry, and allow citizens to overcome socioeconomic challenges that are influenced by education inequality. Children enrolled in science, technology, engineering, and math, courses today will become tomorrow's experts who will improve our infrastructure, innovate new technology to meet future challenges. They will become doctors, engineers, and scientists who will develop innovative medical treatments that save peoples' lives. Education investments are good not only for a state's economy and residents, but also for creation of future problem-solvers and leaders. But most importantly, states can build a strong foundation for economic success and shared prosperity by investing in strategies that make their people more productive, chief among them education. Providing expanded access to high quality education and related supports—particularly for those young people who today lack such access—will not only expand economic opportunity for those individuals, but will also likely do more to strengthen the overall state economy than anything else a state government can do. A well-educated workforce is a key to state prosperity, security.

International security and education: At the international level security no longer is limited to military strategy and tactics. In order to ensure national security vis-à-vis other actors (state and non state) new approaches are needed. The present approach is to think 'out of the box'; merging of security and development objectives. There has been a change in the security agenda in international level since the end of the Cold War and it is very closely linked the education sector. National policy makers look for ways to relate security to development and education.

We can begin from the relationship between international development and conflict. After the 9/11 attacks on New York (2001), there was the realization that development failures in low-income countries could have direct security repercussions in highly industrialized countries. More recently, there has been a resurgence of interest in the role of international development in "winning hearts and minds". The growing focus on education was initially prompted by a human rights-driven agenda. International policy makers realized that reaching the international targets of Education for All (EFA) would be impossible without addressing conflict affected states, where it was estimated more than 50 per cent of the world's out-of-school children reside (Save the Children, 2010). As international humanitarian intervention expanded, there emerged a growing recognition of the importance of education delivery in conflict and post conflict zones. Education, like food and shelter, slowly became a part of the core building blocks of human development and a necessary and vital part of humanitarian response in conflict situations (Save the Children, 2007; 2010).

It became apparent that education can play a potentially catalytic and preventative role in situations of conflict and post-conflict. In the conflict zones of the Middle East, Radical Madrasas were operating as terrorist training camps; of out-of-school youth were being recruited into insurgent groups. Also, Education systems failed millions of poor people around the world. Because of the bleak scenario in almost all conflict zones, International development agencies and national security institutions realised the importance of education's potential role in conflict affected states.

For example, the former British Prime Minister, Gordon Brown noted that "development" and within that "education" were central planks in the UK strategy of both "winning hearts and minds" in Afghanistan and protecting the UK from attack. ".....This is an investment in the future of Afghanistan, in its stability and its resilience against extremism - and therefore in our security". (Brown, 2009:3) So education at home and educating people abroad is a forms of "soft power" to "win hearts and minds" in broader counterinsurgency strategies

Let us now examine utility of Education in International Security platform. We can locate the relation between Security/Development and Education in three aspects: (1) Human Security and Human Rights, (2) as Counter-Terrorism Policy, and (3) as Counterinsurgency doctrine.

As Human Security and Human Rights :

This approach emerges very much from the NGO and UN Institutions and conceptualises security in a broad and holistic manner: food security, health security, environmental security, community security, personal security etc. It is very much rooted in human rights law, the right to education being enshrined in the Charter of Human Rights. A human security and education approach would focus on the four '**A**'s of education- accessibility, adaptability, availability and acceptability. In the UN sponsored policy of 'humanitarian interventionism', human security and education advocates follow a set of global principles and values that emphasises an integrated approach to sustainable development and education.

As Counter-Terrorism Policy :

This approach focuses on the way education and development assistance can contribute to the security of western donor nations. The UNDP found this link: *Development in poor countries is the front line in the battle for global peace and collective security. The problem with the current battle plan is an overdeveloped military strategy and an under-developed strategy for human security... While there is no automatic link between poverty and civil conflict, violent outcomes are more likely in societies marked by deep polarization, weak institutions and chronic poverty. The threats posed by terrorism demand a global response. So do the threats posed by human insecurity in the broader sense. Indeed, the 'war against terror' will never be won unless human security is extended and strengthened.* (UNDP, 2005, p.12, 152).

This type of thinking applied to education and conflict tends towards a focus on the underlying structural reasons for the emergence of conflict. Poverty reduction and policies addressing the poor and marginalized which seek to give them a greater stake in society are favoured interventions in conflict affected states.

