HOW TO USE THE BOOK?

Introduction
A brief abstract of the unit.

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

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

Knowledge Boxes
Additional inputs to the content are provided.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Web links
List of digital resources

ICT
Lead to improved students learning and better teaching methods.

Key Terms
Helps the students to know the Tamil translation of key terms.
Career Opportunities in Political Science

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

A. Higher Education Opportunities in Political Science

A.1) Tamil Nadu Government and Aided Colleges
1. Presidency College, Chennai.
2. Government Arts College, Coimbatore.
7. Government Arts College, Madurai.
8. Jaipur Women's College, Jaipur.
9. Presidency College, Chennai (Correspondence Course).
10. Madurai Government College, Madurai (Correspondence Course).
11. Maruthi University, Coimbatore (Correspondence Course in Public Administration).
12. Tamil Nadu Open University, Chennai.

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

A.3) Central Universities
1. University of Delhi.
2. Pondicherry University.
3. University of Hyderabad.
4. Gandhigram Rural Institute (Deemed to be University), Dindugal.
5. Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU), New Delhi.
8. Rameshwar College, Madurai.
10. Government Women's College, Madurai.
11. Vanavil College, Madurai.
12. Seth College for Women, Tirunelveli.

A.4) Integrated program
The Department of Social Sciences and Humanities in Indian Institute of Technology, Madras, offers the five-year integrated MA program in two streams: Development Studies and English Studies.
A.1) Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU), New Delhi

The National Institutional Ranking Framework (NIRF) of the Human Resources Development Ministry has ranked JNU as the second best university in the country. It offers Post Graduation, Master of Philosophy (MPhil), Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) degrees in Political Science. While the School of Social Sciences (SSS) provides these programs in Political Science, the School of International Studies (SIS) conducts these programs in International Politics.

The candidates should write the national entrance examination to get admission in post graduation and Master of Philosophy programs. The scholars can get through NET exam with top ranks and avail the Junior Research Fellowship (JRF) for two years and Senior Research Fellowship (SRF) for three more years. It is overwhelmingly a residential university as the twenty odd hostels provide accommodation to most of the students. The union government provides funds to the university and therefore the cost of education and hostel accommodation is affordable. Merit cum Means scholarship is available for students.

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

A.2) Madras Institute of Development Studies (MIDS), Chennai

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

The students of Political Science have bright career prospects. They can choose their career in Administration, Politics, Mass media, Academics (teaching in schools, teaching and researching in colleges, universities and research institutes), Social work, Police administration, Other careers through general competitive exams like NDA, and INDO/AFGO Management etc.

B. Employment Opportunities

The students of Political Science have bright career prospects. They can choose their career in Administration, Politics, Mass media, Academics (teaching in schools, teaching and researching in colleges, universities and research institutes), Social work, Police administration, Other careers through general competitive exams like NDA, and INDO/AFGO Management etc.

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

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

The IAS officers administer the country by working as Sub Collectors, Collectors, Joint Secretaries, Secretaries, Chief Secretary, and Cabinet Secretary. The IPS officers protect law and order by working as Assistant Superintendent of Police, Superintendent of Police, Inspector General of Police, and Director General of Police.

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

The civil services exam popularly known as ASIPS exam is conducted in three stages of Preliminary Test, Main exam and Personal Interview.

Political Science - a scoring topic

In Preliminary test:

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

In Main Exam:

The optional subject consists of two papers each of three hours duration. Each paper will have subjective questions and both the papers will be of equal weightage.

In Personal Interview:

The candidates are assessed on their awareness of current affairs and the problems of the society, their capacity to analyze situations, their aptitude for creative work and their potential to contribute to the welfare of society.

The students of Political Science can pursue higher studies in different areas like Development Studies, Law, Rights and Constitutional Governance, Social Work, Public Policy and Governance, Human Resources Management, Gender Studies.

A.3) Tata Institute of Social Science (TISS), Mumbai

TISS is a Multi-campus public funded research university creating human service professionals for the nation. It offers several degrees such as Bachelor, Masters, and Doctoral programs in different fields like Political Science, Economics, Social Work, Public Policy and Governance, Human Service Professionals for the Nation.

A.4) All India Institute of Medical Sciences (AIIMS), New Delhi

AIIMS is a multi-campus public funded research university creating human service professionals for the nation. It offers several degrees such as Bachelor, Masters, and Doctoral programs in different fields like Medical Science, Public Health, and Social Medicine.

www.tntextbooks.in
In Mains Test:

B.4) Teaching Career in Colleges and Universities

There are seven countable papers in the second stage, Main Exam. The syllabus of the second stage is Indian polity and international relations. There are three kinds of faculty positions in universities available for the aspirants of an academic career in Tamil Nadu and India. They are Professor, Associate Professor and Assistant Professor. There are two levels of faculty positions (Assistant Professor and Associate Professor) in the colleges in our state. The candidates should get through the State Eligibility Test (SET) conducted by the Tamil Nadu government to qualify for these posts in our state. The candidates applying for the faculty positions should write Tamil Nadu Teachers Eligibility Test (TNTET). The candidates who want to join as the Postgraduate Assistants in Government Higher Secondary schools in Tamil Nadu should write the Postgraduate Assistant Exam. The Teacher Recruitment Board (TRB) conducts the above mentioned recruitment tests.

B.3) TNPSC Exams

The Group One exam is conducted for recruiting officers to the top services in the TNPSC. The important exams include Group 1 Services Examination, Group 3A Services Examination, Combined Subordinate Services Examination-1(CSSE-1) and Combined Subordinate Services Examination-2(CSSE-2). All these exams have a general knowledge paper. Most of the questions in the question papers will originate from Indian polity and international relations. The candidates have to answer around 500 marks out of the total 1750 marks in the postgraduate level of the exam. The students with political science as optional subject can cover nearly 1000 marks out of the total 1750 marks. The students with political science as optional subject are likely to answer correctly the questions from the topics and issues of political science and international relations. In this exam, around twenty percent of the questions are tats about Indian constitution, politics, international politics and Indian foreign policy are very important. The students of Political Science can attend these questions confidently. The other recruitment tests of TNPSC also contain a certain percent of questions from Political Science.

B.6) Opportunities in Media

There are plenty of opportunities in mass media for students of Political Science. They can branch into print journalism, television channels and digital media. The news media preponderantly deals with politics, society, environment, culture and international issues and a good grounding in Political Science and international relations can intellectually empower and enrich a career in media. After graduation in Political Science the interested students can do a course in media in institutions like 1. Indian Institute of Mass Communication, New Delhi and 2. Asian College of Journalism in Chennai and become successful in media.

B.7) Police Service

They can enter police department as Sub Inspectors after getting through the Tamil Nadu Uniformed Services Recruitment Board (TNUSRB) exam for the recruitment of Sub Inspectors or as Constables after cracking police constable recruitment exam of Tamil Nadu Uniformed Services Recruitment Board (TNUSRB).
B.7) Career in Law

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

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

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

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

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

In United States
1. The Harvard University
2. Princeton University
3. University of Californa,
4. University of Berkeley
5. Yale University

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

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

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

Websites of Political Science institutions:

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

JUSTICE, social, economic and political;
LIBERTY of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship;
EQUALITY of status and of opportunity;
and to promote among them all
FRATERNITY assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity and integrity of the Nation;
IN OUR CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY the twenty-six day of November, 1949, do HEREBY ADOPT, ENACT AND GIVE TO OURSELVES THIS CONSTITUTION.
UNIT 8

Political Ideologies – Part-I

Introduction

Ideology refers to a set of inter-related ideas dealing with politics, society and economy. Political ideologies are very important in Political Science and are considered as heart and soul of Political Science. They deal with the nature and origin of the state, relationship between state and society, forms of government, basis of state authority and sphere of state action. Numerous ideologies operate in our subject and we will examine them in the forthcoming two chapters.

Learning Objectives

- To understand the meaning and characteristics of Negative Liberalism, Positive Liberalism and Libertarianism.
- To identify the leaders and thinkers who are central to the ideology of Liberalism.
- To know the thinkers, concepts, and ideas of communist stream chronologically in the post Karl Marx period.
- To comprehend the essence of different kinds of Socialisms and to compare and contrast Socialism with Communism.
- To find out the meaning, emergence, theories, intra national and extra national challenges of Nationalism.
- To analyse the causative factors of Indian Nationalism.
- To grasp the etymological origin, core ideological features of Fascism.
- To have knowledge about the emergence, meaning and core characteristics of Nazism.

8.1 Liberalism

Liberalism is the most important ideology of modern political theory. It emerged in the 17th century and continues to be the most widely followed ideology in the contemporary world. The etymology of the word liberalism is from ‘Liber’ that means liberty. The supporters of the Spanish Constitution in the 19th century made the word popular
by calling themselves as liberals. Now western countries like United States of America, the United Kingdom, Canada, and Germany adhere to the tenets of liberalism in politics and economy.