As Counterinsurgency Doctrine :

As a counterinsurgency doctrines, it mixes hard and soft power and focus as much on controlling the civilian population as on targeting militants. Education has

a special position in this 'soft-power' and 'winning hearts and minds' agenda. In this understanding of the relationship between education/security/development, education becomes a tool in the counterinsurgency process– both in terms of school reconstruction programmes, de-radicalization strategies, technical and vocational skills training for 'at-risk' youth – all geared at complimenting particular and contingent military missions aimed at pacifying local populations. Centrally, education becomes related to the security of western military forces, rather than the security of local communities, and generally tied to very short term objectives that are likely to be detrimental to long term and sustainable development.

Possible Types of Human Security Threats :

Type of Security	**Examples of Main Threats**
Economic security	Persistent poverty, unemployment
Food security	Hunger, famine
Health security	Deadly infectious diseases, unsafe food, malnutrition, lack of access to basic health care
Environmental security	Environmental degradation, resource depletion, natural disasters, pollution
Personal security	Physical violence, crime, terrorism, domestic violence, child labour
Community security	Inter-ethnic, religious and other identity based tensions
Political security	Political repression, human rights abuses

Notwithstanding debates about the utility and scope of human security, there is increasing acceptance that the traditional notion of security, focusing on state sovereignty, would no longer suffice and, that the international community must develop new responses to ensure the protection of people from transnational dangers in an era of globalization. The challenge for the international community is to find ways of promoting human security as a means of addressing a growing range of complex transnational dangers which have a much more destructive impact on the lives of people than conventional military threats to states.

The concept of human security reflects a number of developments that have incrementally challenged the traditional view of security as the protection of states from military attack. What initially began as a rejection of orthodox notions of economic growth in favour of a broader notion of human development has been reinforced by new security threats such as genocides in the Balkans and Africa, the Asian financial meltdown of 1997, and the threat of global pandemics. The concept of human security represents an ongoing effort to put the individual at the centre of national and global security concerns while expanding our understanding of the range of challenges that can threaten individual safety and well-being to encompass both armed conflict as well as social, economic, and ecological forces. To be sure, human security has a long way to go before being universally accepted as a conceptual framework or as a policy tool for national governments and the international community.

The linkages between armed conflict, poverty, disease, and environmental stress are poorly understood and need clarification and elaboration. Nonetheless, there can be little doubt that threats to human security, whether understood as freedom from fear or freedom from want, are real world challenges which cannot be wished away or dismissed because of a lack of agreement over the concept and meaning of human security.

The concept of human security has been criticized:

(i)   for being too broad to be analytically meaningful or to serve as the basis for policy-making;

(ii)   for creating false expectations about assistance to victims of violence which the international community cannot deliver; and

(iii) for ignoring the role of the state in providing security to the people.

GLOSSARY

Statist- an idea or an actual political system in which the state has substantial centralized control over social and economic affairs

(W)Holistic- characterized by the belief that the parts of something are intimately interconnected and explicable only by reference to the whole

Realists- Are the scholars who emphasize the role of the nation-state and make a broad assumption that all nation-states are motivated by national interests, or, at best, national interests disguised as moral concerns.

Arms Race- a competition between nations for superiority in the development and accumulation of weapons.

Dreadnought-class ships- "battleship," literally "fearing nothing," A type of battleship armed with heavy caliber guns in turrets: socalled from the British battleship Dread-nought, launched in 1906, the first of its type.

Missile gap- The missile gap was the Cold War term used in the US for the perceived superiority of the number and power of the USSR's missiles in comparison with its own.

Fora- plural form of forum.

Conundrum- a confusing and difficult problem or question infructuous

POINTS TO REMEMBER

⇨ Literally Security means safety: To be safe from harm, the absence of threats.

⇨ Security is valued by individuals, families, states,

⇨ There are three approaches of answering this question: (1) the prime value approach, (2) the core value approach, (3) and the marginal value approach.

⇨ Concern for security is as old as human society.

⇨ The content of security changes over time, depending on era and context.

⇨ Contemporary conceptualisation of security is multidimensional and aims at the people as the main referent of security (human security).

⇨ While the term "human security" may be of recent origin, the ideas that underpin the concept are far from new.

⇨ Security is the deepest and most abiding issue in politics.

⇨ However, the state-centric ideas of national security and an inescapable security dilemma have also been challenged.

⇨ Security dilemma describes a condition in which actions taken by one actor to improve national security are interpreted as aggressive by other actors, thereby provoking military counter-moves.

⇨ The decline of inter-state war does not mean that the world has become a safer place. Rather, new and, in some ways, more challenging, security threats have emerged.

➯ **Traditional security concerns:** Arms race; Disarmament and Arms Control

➯ An arms race, in its original usage, is a competition between two or more nations/ states to have the best armed forces.

➯ But an arms race may also imply futility as the competitors spend a great deal of time and money, yet end up in the same situation as if they had never started the arms race.