Liberalism chronologically had experienced three major phases. In the first phase till 1930 it was called as Negative Liberalism. The second phase termed as Positive Liberalism emerged after the Great Economic Depression and lasted up to the 1970s. The third phase, known as Libertarianism, is followed by major countries of the world for the last four decades.

A. Negative liberalism

Negative Liberalism is also known by many names like Laissez Faire Liberalism and Classical Liberalism. John Locke in his book ‘Two Treaties of Civil Government’ propounded the basic political principles of Negative Liberalism that came to be implemented vigorously in the USA.


Thomas Paine, Montesquieu, Jeremy Bentham are the other important proponents of Negative Liberalism. Economically, Adam Smith advocated Negative Liberalism in his book ‘An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of Wealth of Nations’

**Essence of Negative Liberalism**

Negative Liberalism considers man as a rational, capable and master less individual. All human beings are equal and free. Everyone knows their interests and is endowed with the capacity to satisfy their interests. Society is a mere aggregate of freely existing individuals. There is no necessity for State and society to interfere or regulate the life of individuals.

The State is a necessary evil. It is necessary for the protection of law and order without which individuals cannot realise their interests. Nevertheless, the State is an evil as even its mere existence itself endangers the rights and liberties of the individuals.

The State is a negative State as it is prohibited from carrying out developmental activities. The State is called as Laissez Faire State. Laissez Faire has its origin in the French language meaning Leave Alone. The State must leave the individuals alone to pursue their activities. Maintenance of law and order and enforcement of legally made contracts are the only functions assigned to the State by Negative Liberalism.

**ACTIVITY**

Where does India stand in the concept of liberalism after 1991 economic reforms?
Economically, Negative Liberalism supports free market economy based on demand and supply. It prohibits the State from interfering with the economic activities. The State is akin to a cricket umpire in its powers and functions. The umpire does not play the game but watches whether the players are playing the game in accordance with the laws of the game. Similarly the State should not interfere in the economy as market alone determines its activities.

Negative Liberalism believes in the concept of natural rights. When Mother Nature created man, it endowed him with basic rights that are called Natural Rights. The State should not erode or undermine these natural rights. The Rights to Life, Liberty and Property are indispensable for human existence and development. Therefore, the State should never abolish or erode them. The Right to Property is special to the proponents of Negative Liberalism. It is an unlimited right as all individuals can acquire, enjoy and dispose of property without interference from the State.

B. Positive Liberalism

Negative liberalism metamorphosed into Positive liberalism in the 20th century. Even though Negative Liberalism contributed to the generation of unprecedented wealth in the western countries it had also inflicted enormous pain on common people. Glaring inequalities among people, appearance of slums in the cities and exploitation of the workers exposed the deficiencies of Negative Liberalism. Humanist thinkers like Ruskin protested against the misery of the people.

In this backdrop, Negative Liberalism changed into Positive Liberalism because of two important factors i.e. Democracy and Marxism. Nineteenth century witnessed the gradual spread of democracy whereby the common people came to be provided with voting rights. They demanded fundamental changes in politics. The second factor is the advent and rise of Marxism that appealed to the workers to overthrow the exploitative inequality-laden Negative Liberalism. Subsequently, under pressure from democracy and Marxism, Negative Liberalism changed into Positive Liberalism.
The liberal world experienced a devastating Great Economic Depression from 1928 affecting economies of numerous countries including United States of America. The newly elected American President Franklin Roosevelt implemented the New Deal Programme for uplifting American economy from the quagmire of depression.

J.M.Keyne, economic advisor to the American President, played a crucial role in the formulation of the programme signifying the advent of Positive Liberalism. A number of thinkers enriched the content of Positive Liberalism of which T.H.Green, Harold Laski, L.T.Hobhouse are important.

Franklin D. Roosevelt was the longest serving President of the United States. He played a splendid role in the development of the country by lifting it out of the Great Economic Depression through his New Deal Program. He inspires millions of people even now. He was a heavily paralyzed polio victim. The inspiring slogan in the 1932 elections was that here comes a man on wheels to set America again on the wheels of progress. He presents the winning spirit of positive personality in the ocean of adversities in life.

Positive Liberalism brought out the new concept of Social Welfare State. This concept projects the State as a positive instrument for the promotion of social welfare. The role of the State is to provide social service to the people. It should construct and maintain hospitals, educational institutions, factories and industries, infrastructural facilities like roads, railway tracks and ports. The State also came to be known as Social Democratic State, a nomenclature that explains the significance of democracy in the constitution of a positive State.

**ACTIVITY**

Discuss about the contributions of John Stuart Mill to the concept of Liberalism

**Functions of State**

Positive Liberalism

- Education
- Health
- Industries
- Transport
- Fair Price Shop
Positive Liberalism was followed in the western democracies for many decades from 1930s. But gradually philosophers and political leaders began to question the utility of a Social Welfare State propagated by Positive Liberalism. They argued that State interference in society and economy had precipitated a plethora of problems like industrial sickness, economic inefficiency, lessened productivity, corruption, erosion of liberties of people and economic stagnation, therefore should be curtailed.

C. Libertarianism

The third phase in the history of liberalism is called as contemporary Liberalism or Libertarianism. It emerged in the western world after the end of positive liberalism and gradually spread to most parts of the political universe. The President of the United States Ronald Reagan implemented libertarian ideology in his country from 1981 to 1989.

The first woman Prime Minister of the United Kingdom Margaret Thatcher was the political architect of libertarianism. The last president of Soviet Union Michel Gorbachev introduced the two path-breaking reforms of Perestroika (Restructuring) and Glasnost (openness) that pushed the Soviet Union into the direction of libertarianism.

A number of political scientists have advocated libertarianism. F.A.Hayek, 

ACTIVITY

Self-Introspection

Identify the major functions of the state that contribute to your life directly. The government had provided you many services. From your own experience prepare a list of services of the Social Welfare State that you have benefited from.

There is no such thing as society: there are individual men and women, and there are families.

- Margaret Thatcher
M. Oakeshott, Karl Popper, Milton Friedman, Nozick and Nock are important among the supporters of libertarianism.

Libertarianism is a re-invention and re-application of Classical Liberalism in the second half of the 20th century and in the first half of the 21st century. It believes in the worth and importance of individuals. It advocates individual freedom as indispensable for the life of man. It staunchly supports the concept of ‘Personal Autonomy’ whereby every human being is provided with complete freedom of choice to make decisions in their life as they want. It restricts the domain of the State to maintenance of law and order. Nozick famously coined the slogan ‘Minimal State is Inspiring as Well as Right’. He criticised any more functions of the State as unjustified and unwarranted. Another proponent of Libertarianism, Oakeshott commented that the government merely pursues peace.

There is all the difference in the world between treating people equally and attempting to make them equal.
- Friedrich Hayek

A Society that puts equality before freedom will get neither. A society that puts freedom before equality will get a high degree of both.
- Milton Friedman

A Society that puts equality before freedom will get neither. A society that puts freedom before equality will get a high degree of both.

- Milton Friedman

Libertarianism is a re-invention and re-application of Classical Liberalism in the second half of the 20th century and in the first half of the 21st century. It believes in the worth and importance of individuals. It advocates individual freedom as indispensable for the life of man. It staunchly supports the concept of ‘Personal Autonomy’ whereby every human being is provided with complete freedom of choice to make decisions in their life as they want. It restricts the domain of the State to maintenance of law and order. Nozick famously coined the slogan 'Minimal State is Inspiring as Well as Right'. He criticised any more functions of the State as unjustified and unwarranted. Another proponent of Libertarianism, Oakeshott commented that the government merely pursues peace.

Functions of state
Positive Liberalism

Philosophers
Friedrich Hayek
Albert Jay Nock
Milton Friedman
M. Oakeshott

Leaders
Ronald Reagan
Margaret Thatcher
P.V. Narasimha Rao
Mikhail Gorbachev

Karl Popper described Plato as an enemy of open society in his work “Open society and its’ enemies”.

The libertarians argue that the increase in the functions of the State in the name of development and social welfare leads inevitably to emergence of collectivism and resultant concentration of power in the hands of the State leading to the destruction of personal liberties of man.

ACTIVITY
Relate Karl Popper comment with Plato's philosopher king concept that you have studied in 1st volume.
End of Ideology

A few political thinkers and political sociologists in the 1950s had brought out the new concept of 'End of Ideology'. Daniel Bell who authored book 'End of Ideology' is the strongest proponent of this concept along with the noted political sociologist Martin Lipset.

They argue that the political and economic search of humankind had reached its final destination with the emergence of Liberal Democratic State or Social Welfare State. The ideal system of human life should be planted and rooted in the soil of welfare State, decentralised power, mixed economy and competitive party system. The western nations have attained these ideal socio-political characteristics. They called for an end to the Liberalism versus Marxism debate and accepted that democracy is not merely a system of government but the good society in operation. They praised democracy as the ideal means of conflict resolution and governance.