➯ Disarmament means the reduction or withdrawal of military forces and weapons. Disarmament is the act of reducing, limiting, or abolishing weapons. Disarmament generally refers to a reduction in a country's military or specific type of weaponry. Disarmament is often taken to mean total elimination of weapons of mass destruction, such as nuclear arms.

➯ Necessity of Disarmament: A world over-stacked with thousands of nuclear weapons and hundreds of thousands of missiles capable of carrying those long distances with great accuracy is less likely to be a secure place for its denizens.

➯ Arms control regulates the acquisition or development of weapons.

➯ **Non-traditional security concerns:** Human security

➯ Human security is a perspective to look at international relations not from the viewpoint of nation states but from the perspective of the security of the individual.

➯ In simple words, human security means safety of people from both violent and non-violent threats.

➯ Human security brings together the 'human elements' of security, rights and development. As such, it is an inter-disciplinary concept.

➯ Threats to international peace and security today are more diffuse and multidimensional. Nature of threats and sources of threats have changed.

➯ At its most basic level, human security requires protection from violence and the threat of violence. But more than simply an absence, human security also requires a presence-the presence of structures and resources that enable people to survive, to have a livelihood and to live in dignity. Human security requires not just freedom from fear, but also freedom from want. It requires that basic needs-food, shelter, healthcare-be met; that opportunities-in education or training, in seeking a vocation or livelihood-be provided; that the human rights of all be respected.

⇨ New Dimensions of Human Security: Terrorism, Global Poverty, Inequality, Health and Education

⇨ Terrorism refers to political violence that targets civilians deliberately and indiscriminately.

⇨ Poverty is a source of conflict.

⇨ While no direct link can be established between poverty and terrorism, terrorists often 'exploit poverty and exclusion in order to tap into popular discontent.

⇨ Health and Disease: There is an interactive relationship between armed conflict and non-violent threats to human security such as poverty and disease. Wars and internal conflicts can lead to impoverishment, disease outbreaks, and environmental destruction. Conversely, poverty, inequality, and environmental degradation can lead to weakening and even collapse of states.

⇨ Inequality: Economic inequality and income gap are the biggest global threat to security and social peace: there are two types of inequality: *Vertical* inequality and *horizontal* inequality; the threat to human security comes more from horizontal inequality rather than vertical inequality.

⇨ Individual Security and Education: Human security is closely linked to the development of *human capabilities* in the face of change and uncertainty. Utility of Education in International Security: 1) Human Security and Human Rights, 2) as Counter-Terrorism Policy, and 3) as Counterinsurgency doctrine.

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MODEL QUESTIONS

Section-A

Multiple Choice Questions :

1. Which of the following are not components of the Traditional concept of Security?

   Select the correct answer from the list given below and choose the right key:

   (A) Arms race

   (B) Reduction in Inequality

   (C) Disarmament

   (D) Universal and good Quality Education

   Keys: (i) AB   (ii) BC   (iii) BD   (iv) AC

2. Which of the following are components of the Non-Traditional concept of Security?

   Select the correct answer from the list given below and choose the right key:

   (A) Global cooperation in disease control

   (B) Disarmament

   (C) Production of high quality battleships

   (D) Eradication of poverty

   Keys: (i) AB   (ii) AC   (iii) BC   (iv) AD

3. There were several distinctive features of arms race that needs to be mentioned. Which is not a feature of Arms Race?

   (A) Arms race involves huge amount of financial resources.

   (B) Arms race presumes creation of a particular economic system where production and technology are geared to meet the security demand of the state.

   (C) Slow down population growth and raise incomes.

   (D) Demands high quality education in base science and technology.

   Keys: (i) B   (ii) C   (iii) D   (iv) A

4. Which of the following are not the characteristics of Human Security? Select the correct answer from the list given below and choose the right key:

(A) State-centred

(B) People-centred

(C) multi-sectored

(D) Limited targets

(E) comprehensive

(F) context-specific

(G) prevention-oriented

Keys: (i) AB   (ii) AD   (iii) CD   (iv) BG

Section-B

Write briefly :

1. What do you mean by the term "human security"?

2. Does human security agenda involve new diplomatic tools?

3. What are the human security agenda?

4. Which category would the creation and sustenance of alliances belong to?

5. Is terrorism a traditional or non-traditional threat to security?

6. What are the distinctive features of arms race?

7. When and why Arms Race did begin in modern times?

Write notes on :

1. The difference between traditional and non-traditional security

2. Interconnection between poverty and conflict

3. Link health with human security

4. Necessity of Disarmament

5. Security Dilemma

6. New security challenges

7. The value of security

Section-C

Long (Essay) Type :

1. Looking at the Indian scenario, what type of security has been given priority in India, traditional or non-traditional? What examples could you cite to substantiate the argument?