But a set of thinkers collectively described as “New Left” rejected the validity of the End of Ideology concept. Though, the thinkers do not advocate any class conflict like Marxism they sought to improvise the tenets of Marxist State. The western societies also witnessed rise of the voice of many thinkers that demanded not the end of ideology but the end of materialism that is implied in the end of ideology concept.

End of History

The American political thinker Francis Fukuyoma wrote the book ‘The End of History and the Last Man’ in 1992. He argued that history has ended with the end of the Cold War and the victory of liberalism over communism. The history of mankind essentially composed of its ceaseless search for the ideal political, social and economic system. The victory of Liberalism signifies the end of that human search for right ideology and the advent of post-ideological world. The Liberal State and the Libertarian economy represent the culmination of the social economic and political evolution of humanity, therefore human history has ended was the argument of Fukuyoma.

But many political scientists and ideologies disagree with this. The post-modernist thinker Derrida argued that liberal democracy is not the ideal political system that solves the problems of man. He said, “Never have violence, inequality, exclusion, famine, and thus economic oppression affected as many human beings in the history of the earth and of humanity as it happened in the times of liberal democracy.”

DEBATE

Can history end as people say today’s politics is tomorrow’s history?
The American political scientist Samuel Huntington propounded ‘The Clash of Civilization’ theory as a counter to Fukuyoma’s End of History thesis. Huntington argued that end of the Cold War has not resulted in the universal and permanent success of liberal democracy. On the contrary, a new ideological rivalry has emerged between the two major civilizations of the world, Western Civilization and Islam that will dominate the politics of humankind in the 20th. He contended that other civilizations of the world will be sucked into the civilization clash between Western Civilization and Islam, and therefore history has not ended in the post-Cold War period, rather it has entered a new phase of confrontation.

India and libertarianism

New Economic Reforms were introduced in India in 1991 heralding the era of Liberalization, privatization and globalization. They reflect the ideology of Libertarianism. The State has withdrawn itself from many economic and social activities. ‘Minimum Government and Maximum Governance’ is the guiding principle of the State. The State has consciously shrunk its sphere of activities encouraging private initiative through measures like disinvestment. Under the impact of libertarianism the planning process was initially changed to the strategy of Indicative Planning and recently the planning Commission itself was replaced by a body called National Commission for Transforming India (NITI Ayog).

8.2 Communism (Vladimir Lenin)

Vladimir Lenin was a revolutionary Marxist thinker who organized the October Revolution of 1917 in Russia to implement the ideas of Marxism. He was the architect of the communist country called Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) that consisted of 15 Republics. Lenin contributed to the theoretical content of Marxism.

Do you Know?

Vladimir Lenin died in 1924 and the mortal remains are preserved in Lenin’s Tomb in Red Square in Moscow. The embalmed body is regularly bathed in special chemicals and has been on public display. Earlier the government funded the finances needed for preserving the body and after the disintegration of Union of Soviet Socialist Republics preservation of the body is maintained through public donations. There are intermittent calls for burying the coffin next to the resting place of Lenin’s mother.
Communist party

Lenin wrote in his work ‘What is to be done?’ his ideas of the Communist Party. Marx had called for a communist revolution to end capitalism and exploitation and Lenin as his successor developed the instrument of the party to carry out the proletariat revolution. He said the party should be formed in every industry and factory by a small group of workers who possess knowledge of Revolutionary Marxism. They must possess qualities and abilities like dedication, commitment and hard work. The members of the Communist Party should mobilize the workers ideologically to conduct the revolution. Lenin asserted that the party must be in the vanguard of the proletariat that is the forefront of the Proletariat Revolution.

It was expounded that the Communist Party should be organised on the basis of an innovative concept called Democratic Centralism. As the name indicates there are two features in the organisational structure of the Communist Party, democracy and centralism. Democratically, the lower organs of the party organisation must elect the members of the higher organs of the party. The party units in villages must elect the party units of the district and State units are to be elected by the district units of the party and the central unit will be elected by the State units.

The element of centralism in the Communist Party means that the decisions of the higher unit must be accepted and implemented by the lower units. The State units should accept the decisions of the central unit and district units must obey the decisions of the State unit and the village unit ought to follow the decisions of the district unit.

Imperialism

Imperialism refers to the system where European countries subjugated and exploited the Asian and African countries through military conquest and force. Lenin expounded a new insight linking imperialism and capitalism in his book ‘Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism’. He argued that capitalism had not faced self-destruction as Marx predicted. The capitalist countries exploit the subjugated Asian and African countries and through this looted wealth capitalism sustains itself in their home countries. There should be two revolutionary struggles, one the struggle of Asian-African countries against the imperialist Europe and another revolutionary struggle of working class in the western countries. Once these two struggles become successful, the two inter-linked exploitative forces of capitalism and imperialism will be destroyed and communist society of equality and fraternity will be born internationally.
Joseph Stalin

Joseph Stalin was the general secretary of The Communist Party and Premier of Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in the post-Lenin phase up to 1953. He introduced a major ideological component in Marxism called Socialism in One Country. The seed of the idea was first brought out by another communist theoretician Nikolai Bukharin.

Marxism rejected nationalism and supported universalism. It attacked nationalism as a bourgeois concept and appealed to the workers of the world to unite and fight to establish communism as seen in the last lines of Marx book ‘The Communist Manifesto’. The ultimate goal of Karl Marx was the formation of international socialist society through the instrument of world proletariat revolution. Karl Marx said, ‘The working men have no country’. Lenin also continued in the same vein and considered the October Revolution of 1917 in Russia as a springboard to global revolution.

Stalin makes a fundamental change in Marxism through the Socialism in One Country concept. He claimed to have developed his idea from Lenin’s statement that socialist revolution can emerge in even one country as detailed in the work ‘On the Slogan for a United States of Europe’.

The central theme of this concept is that socialism can be successfully established in Russia alone. Russian socialism is threatened by a capitalist encirclement as the western enemy capitalist countries avowedly endanger the existence of communist USSR. Stalin advocated the consolidation and strengthening of USSR so that it can withstand the capitalist threat postponing the task of organising an international communist revolution to a more appropriate period in the future. This thesis was accepted as the State policy of USSR and also by the Communist International organization.

Leon Trotsky criticized Stalinist socialism and reiterated the concept of permanent revolution advocated by Karl Marx. He called for the export of communist revolution to other countries of the world to achieve international communism and cautioned that otherwise communism within USSR itself will collapse.

Mao Zedong

Mao Zedong was one of the greatest Marxist theoreticians and practitioners in the history of the world. He founded the Communist Party of China and conducted the Communist Revolution in 1949, leading to the establishment of the People's Republic of China.

All political power comes from the barrel of a gun.

-Mao Zedong
Signification of Marxism

Mao introduced certain changes in Communism to make it suitable for China. The modification of communism to reflect Chinese realities is described as Signification of Communism.

Peasantry-led Revolution

Karl Marx predicted that Communist Revolution will be seen only in west European countries that are fully industrialised and where workers are numerous and organised. But China in the decade of 1940s was an agricultural and industrially backward country. Karl Marx never considered that the peasants as a class have revolutionary potential as they are conservative and reactionary. Mao organized the peasants of China and succeeded in overthrowing the feudal exploitative State heralding the arrival of communism. Mao’s success in China provided a revolutionary model for the other agricultural countries of Asia and Africa.

Mass line

Leninist concept of the Communist party as the vanguard of the revolutionary struggle was modified by Mao to suit Chinese conditions. Mao contended that the masses should not be separated from the revolutionary party in the domains of both policy and struggle. They should be integral to the Communist Party and the guiding principle is ‘from the masses to the masses’.

People’s War and Guerilla War

Mao believed in the ‘revolutionary struggle of the vast majority of people against the exploiting classes and their State structure’. He propagated the idea of People’s War. He suggested the intensive mobilization of the millions of peasants as part of the People’s War as they are the worst victims of feudalism and imperialism. The ideal strategy of war was to surround the cities by capturing the rural landscape with the help of mobilized peasants.

Mao believed in the unconventional guerilla warfare. As a strategy it had three stages. In the first stage, the Communist cadre will win the people through propaganda. In the second stage, the cadre will ambush and attack the military and vital State installations. In the third stage, the cadre will act as a conventional army fighting the army of the State and capturing cities after inflicting defeat. Mao also taught that any of three stages can be used any time depending on the circumstances.

Let Hundred Flowers Bloom

The Communist Party of China conducted the Hundred Flower Campaign in the second half of 1950s and the chairman Mao said “Let the hundred flowers bloom. Let the hundred schools of thought contend”. He considered each thought as a flower and argued that all schools of thought must be allowed to bloom. The clash of thoughts will lead to the defeat and destruction of the rotten and obsolete ideas and better ones will endure competition and become successful. The ancient philosophy of Confucianism underwent this conflict of ideas test many centuries ago and came
out successful. Though the State welcomed constructive criticism in the beginning, the campaign got derailed later as contention among ideas threatened the Communist Party of China itself.