2. What are the choices available to a state when its security is threatened, according to the traditional security perspective?

3. What are the future prospects of the human security agenda?

4. Explain the relation between Education and Security

5. Discuss how disease is a threat not only to human security but to national and international Security.

6. Define Inequality. Discuss the threats from horizontal inequality.

7. What are the various types of Inequality? Discuss the way out of Inequality.

Section-D

Miscellaneous :

1. Match the terms with their meaning:

I	Confidence Building Measures	A	Giving up certain types of weapons
II	Arms Control	B	A process of exchanging information on defence matters between nations on a regular basis
III	Alliance	C	A coalition of nations meant to deter or defend against military attacks
IV	Disarmament	D	Regulates the acquisition or development of weapons

2. Which among the following would you consider as a traditional security concern / non-traditional security concern / not a threat?

   (a) The spread of chikungunya / dengue fever

   (b) Inflow of workers from a neighbouring nation

(c) Emergence of a group demanding nationhood for their region

(d) Emergence of a group demanding autonomy for their region

(e) A newspaper that is critical of the armed forces in the country

Higher level questions :

- Has the 'human security' agenda undermined the concept of 'domestic jurisdiction' and state sovereignty?

- What kind of international system is envisioned by the human security agenda?

- How can the present international system be reformed to suit human security agenda?

- What are the major accomplishments of the human security agenda so far?

- Is redefining the concept of security to focus on the individual useful analytically and for policy formulation?

❏ ❏ ❏

CHAPTER - 10

ENVIRONMENT AND NATURAL RESOURCES

"A thing is right when it tends to preserve the integrity, stability and beauty of the biotic community. It is wrong when it tends otherwise."

-Aldo Leopold

❏ **Global Environmental Concerns:**
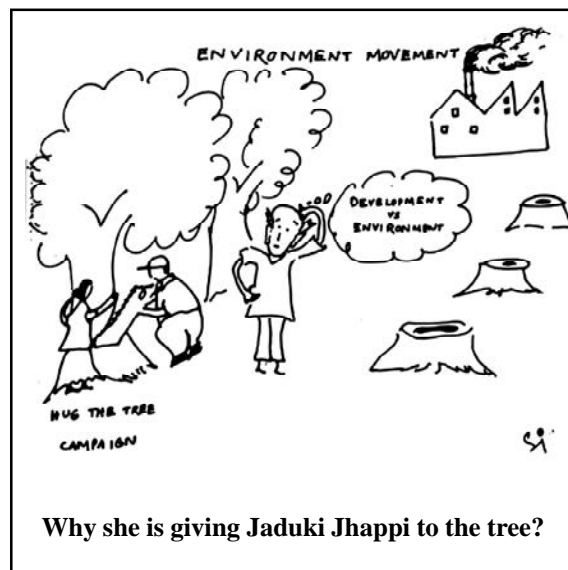❏ **Development and Environment**
❏ **Global Warming and Climate Change**

In this chapter

We shall try to know :
➤ *What are Global Environmental Concerns?*

We will discuss :
➤ *What are Development and Environment?*
➤ *What is Global Warming and Climate Change?*

Why she is giving Jaduki Jhappi to the tree?

GLOBAL ENVIRONMENTAL CONCERNS

Environment precisely amounts to ecology which is the scientific study of the relationship of living organism with each other and with their environment. It is a science of biological interactions between individuals, population and communities.

It is also a science that deals with interrelations of biotic communities with their non-living environment. The conventional notion that environment is only connected with biology does not exist anymore. It is no more a part of an obscure branch of biology. It has its social components and dimensions. This aspect was long forgotten. But today this aspect of environment is more emphasized upon. At present environment is linked up with sociology and other behavioural sciences. Ecology seeks to integrate knowledge about man and his environment from the view points of history, current happenings and future prospects. It tries to integrate biology and sociology.

During 1960s and 1970s, a number of articles, books and journals are published on this subject of environment. And it has dominated the public mind as environmental issues are directly linked up with human survival. Throughout the world rallies, demonstrations and "Earth days" on environment were held. All over the world there is a rising concern for environmental protection as environmental hazards start threatening human life. The leader of both the developed and developing nations of the world feel that it is high time to stem the rising tide of environmental destruction.

Environment can be defined in a number of ways. This can be defined as the subtotal of all social, economical, biological, physical and chemical factors, which constitute the surroundings. C .C. Park defines environment as the sum total of conditions which surround man at a given point in space and time. A. Gouche says "environment is the representative of physical component of earth where man is the important factor influencing his environment". Literally speaking environment means surrounding of a species to which it remains totally adopted and to which it continuously interacts for its survival. Hence, it is clear that the space we live in, the air we breathe, the food we eat, the water we drink and other resources we need all these we draw from our environment. The natural environment of a living organism can be divided into three components. They are (i) biotic components, (ii) abiotic component and (iii) energy component. Biotic component consists of all living organism present in the environment. The abiotic component consists of atmosphere (air), hydro sphere (water) and lithosphere (soil). The energy component consists of solar energy, thermo-electrical energy, hydro-electrical energy, atomic energy etc. The environment is mostly influenced by four ecological factors i.e. (i) physiographic factor (ii) climatic factor (iii) edaphic factor and (iv) biotic factor. Since man sustains on environment and is the important beneficiary he must take care to protect it.

It is understood that ecology is the study of environment of an organism or group of organisms. The term Ecology is derived from the Greek word Oikos and

logos. Oikos means the habitat or home and logos means the study. The German biologist N Reiter has used this term ecology in 1865 and another German biologist Ernest Haeckel defined it for the first time. According to Haeckel ecology is "the body of knowledge concerning the economy of nature- the investigation of the total relations of the animal both to its inorganic and organic environment, including above all its friendly and inimical relations with those animals and plants with which it comes directly or indirectly into contact". British ecologist Charles Elton defined ecology as "scientific natural history" concerned with sociology and economics of animals. American ecologist Clements treated ecology as the "science of community" and Woodbury treated ecology as "Science which investigates organisms in relation to their environment". Thus ecology and environment are deeply interrelated.

The natural world around us is a part of environment and very important to our living. All animals including man heavily depend upon nature. The quality of environment is very important for human beings. Quality of life depends on quality of environment. Environmental quality does not mean more electricity, more labour-saving machines or more air-conditioning. It means unspoiled natural resources like air, water, soil etc and a habitat of natural order which is not disturbed by man. We want a clean and conducive environment for good health and well-being of all inhabitants on earth including the plants and animals.

If we look around we find that there is an environmental crisis all over the world. These are energy crisis, population crisis and food crisis. There is rapid deforestation. Rapid industrialization and urbanization have resulted in air, water and noise pollution. There is a profuse depletion of natural resources. Growing populations is competing with limited resources. Hence, there is a world-wide concern over environmental hazards and people feel that this is high time for environmental preservation. If we do not conserve nature we shall perish. Scientists and researchers have found that unless we take proper care of our natural resources the planet earth shall be in great danger and human life shall be extinct. We must use nature in a wise way. As Gandhi has rightly remarked- "nature has everything for man's need but not for his greed". Hence, exploitation of nature shall lead to terrible hazards. Environmental pollution is caused due to exploitation of nature. The use of science and technology had made this process of exploitation easier. Increasing urbanization and industrialization has made the situation still worse. Acid rains, increase of deadly poisonous gases, global warming, air and water contaminations are degrading the environment irreversibly. It has indeed become a matter of great concern for the environmentalists and scientists. The statesmen, legislature and policy makers of all

nations of the world have expressed their concern over this serious environmental issue.

We can discuss some of the major environmental pollutions that confront the world. The US products science advisory committee, Environment Pollution Panel (1965) defines Environmental pollution as the unfavourable alteration of our surrounding wholly or largely as a by-product of man's action through direct or indirect effects of change in energy pattern radiations level, chemical and physical constitution and abundance of organisms. According to Odum, "Pollution is an undesirable change in the physical, chemical and biological characteristics of air, water and soil that may harmfully affect the life or create a potential hazard for living organism". Pollution can be natural pollution or artificial pollution. Artificial pollution is mostly created by human action which can be checked to a great extent.

Types of pollutions :

(a) **Air Pollution :** Air is the most important constituent of environment. Sustenance of life on earth is possible because of clean air. Most of the major cities of the world and also many rural areas as well have serious air quality problem. It arises from rapidly increasing automobiles, truck and bus traffic, industrializations. This air pollution has led to serious health problems. It causes emphysema, chronic, bronchitis and respiratory problems in city dwellers. Rise of carbon monoxide, sulphur dioxide are the common air pollutants which are injurious to health. Automobile exhaust, industrial exhausts, release of chlorofluorocarbon and ammonia, photo- chemical oxidants like ozone, tobacco smoke, pesticides, explosives in wars, smog and the mining activities cause air pollution.

(b) **Water Pollution :** Another form of environment pollution is water pollution. This pollution is found both in surface water and ground water. The pollutants of water come from many sources. The domestic sewage, agricultural fertilizers and the effluents from factories are the major source of water pollution. Water pollution becomes an economic and medical problem. Bacterial and viral contaminations spread water- borne diseases. Crude oil discharged from ship, oil leaked from the oil-tankers pollutes the aquatic system.