'Cultural Revolution'

Mao launched the Grand Proletarian Cultural Revolution in 1965-66 to exterminate representatives of the bourgeoisie who have sneaked into the party, the government, the army and various spheres of culture and destroy the 'Four Olds' — old ideas, old customs, old culture and old habits. The stated aim of the revolution was to save the Chinese communism from becoming a victim of bureaucratization induced by industrialization like the western countries and USSR. The actual backdrop was provided by the Great Leap Forward Campaign.

Mao wished to regain power he lost in the Great Leap Forward and create another revolutionary movement. Created the Red Guard from the Chinese youth - Students, peasants, soldiers.

Mao implemented forcefully industrialization and collectivization as part of this campaign from 1958 to 1962 to rapidly change China from agricultural economy to socialist system. But, unfortunately, it resulted in the advent of the Great Chinese Famine killing millions of people. To reclaim the authority and legitimacy of the leader and the party cultural revolution was launched. It was argued that even after the establishment of communism the class struggle continues and intensifies and to weed out the communist enemies, Red Guards were organized. The members of the Red Guards adopted repressive measures against the class enemies even jailing the Chinese President. The role of the State and party was taken over by the paramilitary organization.

'New Democracy'

Marxism believed that the State is an instrument of exploitation of the workers by the capitalists and workers and capitalist are always antagonistic towards each other. Mao modified this fundamental feature of Marxism. He propounded the
concept of New Democracy. He created a new alliance in which the peasantry, the proletariat, the petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie became members. Subsequently, Mao declared the formation of a new kind of State called People’s Democratic Dictatorship.

The working class and peasantry were provided with key positions in the State. The petty bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie were accorded with junior partner status. The People’s Democratic Dictatorship guaranteed democracy for the general people while simultaneously acting as dictatorship over the enemies of the people especially those who were described as ‘running dogs of imperialism’. In ideal Marxism, the workers and bourgeoisie are adversaries but New Democracy treated them as partners.

Maoism continues to be the ruling ideology of the People’s Republic of China in the twenty first century in a changed milieu. The paramount leader Deng Xiaoping introduced massive changes in Chinese economy after 1978. Its economy has been infused with liberalization and globalization modifying fundamentally the communist economy of Mao period. But politically, the Communist Party of China continues to exercise monopoly of power.

Antonio Gramsci

Antonio Gramsci, the famous Italian Marxist, introduced the concept of hegemony to explain the operation of the capitalist State. Hegemony means intellectual and moral leadership. The State manufactures the consent of the people through intellectual and moral leadership. It tries to create a false consciousness among people through propaganda.

Gramsci was one of the most creative modern political thinkers. But he was imprisoned by Fascism in the prime of his life. The judge convicted him on wrong grounds because of the pressure of Fascist government. While in the prison Gramsci wrote his thoughts on any available piece of paper and that was smuggled out of the prison and therefore his writings are titled "Prison Notebooks".

It Doesn’t matter if a cat is black or white, so long as it catches mice

Deng Xiaoping

Its ideas are repeatedly driven into the minds of the people. Only when it fails to create the consent of the people, it starts using brutal force to carry out its activities. Gramsci also argues that, to destroy the capitalist State, the revolutionaries should use organic intellectuals and the Communist Party. The organic intellectuals will analyze the strength of the State and elucidate the means of destroying the State. The Communist Party will carry out the revolution and establish the ideal state of communism.
Teacher : Dear Students, have you heard about U.S.S.R?

Student 1 : Yes sir. I have read in the newspapers many times.

Teacher : What does the acronym stand for?

Student 2 : Sir, it means Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Teacher : You are correct. It was a mammoth political entity in the world. It symbolized the ideology of Marxism.

Student 3 : Sir, what happened to it? Why don't we hear anything about it nowadays?

Teacher : Dear students, it does not exist anymore. It faced internal disintegration in 1991 and disappeared from the face of the world.

Student 1 : Sir, how and why did it collapse?

Teacher : The communist country collapsed due to many reasons. There was an unsolvable economic crisis. Politically rights were not available to the people. It had to maintain a very expensive military. The cold war between the United States and U.S.S.R was destroying the economic capacity of the country.

Student 2 : Sir, if a great country suddenly imploded it must have surely left repercussions on the world. What was the impact of its collapse?

Teacher : Yes, my dear student. It left a number of short term and long term repercussions. Positively it made the advent of democracy in Russia. It ended the cold war and eliminated the threat of nuclear war. It also led to the birth of fifteen new, independent nations.

Student 3 : Sir, did it leave any negative impact?

Teacher : Of course, it left many negative effects too. For example, communism as an ideological alternative of hope for humankind was weakened heavily. It created rivalry between the successor nations. The world came to be dominated by one powerful nation. Russia lost its stature among the nations of the world. India lost a traditional friend.
Neo Marxism

A group of philosophers who were associated with the Frankfurt Institute for Social Research in Germany developed new insights into Marxism that are described as Neo Marxism or Critical Theory. The important philosophers of this school are Herbert Marcuse, Jurgen Habermas and Theodor Adorno. Though there are great differences in their writings all of them uniformly protested against the systems of domination and exploitation. They focused on understanding the hidden roots and layers of domination. They concentrated on preparing the masses for revolutionary transformation by augmenting their true consciousness. They propounded the attitude to question the socio-cultural practices in all societies that perpetuate domination over the masses. Their writings can be characterised as counter-culture aiming for the emancipation of the masses.

Instrumental Marxism

Ralph Miliband is the main proponent of Instrumental Marxism. This school of thought takes an instrumental perspective of the state. The officials of the government and state come from the same background as the property or ruling class. They have personal contact with the members of the ruling class. Therefore the state is used as an instrument by officials and the members of the ruling class to perpetuate exploitation and to manufacture the ideological consent of the people for their hegemony.

Structural Marxism

Structural Marxism propounded by the French philosopher Louis Althusser and Nicos Poulantza is a new school of Marxism that emerged in the 1970s. It repudiated the arguments of Instrumental Marxism. Althusser debated with Ralph Miliband and asserted that the class origin and position of the administrators is purely incidental and has no significance. Regardless of class origin of officials the state is bound to aid exploitation because of its objective or structural position in the economic system.

Louis Althusser

Louis Althusser introduced further innovations in the Marxist concept of state. He argued that the capitalist State has two kinds of coercive instruments to safeguard itself.

They are;

1. Repressive State Apparatuses
2. Ideological State Apparatuses.
The Repressive State Apparatuses include police, military, law courts etc. They are repressive as they punish the people when their orders are not obeyed. The Ideological State Apparatuses include family, schools, colleges, the media and trade unions. The State creates consent and support from people by ideological indoctrination, without violence.

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8.3 Socialism

Socialism is an ideology that supports public ownership of property and natural resources. It is fundamentally opposed to Liberalism that believes in the private ownership of property. There are many kinds of socialism like democratic socialism, evolutionary socialism, Fabian socialism, guild socialism etc. The terms ‘Socialism’ and ‘Communism’ are at times interchangeably used. But Karl Marx introduced a distinction by describing his socialism and ideology as scientific socialism and other prevailing kinds as Utopian socialism.

A. Utopian Socialism

Many thinkers in the 19th century had questioned the negative consequences of liberalism. They strove to protect the interests of the working class. Robert Owen was an industrialist and a philanthropist. He started the cooperative movement and experimental socialist communities in England to realise betterment in the conditions of the workers. He associated the workers in the management of his industries and showed that profits can be increased by the joint endeavour between workers and employers. He appealed to the reason of the fellow capitalists to take into account the welfare of the working classes. Saint Simon, a French industrialist and thinker, argued that the welfare of the working class must also be taken into consideration for realising an efficient economy and effective society.

Charles Fourier, another French thinker, suggested the socialist reconstruction of the society by forming association of producers termed as phalanges. Both Saint Simon and Charles Fourier appealed to the conscience of the capitalists to improve the miserable state of the workers. These three notable theorists advocated ideas in favour of the workers in 19th century. Karl Marx described their thoughts as Utopian Socialism as they provided only a superficial understanding of capitalism and their alternative schemes are wishful and utopian in nature. He claimed that, in contrast his communism is based on scientific understanding of
capitalism meriting the name of Scientific Socialism.

B. Democratic Socialism

Democratic Socialism as the nomenclature indicates combines the two systems of socialism and democracy to provide a unique political and economic system to promote equality and freedom. It differs from Marxism in its conception of the State. It believes that the State is not an instrument of exploitation of workers by the capitalists. Rather, the State is an instrument of social welfare. The State must be made democratic. All classes in society own the State. Socialism can be established only through the State. It will not and should not wither away as Marxism predicted.

Democratic Socialism argues that socialism can be established through evolutionary and peaceful means. It's methodology of change characterized as gradualism or ballot box socialism. It dismisses revolutionary, violent struggle as unnecessary. Democratic Socialism argues for harmonious relationship among classes and class differences must be solved through peaceful methods. The right to property need not be abolished. Rather for the sake of social welfare the right to property must be limited.