(c) **Soil Pollution :** Soil is very vital for the sustenance of life on earth. The terrestrial land is polluted in a number of ways. The industrial waste, chemical fertilizers, domestic garbage, unhealthy human practice like defecation are the causes of soil pollution.

(d) **Noise Pollution :** Rapid urbanization and industrialization have given rise to noise pollution. In acoustics noise is defined as unwanted. The sound intensity above a particular limit can create noise which not only creates annoyance but also causes many physical and mental diseases. Noise can be caused by industrial and non-industrial sources. The heavy machinery of the industries can create noise pollution. Some of the non-industrial sources are automobiles, domestic noises produced by home appliances, demolition and destruction of buildings. Noise pollution can cause nervous disorder, headache hypertension; memory loss and hearing impairment etc.

Radiation Pollution :

Radiation is a process by which radiant energy is transferred from one place to another in the form of electromagnetic waves. Radiation with higher energy causes damage to the living organisms. The sources of radiation are mostly natural; those are cosmic rays and radioactive minerals. But there are also manmade sources of radiation. Radiation can be caused by nuclear explosions, nuclear power plants and radio-active wastes. Radiation pollution can cause cancer and other fatal diseases.

Thus all these forms of pollution like air pollution, water pollution, industrial pollution, nuclear pollution, thermal pollution and noise pollution etc exist today to an alarming extent. And there is a worldwide concern for these rising environmental hazards. All the countries of the world are trying their best to control pollution. There is a global concern for environmental protection as the problem by nature is transnational. Both the developed and developing countries meet in various summits for environmental preservations.

(A) Development and Environment:

The history of life on earth has been a history of interaction between the living things and their surroundings. Thus environment is not something to be conquered but something that is an active partner in this evolution of all living things including man and his society. Environment provides food, shelter, energy to us and it is basically the life support system. What is more important is that it influences and shapes our social, economic and political life. Environment is the resource base from which development efforts normally begin. But unfortunately the resource base had been neglected in development planning for quite a long time. After the Second World War number of newly independent states in Asia and Africa faced with problems of development. They looked forward for development models which would assure

then economic development with limited resources and within short time. We can discuss here some of the development models.

(a)   **The Capitalistic Model :** This model was accepted in many western capitalistic countries. This is also known as the westernization model. It empasises on the techno-economic aspects of development. It prescribed for import of advance technology and foreign capital to embark on industrialization which would increase production and consumption. The development can be measured in terms of per capita income and gross national product.

(b)   **The Marxist Model :** This model is based on the principle of Marx and Engels. This model is also having an economic overtone. The base consisting of forces of production and relations of production. In this model economy being the substructure influences the superstructures like polity, culture etc. After the decline of communism during the last decade of twentieth century it has lost its pervious importance.

(c)   **The Neo-Marxist Model :** This model is otherwise known as Latin-American model. It is another of variation of Marxist model based on philosophy of Lenin. This model has manifestations in the Dependency theories. The advocates of this model talk of delinking concepts like centre and periphery. Some scholars who support this model feel that if capitalism is regulated with state intervention, it will accelerate the path of development. They feel that this type of development happened in the south East Asian countries like South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore.

(d)   **The Globalization model :** This model is currently in vogue which believes that the world has become a global village because of development in means of communication. This is a process where constraints of geography and culture reduce the pattern of consumption. Because of globalisation, there is decline of sovereignty of nation states as national boundaries are crumbling under the impact of a composite global culture. There is not only free flow of ideas and information but also of goods, capital & technology.

(e)   **Ecological model :** One thing is clear that in the aforesaid capitalistic and Marxist models of development the concept 'development' has been interpreted in the economic terms. These models are not holistic in nature. The United Nations has sponsored the alternative model which emphasises the basic needs approach and ecological development. The ecological model of development is post modernistic where as the Marxist and capitalist models are off shoots of modernism.

In the ecological model development is not defined strictly in economic terms. Rather it is defined as a growth into better, fuller, higher and mature condition. Development does not mean exclusive economic growth. The concept welfare is more accepted in place of growth. The welfare must aim at improving the quality of life. The state which is environmentally sensitive alone can pursue this type of development model. Sustainable growth is the aim. The term sustainable development is a widely accepted concept among the scholars. It has become a crucial topic of discussion among the economists, environmentalists and statesmen. The industrial, technological and economic development registered by the humankind during the past years has not been proved to be real development. Rather they have been proved to be disastrous. Degradation of environment due to excessive exploitation of natural resources of our planet Earth has threatened our existence.