There are crucial differences between Marxism and Democratic Socialism. Many basic concepts of Marxism are either modified or rejected by Democratic Socialism. Nevertheless, both have certain similar goals like ending the exploitation of workers and promoting equality among people.

C. Fabian Socialism

Fabian Socialism was the British version of socialism propagated by the Fabian Society from 1884. They chose the nomenclature Fabianism inspired by the great Roman General Fabius who was historically famous for adopting the military strategy of ‘wait and hit hard at the right moment’. Sidney Webb and Sidney Oliver H G Wells brought out the ideology of Fabianism. English playwright George Bernard Shaw was one of the greatest proponents of Fabianism.

As an ideology Fabianism attacked capitalism as an exploitative system and advocated a thorough reorganization of economy and politics of their contemporary period. It expressed its resolute support for democratic State. There are two important attributes of the Fabian State. Firstly, it should be based on decentralization of power. Secondly, it should be led by experts. Fabianism rejected Marxist call for the abolition of the State. It wanted the State to exist on the foundations of decentralized power.
and expert leadership to promote social welfare.

In India Jawaharlal Nehru is an ardent champion of Fabian Socialism

Fabianism believed that socialism and democracy are complementary and supplementary to each other. They are to be appreciated as noble ideals of equality and justice are dearer to them. The Fabians did not advocate the abolition of private property. On the contrary, they supported existence of limited right to property governed by the principle of social welfare.

Fabianism as an evolutionary socialism rejected Communist revolutionary methods of change. It supported peaceful methods of change in society. The Fabian ideologues depended on persuasion tactics to realize socialism.

D. Evolutionary Socialism

Evolutionary Socialism was initially advocated by Lassalle, one of the earliest leaders of the German Social Democracy tradition. The ideals of Evolutionary Socialism were formally expounded in the Gothe Programme in 1875, an important document in the evolution of socialism in Germany and Europe. Later on, Eduard Bernstein wrote the book ‘Evolutionary Socialism’ that attracted the many supporters like Jaures in France, Anseele in Italy, Bauer in Austria. It argues for an evolutionary change in capitalism. It believes that along with economic factors non-economic factors are also important to explain human life. Democratic Socialism and Evolutionary Socialism are inter-related. Marxism attacked Evolutionary Socialism as ‘revisionism’ and ‘broker’s view of socialism’.

E. Guild Socialism

It is a kind of evolutionary socialism that emerged in Great Briton in the first two decades of the 20th century. The English political thinker and the founder of National Guilds League in England, D H Cole was the leading advocate of this brand of socialism. He wrote the book ‘Guild Socialism: A Plan for Economic Recovery’ to propagate the tenets of Guild Socialism. Guild Socialism criticized the exploitation of workers by the capitalists in the western world and arose as a protest ideology against capitalism.

The word guild refers to the association of craftsmen and artisans of a particular profession in the medieval
period in Europe. It acted as a source of mutual support, as a medium to pass on the professional knowledge to new entrants. Guild Socialism combines the medieval guild with modern socialism and envisages a political organization in which organized workers-based associations will discharge most of the political functions. This ideology believes that in any society there are numerous professions, trades and occupations and a member of one profession cannot represent the interests and welfare of members of another profession and therefore every profession must have its own organization. All such organizations must come together to form a governing council at the district, State and national-levels to administer the system. A national-level confederation of guilds will govern the country.

Guild Socialism does not call for the destruction of the State. It endows the State with certain common functions like providing education and health services to the people. Guild Socialism supported the principle of gradualism to bring about changes in the existing capitalist system.

It abhorred the revolutionary methods of struggle associated with Marxism. All changes in society should be brought through peaceful and democratic means. This was a cardinal principle of Guild Socialism.

**ACTIVITY**

**Project Report**

Prepare a project work on the thinkers and leaders of Marxism and Socialism

Though Guild Socialism was laudable in its commitment to the welfare of workers it was criticized as an impractical alternative. Its attempt to reduce the State to the position of an ordinary guild was not accepted by many political theorists who asserted that the weakened state of Guild Socialism cannot maintain law and order and protect its people from invasions and insurrections.
Differences between Communism and Socialism

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Communism</th>
<th>Socialism</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Revolution is the mid-wife of change</td>
<td>1. Evolutionary changes are more enduring and beneficial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. The state is an instrument of exploitation of the property-less class by the rich class and therefore should be abolished</td>
<td>2. The state should not be abolished. It should be made more democratic and social welfare oriented.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Class struggle is the fundamental force of change in human history.</td>
<td>3. Violent class struggle is unnecessary.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. The right to private property must be abolished.</td>
<td>4. The right to private property must be modified and limitations must be imposed for social welfare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Historical materialism can explain human history. Economy alone drives human history.</td>
<td>5. Historical Materialism is not adequate to explain human history. Apart from economy, other factors like culture, politics and religion are also important to explain human history</td>
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F. Socialism in India

The Indian kind of socialism is known as Socialistic Pattern of Society that was adopted by the Indian State in the mid 1950s. Provision of all basic necessities to all people irrespective of caste, creed, religion, race and gender and elimination of poverty, inequality and illiteracy are the objectives of Indian Socialism. Parliament passed a resolution for the establishment of Planning Commission in 1950. The strategy of Five Year Plan was implemented to promote development with socialist content from 1951. We adopted a Mixed Economy where both private and public sectors were allowed to operate. We provided the commanding heights of the economy to the public sector to achieve development and equality.

The 42nd Constitutional Amendment Law introduced socialism as an official feature of the Preamble of our Constitution. The 44th Constitutional Amendment Act removed the Right to Property from the list of Fundamental Rights and made it an ordinary right in Part XII of the Constitution. The Directive Principles of State Policy in Part IV of the Constitution contains many provisions that are designed to promote socialistic objectives like Right to Work and avoidance of concentration of wealth in the hands of a few people. India had adhered to socialism from the year of independence to 1991 when we launched our New Economic Reforms that favored liberalization, privatization and globalization.
8.4 Nationalism

Meaning, Emergence and Spread

Nationalism refers to an ideology that promotes loyalty, affection and devotion to a particular nation. It creates attachments among people to a common homeland, a common language, ideals, values and traditions. It is based on a consciousness that exalts the nation above other categories and factors of social life. It strongly believes that the individual's loyalty and commitment to the nation should override their attachments with any group interest. Ernest Gellner, an important theorist wrote the book 'Nations and Nationalism'. He defined nationalism as "primarily a political principle that holds that the political and the national unit should be congruent".

Nationalism is a modern concept. It emerged in Europe at the beginning of modern period. It arose first in England and later on diffused to other countries of Western Europe like France, Germany aided by French Revolution.

The North American colonies revolted and formed their own nationalism in opposition to Europe. The African and Asian nations witnessed the emergence of a new kind of nationalism called post-colonial nationalism as a result of anti-colonial struggle. Many factors contributed to the emergence and diffusion of nationalism throughout the world and the notable ones include capitalism, French Revolution, industrialization, World Wars and colonialism.

Theories of Nationalism

There are many theories of nationalism that can be listed as

- Primordial Theory of Nationalism
- Socio-biological Theory of Nationalism
- Social communication Theories
- Marxian Theory of Nationalism
- Post-ideological Theory of nationalism

These theories can be divided into perennial theories and modernization theories. The first two theories can be categorized as perennial theories and the last three are designated as modernization theories.

Primordial Theory of Nationalism

The word primordial means existing at or since the beginning of the world. The theory of primordialism considers that the people of a particular language, region, religion, race etc have developed a great intra-group affinity as they inhabit together since ancient period. They develop a strong ethnic identity and loyalty. They demonstrate the qualities of affection, sentiments and attachments. They may not exhibit ostensibly sufficient social interactions as part of their affinity. Nevertheless the primordial identities are powerful having even coercive impact on their lives. The primordial theory of nationalism is grounded on the concept of ethnic nationalism.

Socio-biological Theory of Nationalism

This theory considers nationalism as emotional attachments of a group of people
who identify with and agree on a common descent. The people consider themselves as belonging to an extended family. For them, the nation is the family writ large. Nationalism is a blend of both rationalism and irrationalism. It is a ‘primitive mind with modern techniques’. As for as the roots are concerned nationalism relies on the past. But on its relations with other groups it is contemporary. Nationalism shows the face of ethno centrism towards the members of the group and xenophobia to the members of the other groups and nations.

**Post-Ideological Theory of Nationalism**

A number of theorists propounded the post-ideological theories of nationalism. Anthony Giddens, Paul Brass and Michael Mann are the main authors of this theory.

They differ greatly in their expositions about the origin and nature of nationalism but a fundamental similarity exists as all of them identify State as the most paramount factor in the evolution and operation of nationalism. They argue that though nations and nationalist sentiments existed in the medieval period, nationalism blossomed fully only in the modern period with the emergence of the modern State. Anthony Giddens argued that the advent of French Revolution engineered the birth and growth of nationalism all over Europe.