Hence, sustainable development has been accepted as the goal both by the developed and developing nations of the world. The utility and feasibility of the industrial and infrastructural projects should not be determined only in terms of economic gains. It is high time to formulate, plan and execute such projects in such a way that it can bring real socio-economic welfare without causing damage to environment. The term sustainable development was popularized in 1987 by the United Nations Commission on Environment and Development through the Brundtland Report. This report was entitled "Our Common Future". In this report sustainable is defined as "development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs". This sustainable development has become the goal of ecological model of the present day where the rights of the future generations are given due attention with the rights of the members of present generations. The right of the humankind are given attention side by side with the right of the nonhuman world that is the animals and plants.

(B)   Global Warming and Climate Change:

The phenomena of global warming and climate change have drawn the attention of the world leaders, policy makers, and environmentalists. They have expressed their deep concern over these issues. There is global warning against global warming. Global warming is caused due to environmental hazards. It is established that the global temperature has risen by about 0.6^0C during last century and scientists apprehend that this is likely to rise by 4^0C by the end of present century. Global warming leads to climate change. A research work was carried out by intergovernmental panel for climate change (IPCC) constituting of nearly two

thousand scientists from fifty countries of the world. The assessment report of IPCC published in December 1995 has warned the world about the disastrous consequences of Global Warming and climate change. Various research studies under UN environment programmes, deliberations of Rio Conference, Earth summit at South Africa, Kyoto protocol also focus on the disastrous impact of global warming and climate change.

Green house effect and global warming : Greenhouse effect is an example of environment change caused by over exploitation of natural resources for human agricultural and industrial activities. Deforestation (cutting down of trees) and overutilization of fossil fuel have resulted in accumulations of carbon dioxide (Co_2) which is a green house or hot house gas in the atmosphere. Industries and thermal power stations produce green house gases like carbon dioxide (Co_2), Methane, Nitrogen Oxide and Chlorofluorocarbons. These green house gases trap the solar infra red radiation which has high level of energy. Excessive concentration of these gases causes global warming as it is happening now.

Adverse impact of global warming : The global warming due to these atmospheric changes have the adverse impacts like climate change, rise in sea level , drop in agricultural production, change in geographical distribution of species. i) Due to global warming the capacity of air in the atmosphere to hold water vapour will also rise. The atmosphere will have a higher temperature than the stratosphere above it. This will result in change in rainfall patterns. Floods and periods of drought will increase in frequency. The disease pattern in humans will change for the worst. ii) Rise of temperature will melt polar and sub-polar glaciers and addition of water to the ocean shall increase the sea level. Human populations living along with the sea coast shall be affected. Coastal vegetation will be lost. iii) The rate of crop yield will come down due to crop plant diseases and growth of weeds. iv) Global warming will alter the global temperature patterns and it will affect the biodiversity. Many species of plants and trees shall be extinct. Animal species which cannot come up with changed temperature pattern also shall vanish.

Measure to curb global warming : Global warming is a global problem. Hence all the countries of the world are engaged in solving this problem. At various levels attempts are being made to address this issue. In the international level both the developing and developed nations are trying their best to cut down the emission of Greenhouse gases. In technologically advanced countries new technology are invented to control the level of pollution. Both rich and poor countries are taking pollution control measures. Renewable energy source like solar energy, wind energy

and geothermal energy are being tapped. To take few examples, a tidal energy turbine was commissioned to produce 1.2 mega watts energy in Ireland in 2007. British Petroleum had set up a photo voltaic solar cell in US with an objective of installing one million solar cells on roof tops. IPCC in collaboration with Clinton climatic watch plan was to set up two solar thermal power plants of 3500 MW capacity.

At the national levels the governments are making policies to control population, to restrict deforestation and land loss for indiscriminate urbanization and industrialization. They have established pollution control board to moniter the levels of environment pollution. Oil-poor countries are trying to restrict the use of two and four wheelers. In the local levels also there are measures like mass plantation. Steps are taken to check loss of agricultural land. In many countries local administration is thinking in terms of putting premium on energy use per household. There are also mass campaigns to increase environmental awareness among the people.

At the individual levels also attempts are made for leading an eco-friendly life. Individuals are to be sensitized to lead a comparatively simple life style which is less polluting. The motto is to 'think globally and act locally'. A variety of participatory self-help projects have been initiated to meet basic needs, especially among low-income families. Individuals can reduce home-energy use thorough insulation, solar water heating and elimination of air conditioner. Thus individuals can cut down on resource- waste like throwaway containers and excessive packaging. They can reduce the use of consumer products.

If sufficient caution is taken in international, national, local and individual level the threat of global warming can be reduced and the world can be saved from environmental peril.

CONCLUSION

Development planning is required, but while pursuing development projects, we must not forget the environmental dimension. As Jawaharlal Nehru wrote in 1957" We have many large scale river valley projects which are carefully worked out by our engineers. I wonder, however how much thought is given before the project is launched to having an ecological survey of the area and to find out what the effect would be to the drainage system or to the flora and fauna of the area. It would be desirable to have such an ecological survey of the area, before the project is launched and thus avoid an imbalance of nature". Wise use, not overuse of nature is advisable. Environment degradation can harm to humanity in many ways. One of the worst

impacts of environmental deterioration is global warming and climate change. Development policies of the state must be eco-friendly so that economic growth and development can go hand in hand with environmental preservation. Sustainable development must be the goal of the state. Human activities that cause environmental destruction immediately and global warming must be controlled by stringent laws of the state. Then only we can save our planet from peril.

POINTS TO REMEMBER

⇨   There are environmental crises all over the world.

⇨   There is a rising environmental concern over the issues like energy crisis, food crisis, population crisis, deforestation, air pollution, water pollution, noise pollution etc.

⇨   Scientists and environmentalists find that unless we take proper care of our environment, our planet earth shall be in great danger and our very survive shall be threatened.

⇨   Environment pollution is causes due to exploitations of nature and we must know how to use it wisely.

⇨   There are debates over development and environment.

⇨   Environment provides the resource- base for any development projects.

⇨   The development models like Marxist and capitalistic models interpret development in economic terms.

⇨   It is high time to think in terms of sustainable development. It means that the natural resources must be used by the present generations in such a way that the future generations shall not be deprived of using it for their existence.

⇨   Real healthy development and environment conservation go together. They are not incompatible.

⇨   The most alarming phenomena that hit the globe are global warming and climate change.

⇨   The temperature of the world is rising because of the excessive emission of greenhouse gases like carbon dioxide. Methane, Nitrous oxide etc.

⇨   This has also resulted in climate change. This affects the biodiversity in many adverse ways.

⇨   Measures are taken in international, national, local and individual level to tackle the problems of global warming and climate change.

⇨   Proper development planning along eco-friendly lines can help us conserving environment and save our planet earth from further perils.

GLOSSARY

Abiotic- Non-living chemical or physical part of environment that affect living organisms (Ex. Rain wind, soil, Sunlight etc.).

Ecological- Scientific study of interactions among organisms and their environment.

Edaphic- An abiotic factor relating to the physical and chemical composition of the soil.

Model- Example to follow or imitate.

Sustainable- Able to uphold or defend.

Urbanisation- The process by which towns and cities are formed and become larger

Green House effect- progressive warming of Earth's surface due to increase of green house gases like Carbon dioxide, chlorofluorocarbon, nitrous oxide, methane and ozone in the atmosphere.

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MODEL QUESTIONS

Section-A

Multiple Choice Questions :

1. Which of the following sentences is correct?

   Find out the correct answer from the keys given below.

   (a) Capitalistic model of development emphasises on sustainable development.

   (b) Neo-Marxian model of development emphasises on sustainable development.

   (c) Ecological model emphasized on ainable development.

   (d) Marxian model of development emphasises on sustainable development.

   (e) Globalization model of development emphasises on sustainable development.

   Keys: (i) a   (ii) b   (iii) c   (iv) d   (v) e

2. Which of the following statements is incorrect-

   Find out the correct answer from the keys given below.

   (a) Gandhi had remarked that nature has everything for man's need but not for his greed.

   (b) Deforestation leads to global warming.

   (c) Application of inorganic fertilizers causes terrestrial pollution.

   (d) Sustainable development meets the needs of the present generations only and thoroughly neglects the needs of future generations.

   (e) The human world depends on the non-human world.

   Keys: (i) a   (ii) b   (iii) c   (iv) d   (v) e

3. Which of the following are the causes of air pollution?

   Find out the correct answer from the keys given below.

   (a) Industrialisation

   (b) Increase in the number of automobiles

   (c) Application of chemical fertiliser

   (d) Afforestation

   Keys: (i) ab   (ii) bc   (iii) cd   (iv) ad

Section-B

Write briefly :

1. Define environment
2. What is Air pollution?
3. What is water pollution?
4. What is Noise pollution?
5. What is Green house effect?
6. What is global warming?
7. What is sustainable development?
8. What is radiation pollution?
9. What is climate change?
10. Define ecology?

Section-C

Long (Essay) Type :

1. Discuss the causes of environmental pollution.
2. Discuss various models of development.
3. What is climate change? Discuss its effects.
4. Analyze various measures to control global warming.
5. Discuss the significance of environment conservation.

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