Michael Mann articulated that there are four sources of social power. They are 1) Ideological power 2) Economic power 3) Military power and 4) Political power. These four sources, often in combination acted historically to produce nationalism in different periods. The ideological factor in the form of religion promoted the birth of infant nations as in the case of England in the 16th century. The second phase saw the economic, especially commercial power contributing to the birth of nationalism in Western Europe. The military power influenced the origin of nationalism in the third phase and finally political power shaped the evolution of nationalism.

The central argument of these theorists belonging to post-ideological theory of nationalism is that the modern State along with commercial capitalism initially created and influenced the growth of nationalism.

**Communication Theory of Nationalism**

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**Communication Theory of Nationalism**
Karl Deutsch and Benedict Anderson are among the important theorists of communication theory of nationalism. Deutsch defined nation as ‘as a group of people who communicate more effectively and intensely with one another than with people outside the group’. He examined the data from different streams of knowledge like economics, history and demography and arrived at the conclusion that communication played the role of a parent in the birth of nationalism and nationality. The development of effective internal communication linked all people in the country and created the feelings of moral and political identity contributing to the emergence of nationalism.

Anderson described the nation as an imagined community and nationalism as its life force. He wrote the book ‘Imagined Communities’ and argued that the nation is an imagined community exiting only in the mind, imagination of the people. The members of a nation do not see, talk and know all the other members of the nation. Yet, they consider all other members as their own people.

When a cricket match is played, lakhs of spectators in the ground and people before the TV sets perceive each other as members of the same community sharing joy and sorrow at the victory and defeat of the team. Similarly the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier is another example for the concept of imagined community. The people do not know personally the soldier whose body is buried in the tomb but all compatriots have emotional attachment with the tomb.

Anderson contends that the capitalism and the discovery of the printing press played a crucial role in the emergence of nationalism. After the discovery of the printing press, books were printed and sold in large volumes in the vernacular languages of the period like English, French and German. Millions of the people for the first time in history had the opportunity of reading books in their own languages. As they read the same text and matter they developed in their minds...
the same thoughts and ideas leading to the creation of the idea of community in their minds. Capitalism helped in the process of creation of imaginary community. The capitalists wanted to earn profits and printed books in large quantities and sold them. The print capitalism (the combined forces of capitalism and printing press) contributed to the advent of nationalism in the minds of the people.

**Marxist Theory of Nationalism**

Marxism considers nationalism as an offspring of capitalism. Nationalism was created by capitalism to protect the exploitative capitalist order. Karl Marx contended that the ruling ideas are essentially the ideas of the ruling class that owns the means of production. The capitalist class possesses private property and indulges in the exploitation of the property-less class. Nationalism was conceived and created by the bourgeois class for its own benefit to numb the feelings of the workers. “Nationalist consciousness is quintessentially a false consciousness deliberately created to perpetuate and legitimize class exploitation”. Marx commented, ‘The Proletariat has no fatherland’. He issued a clarion call in the ‘The Communist Manifest’ to the workers of the world to conduct revolution for ending capitalism and establishing socialism all over the world. He favoured internationalism and opposed nationalism.

Michael Hechter, Miroslav Hroch and Tom Narim are the important Marxist theorists to analyze nationalism.

**Indian Nationalism**

Indian nationalism emerged in the second half of the 19th century. All Indians began to think of nationalist feeling transcending their religious, regional, linguistic, ethnic differences and barriers. There are two kinds of factors responsible for the emergence of Indian nationalism. They are internal and external factors.

Internally speaking, the concept of Indian unity is always ingrained in the minds of the people. Though the Indian subcontinent for many centuries was politically fragmented it continued to be culturally unified. The concept of unity in diversity exists in Indian tradition since ancient period. The seeds of modern nationalism germinated and grew luxuriantly in the fertile soil of this centuries-old cultural unity.

Externally, the impact of British colonial rule facilitated the growth of Indian nationalism. The major forces are;

A. Colonialism carried out the political, administrative, economic and communication unification of India. India was a politically divided subcontinent in eighteenth century with over 700 different territories and rulers. The British unified them into one country. India followed village-based economy. Colonialism introduced modern economy and market system unifying the country economically. The British rule introduced modern means of communication like railways,
telegraphs, uniform postal system-making transport and movement of people, goods and ideas easier and faster throughout the subcontinent. The newly unified India in the 19th century was conducive for the emergence of the modern political force called nationalism.

B. Western education was introduced in India by colonialism. Indians learned modern political ideas like liberty, equality, sovereignty in the classrooms and demanded that our motherland should be empowered with those modern political values.

C. English became the lingua franca of India during colonialism. India is a polyglot nation as it speaks more than a thousand languages and political unity was derailed. In this backdrop the English language became the language of communication among nationalists facilitating the growth of nationalism.

D. The 19th century witnessed the emergence of many socio-religious reform movements like Brahmo Samaj of Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Prarthana Samaj, etc. They strove to sow the seeds of renaissance and reform in Indian society. They also revived the memories of centuries-old great Indian civilization even while articulating the need for reforming Indian society and eliminating evils like sati, caste system and untouchability.

E. Racialism of British rulers and authorities created bitterness among Indian people. Indian nationalism grew as a protest movement against the racial humiliation of Indian people in the colonial period. They reacted against the concept of the White Man's Burden flaunted by the colonial rulers. It refers to idea that the white people are the most advanced and civilized race in the world and their mission in India is to civilize the Indian people. Indian leaders repudiated this racial myth and mobilized Indian people through the medium of nationalism.

F. The patently exploitative and flagrantly arrogant rule of the Governor General Lord Lytten spurred the faster emergence of Indian nationalism. He imposed discrimination on Indian vernacular press. Measures were taken to promote the import of goods from England and to restrict the export of Indian goods to England. No active relief was provided by the colonial government when millions of people suffered and even died under severe drought. There was an unnecessary war with Afghanistan in which thousands of Indian soldiers died. Indian nationalism grew as a result of anger against the maladministration of Lord Lytten.

G. Lord Ripon was a notable Governor General of India. Along with the Law Member Ilbert, the Governor General introduced a Bill granting powers to Indian judges to sit in the trial of cases involving Europeans. There was a huge protest organized by racist people and the government was forced to backtrack on its proposal. Indians were disappointed at the behaviour of Europeans in India. The Ilbert Bill controversy taught Indians the art and science of political agitation against the negative actions of the government.
These factors created the conditions for the conclusive emergence of Indian nationalism in the 19th century that powered the Indian struggle for independence.

\[\text{Indigenous Factors}\]

- Culture
- Philosophy
- Civilization
- Art and Architecture

\[\text{Factors of Colonialism}\]

- Political, Economic and Communication Unification
- Western Education
- English Language
- Socio-Religious Reform Movements
- Racialism
- Lord Lytten Rule
- Ilbert Bill Issue

\[\text{Challenges before Nationalism}\]

Nationalism faces a host of challenges in the contemporary period. Some of them are intra-national and many of them are extra-national in origin and theatre of operation. The paramount challenges can be listed as secessionism and globalization.

\[\text{Secessionism}\]

Nationalism grapples with a strong adversarial force, called by many names like separatism, sub-nationalism, splitism and secessionism. The Quebec separatism in Canada, Balochistan movement in Pakistan, Uighur issue in China, Catalan nationalism in Spain are the living examples of nationalism being questioned and endangered by intra-national forces.

\[\text{Extra National Factors}\]

Many extra-national and global factors imperil nationalism. Globalization refers to the increasing integration of the world in terms of economy, trade, technology, culture and institutions. The contemporary world is dominated by the ascendency of globalization process. The barriers between and among nations are being undermined by the onward march of globalization. Economically, multi-national corporations have established their production and sale units across many countries and continents. They employ people belonging to different countries and exercise great influence in political domain also.
The establishment and functioning of World Trade Organization has hastened the process of globalization. 'Barrier-free trade' is the fundamental slogan of the organization. It has created several agreements in the last two decades from 1995 the year of its inception and till now and has brought down the trade and tariff bottlenecks in international domain that partly contributed to the two world wars in the 20th century. Trade tariffs are closely related to nationalism and their elimination erodes the rationale of nationalism.

There is a large-scale migration of the skilled people propelled by the forces of globalization. The highly educated and technologically qualified people migrate from Asian and African countries to the developed countries like the United States, Australia and countries of Western Europe. The educated and technologically advanced Indian and Chinese youth have migrated in large numbers to the United States in the age of globalization.

The international regional organizations have eroded the stature of the States and their nationalism by promoting regional economic cooperation. The European Union consisting of 27 nations is the most advanced international regional organization that seeks to achieve economic, political and cultural integration. It has created European Parliament, European Council and European Commission. Euro is its currency and a large portion of the dream to create structures for the free movement of people, capital, service and goods has been realized. It has brought out the concept of 'Pooled Sovereignty' where the States share their decision-making powers with member-States of the regional organization foregoing their sovereignty, definitely a blow to the concept of nationalism and its cardinal feature of State sovereignty. Succinctly to state, the continent of Europe from being the cradle of nationalism has become the beacon of globalism.

Mapping Activity

Separatist Movements in the world

Now you understand that there are many separatist and sub-national movements rejecting the official nationalism in their respective countries and striving to establish new nations in their region. Prepare a list of such movements in different parts of the world. Take a global map and mark in conspicuous colours the areas of sub-national movements.

The gradual emergence of the role and relevance of the United Nations indicates the march, though slow of the humanity towards a World Government that is a negation of nationalism and its political body the state.
Radical ideologies adhering to a different kind of internationalism pose a threat to the concept of nationalism. For example, the Islamic State with its ideology of salafism (Pure Islam) rejected the concept of nationalism and nation States as anti-Islam. It established a caliphate in the captured territories in Syria and Iraq in 2014 and appealed to the global Islamic community to be associated with the international jihad to establish a global Islamic State or universal Caliphate.

The environmental problems like climate change, acid rain, ozone depletion have been caused by factors within the nation but the consequences and remedies are transnational and beyond the capacity of nationalism and national States to solve. The environmental conservation responsibility is a global challenge and numerous multi-lateral environmental conferences have been conducted by global community to discuss and provide solutions.

The growth of information technology especially internet, mobile phones and social media have left a profound impact on the concept of nationalism. It has sided with internationalism. The national State cannot effectively protect its nationalism and national interests as cross border transmission of ideas and networks become stronger.

The communication revolution has shrunk the world and the idea of the global village gains momentum that in the long run may jeopardize nationalism.

Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that nationalism continues to be a strong

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**Case Study**

**Uyghur Separatism: Case Study**

Xinjiang is a turbulent province of People's Republic of China located in the north western region of the country. Xinjiang means 'New Border' or 'New Frontier' in Mandarin language. It is a thinly populated and expansive semi-arid or desert territory and the indigenous inhabitants are called as Uyghur Muslims. The restive province deeply harbours grievances about the putative economic discrimination against them from the mainstream of Chinese government and economy. They argue that their province had witnessed a huge leap in Hans Chinese population from a mere 6 percent at the time of revolution to around 40 percent in the beginning of new millennium endangering their identity. The ethnic community also contends that the atheist communist government discriminates against them in the sphere of religion. They protest against the national government for enforcing regulations and restrictions on many aspects of religious life like telling people not to grow beard and enforcing penalty on taxi drivers who transport burqa-clad passengers. The Chinese government has adopted a stringent attitude towards terrorism in Xinjiang and its response is characterized by strike-hard policy and zero tolerance for terrorism and splitism (a favourite slogan of administration to describe secessionism).
Understanding globalisation

Globalisation is an economic process at its heart, although it is politically driven. It also has far-reaching cultural and social ramifications, and is supported by rapid technological innovation, especially in information and communications. Broadly speaking, economic globalization is characterized by two trends.

- **Structural adjustment**
- **Trade liberalization**

Structural adjustment – In pursuit of neo-liberal economic policies of deregulation and privatization, governments withdraw from interventions that might affect the functioning of free markets, for instance removing subsidies and price controls of food. Government provided services such as health, education and water sectors are privatized or subsidies are reduced or removed. The introduction of primary school fees in developing countries in the 1980s, which has depressed girls’ enrollment, is an example of this trend. Structural adjustment has been the dominant policy agenda in the United Kingdom and the United States of America since the 1980s. The World Bank and the International Monetary Fund are at best encouraging, and worst coercing, developing countries along the same path, making development aid conditional on their adoption of neo-liberal economic politics.

Trade Liberalisation -

This involves removal of barriers to international trade, such as tariffs and import quotas, and the prioritization of export production. Some experts argue that the subsequent loss of tariffs and import quotas, and the prioritization of export production. Some experts argue that the subsequent loss of tariff revenue to developing country governments has been partly responsible for their public spending cuts. Trade liberalization started to speed up in 1995, with the creation of the World Trade Organisation (WTO). Countries in the global South are being encouraged to follow this route, by a combination of the World Trade Organisation, backed by the European Union and the United States of America and again, the influence of the World Bank and International Monetary Fund.

ideology in the 21st century too. The end of nationalism is not observable even in the distant horizon. The State still retains with itself the priceless feature of sovereignty. The ultimate deciding factor of internationalism is still nationalism and national interests. The BREXIT or exit of Britain from the European Union and the exit of United States from 2015 Paris Accord of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change on grounds of national interests reveal the relevance and resilience of the ideology of nationalism.

**Challenges before Nationalism**

- Sub-Nationalism or Ethno-Nationalism or Secessionism
- Extra National Challenges
  - WTO
  - International Migration
  - International Regional Organizations
  - United Nationals
  - Radical Ideologies
  - Environmental problems
  - Information Technology

**DEBATE**

Have a debate about the positives and negatives of BREXIT for India – EU relations.

**8.5 Fascism**

Benito Mussolini founded a totalitarian party, movement and ideology in the inter-war period and ruled Italy for more than two decades. Fascism in Italian language has its origin in the word Fasci meaning the bundle of rods bound with a red cord round an axe helve. In Italian tradition, this symbol is powerful as it was borne by the magisterial attendants before the Roman Consuls as symbol of political power. The bundle of rods signifies unity and strength and Benito Mussolini chose the nomenclature to arouse the emotions of the cadre.

The most important factor for the emergence of Fascism can be attributed to the socio-economic problems of Italy in the post-war period. Though it was on the side of the allied powers in the First World War, there was a huge popular disappointment that it did not receive benefits from the post-war settlement. The country suffered from numerous socio-economic problems like unemployment, inflation, stagnation and instability in industrial sector.

R.M. Mac Iver regards fascism as a movement of lower middle class.

All sections of Italy like workers, farmers, middle class and even rich classes faced war-related miseries. Benito Mussolini, being a dangerous demagogue,
capitalized on this widespread discontent and conducted a ‘March on Rome’ in 1922. The political authorities in the face of fascist intimidation capitulated and Mussolini and National Fascist Party captured power without any violence.

**National Fascist Party**  
*(Partito Nazionale Fascista)*

![P.N.F. Logo]

**Basic Characteristics**

Fascism preached and practiced aggressive nationalism. Fascism proclaimed that Italy is the greatest nation in the world and created hatred against other nations and people. Fascism pursued imperialism both in theory and practice. Its expansionist drive re-ignited colonial rivalries in Africa precipitating the Second World War. A Fascist writer Giovanni Gentile wrote the book ‘Doctrine of Fascism’. He said that the Fascist State is a will to power and empire. The Roman tradition is here a powerful force. According to the doctrine of Fascism, empire is not only territorial or military or mercantile concept, but a spiritual and moral one. One can think of an empire, that is, a nation, which directly or indirectly guides other nations, without the need to conquer a single square kilometer of territory. Mussolini believed that the Fascist State is the ‘Third Rome’, a worthy successor to the First Ancient Roman Empire and second the Renaissance Rome that disseminated the seeds of renaissance throughout Europe.

Fascism extolled the virtues of war. Mussolini infamously stated ‘war is to man what maternity is to woman’. It deprecated peace as a slogan of the weak and cowardly. Fascism sought to honour women as ‘reproducers of the nation’.

Fascism rejected the idea of a limited State. It enthusiastically followed the concept of totalitarianism. Mussolini exclaimed, ‘Everything within the State, nothing outside the State, nothing against the State”. The State was empowered to create a radically new society. It exercised a complete control over the minds and actions of its citizens. Fascists provided a positive outlook to the concept of totalitarian State contending that the powerful authoritarian State is vital for the metamorphosis of Italy into a mighty nation and moulding of its citizens into politically-active brave people.

Fascism considered communism as its mortal enemy and endeavored hard to suppress it. The great Marxist thinker of Italy, Antonio Gramsci was jailed for 20 years. The official prosecutor in that case ended his peroration infamously demanding the judge ‘we should stop this brain working for 20 years”. Fascism banned political parties, movements and writings supporting communism.
Ideologically, it repudiated the Marxist concepts of State, society, class and revolution. As against the class-ridden society of communism, Fascism supported the organic unity of the State.

The doctrine of fascism arose as a theory of reaction to democracy, socialism and communism. While democracy and communism represented progressive focus of the modern age fascism sought to promote a tendency in reverse direction.

Fascism should more appropriately be called Corporatism because it is a merger of state and corporate power.

- Benito Mussolini

Notable fact of the Fascist State is its nature as a Corporate State. Every profession, trade or occupation possessed its own corporate organisation. The national objectives of the State were given primacy over everything. The corporate State was promoted to remove any conflict between employers and employees. Mussolini firmly believed that the disputes between the business classes and labour should and could be removed through the system of corporate bodies.

The workers were sternly told that strikes were illegal. They came to be affected greatly as wages were fixed low by the Fascist State and party. The corporate organizations suffered from corruption and inefficiency. The corporate State was the bedrock of Fascist economy but trampled upon the rights of the workers.

Criticism

Fascism was the most powerful totalitarian State that mankind had ever faced. It was undemocratic. Fascism was attacked as an opportunistic, intellectually dishonest ideology as it changed frequently its core ideological principles and postures. Though Fascism and Nazism had been cruel collaborators in inflicting massive death and destruction on humankind in the Second World War, Fascism as an ideology was more coherent and therefore continues to be used as a term even in the 21st century to assail dictators and totalitarian States.

8.6 Nazism

Adolf Hitler was the architect of the totalitarian ideology of Nazism that ruled Germany in the inter-war period. Hitler formed the Nazi Party (officially National Socialist German Workers’ Party) on the basis of a radical 25-point programme in 1920 that included nationalization of all major industries, forfeiture of war profits and freedom from the thralldom of money-lenders. Hitler was a wily demagogue and attracted all sections of German society by promising everything to everybody. He promised ‘food to every belly, cloth to everybody, work to every hand and house to every family’. He arrived at the citadels of power without shedding blood by manipulating the parliamentary and constitutional processes in 1933.
Cause of Emergence

The major cause of emergence of Hitler and Nazism can be located in the controversial Versailles Treaty of 1919 that was signed in Paris in the post-war settlement process. Hitler resorted to heighten the emotions of the ordinary German people by condemning the economic, military, and political humiliation of the German nation by the victorious allied powers. He authored the book ‘Mein Kempf’ meaning ‘My Struggle’ containing his views and ideas about German nation.

Core Features

Nazism believed in totalitarianism. It adhered to the historical slogan of the German philosopher Friedrich Hegel that ‘the State is the march of God on earth’. Complete obedience was demanded from the citizens.

Nazism resorted to systematic glorification of war. Hitler said, ‘War is eternal, war is universal. War is life. War is the origin of all things’. This war-mongering precipitated the Second World War and inflicted misery on mankind.

Perhaps the one of the most controversial principles of Nazism is its racial superiority and purity myth. Hitler considered the Aryan race as the most intelligent and superlative one calling it the master race of mankind. He detested other races living among or in the vicinity of German nation especially Jews and Slav races. A set of laws known as Nuremberg Laws were enacted in 1934 to preserve the racial purity of the Aryan race. Marital relations between Aryans and other impure races like Jews, gypsies were banned.

Concentration Camps

Nazism implemented a brutal campaign of persecution against the Jews that resulted in the killing of millions of people which is now observed as the Holocaust. Nazism suppressed Jews holding them responsible for the misery of German people. The disproportionately higher representation of Jews in the wealthy classes and their lower percentage presence in lower sections of society invited the wrath of the Nazi State. They were subjected to inhuman conditions in places of detention known as concentration camps.

Nazism was expansionist. Germany wanted to capture colonies so that the surplus population can be exported and it could overtake England as the colonial giant of the world.
Nazism rejected the prevailing political ideologies and systems like communism of Soviet Union, liberal democracy of the United States of America and internationalism of League of Nations.

Nazism believed in hero worship. The idea that ‘Germany is Hitler and Hitler is Germany’ was instilled in the minds of the people. The concept of equality of human beings was rejected and Adolf Hitler was addressed as the "Fuhrer" (leader). In fact, Germany itself was called as "Fuhrer-State" meaning the 'Leader-State'.

Nazism followed irrationalism and was vehemently against reason. Adhering to the philosophy of irrationalism it appealed to the emotions, sentiments and passions of the German people.

Nazism recognized only single party rule. All other political parties were banned and suppressed. The party resorted to mobilization of the people. Organizationally, it was based on strict hierarchy principles with Hitler concentrating all power at the top.

Succinctly to state, Nazism is criticized for being totalitarian, irrational, racist and inhuman ideology. The defeat of Germany in the Second World War and the suicide of Adolf Hitler extinguished the Nazi party and ideology. The emergence of the liberal democratic political system in Germany based on competitive party system has denied scope for the revival of Nazism.

**Activity**

**Film Screening**

Dear students, now you understand that Nazism inflicted genocide on innocent people. There are numerous films dealing with the atrocities of Nazism. For example, the film Schindler’s List dealt with Nazi crimes and won many Oscar Awards. You can arrange the screening of the film in the classroom.

**Summary**

Historically, Liberalism has three varieties - Negative Liberalism, Positive Liberalism and Libertarianism. Negative Liberalism considers the State as a necessary evil and advocates a limited State that performs the two functions of maintenance of law and order and enforcement of legally made contract. Positive Liberalism supports a social welfare State that promotes the general welfare and development of the people. Libertarianism re-applies the negative state of the 19th century in the contemporary period and propagates the idea of the minimal State.

The different types of socialism like Democratic Socialism, Fabian Socialism and Evolutionary Socialism differ from Marxism by endowing the state with democratic character and social welfare functions. All of them advocate staunchly the evolutionary and incremental means of change.
Laissez Faire: In French language it means Leave Alone. The state should leave the individual alone to pursue his life.

Market Economy: Economy driven by demand and supply.

Social Welfare State: The state that implements various social welfare programs.

Perestroika: In Russian language it means Restructuring. The former President of USSR Mikhail Gorbachev introduced reforms to restructure the economy.

Glasnost: In Russian language it means Openness. It refers to the political rights made available to the people of USSR by its President.

New Deal: The economic reforms introduced in the United States by President Franklin D. Roosevelt to reform American economy.

Democratic Centralism: The organizational principle of the communist party visualized by Lenin.

Signification of Communism: The adoption of Communism to suit the conditions of China by Mao.

Hegemony: Moral and intellectual leadership as provided by Gramsci.

Utopian Socialism: Socialism in the pre Marxian era where sympathy and compassion not science drove socialist ideas.
Fabian Socialism: Socialism named after the Roman General Fabius who was historically famous for adopting the military strategy of ‘wait and hit hard at the right moment’.

Guild Socialism: Socialism named after Guild that refers to the association of craftsmen and artisans of a particular profession in the medieval period in Europe.

Primordialism: The belief that the people of a particular language, region, religion, race etc. have developed a great intra-group affinity as they inhabit together since ancient period.

Imagined Communities: Benedict Anderson introduced the terms to argue that the nation is an imagined community exiting only in the mind, imagination of the people.

Proletariat: Karl Marx extensively used the word to denote the working class or industrial wage earning class.

U.S.S.R: Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. It was the official name of the communist country consisting of fifteen republics including Russia.

BREXIT: Exit of Britain from European Union.

Globalization: The integration of the world in economic and commercial domains.

Fascism: In Italian language Fasci means the bundle of rods signifying unity and strength.

Concentration Camps: The places where the hapless Jews were imprisoned without trial, exploited and killed mercilessly by the Nazi army.

Evaluation

I Choose the Correct Answer:

1. Which ideology considered the state as a necessary evil?
   a) Negative Liberalism
   b) Positive Liberalism
   c) Marxism
   d) Anarchism

2. Positive Liberalism viewed the state as an instrument of
   a) Law and Order
   b) Exploitation
   c) Social Welfare
   d) Revolution

3. Libertarianism was supported by
   a) Nock
   b) Nozick
   c) F.A. Hayek
   d) All the Above Thinkers

4. The concept of Hegemony was advocated by
   a) Karl Marx
   b) Lenin
   c) Antonia Gramsci
   d) Mao
5. The perspective that the communist party must be the vanguard of the communist revolution was propagated by
   a) Karl Marx
   b) Lenin
   c) Mao
   d) Stalin

6. The major contribution of Mao to the communist ideology is found in the form of
   a) Sinification of Communism
   b) Historical Materialism
   c) Surplus Value
   d) None of the Above

7. Match the following
   1. Bernard Shaw          A. Utopian Socialism
   2. Robert Owen            B. Evolutionary Socialism
   3. Eduard Bernstein      C. Guild Socialism
   4. D.H. Cole              D. Fabian Socialism

   a) 1-A  2-B  3-C  4-D
   b) 1-D  2-A  3- B  4-C
   c) 1-A  2-D  3-C  4-B
   d) 1-C  2-B  3-D  4-A

8. Fabian Socialism was named after
   a) Roman General
   b) Russian General
   c) English General
   d) Indian General

9. Guild Socialism advocated
   a) Modernized Medieval Guild System
   b) State Performing Functions Like Education
   c) Peaceful Methods of Change
   d) All the Above

10. Who among the following is not a communist thinker?
    a) Karl Popper
    b) Karl Marx
    c) Louis Althusser
    d) Antonio Gramsci

11. The Indian variety of Socialism is
    a) Syndicalism
    b) Fabian Socialism
    c) Socialistic Pattern of Society
    d) Guild Socialism

12. Who described Nationalism in terms of Imagined Communities?
    a) Karl Deutsch
    b) Benedict Anderson
    c) Michael Mann
    d) Anthony Giddens
13. Who said “The Proletariat has no fatherland”.
   a) Benedict Anderson  b) Karl Deutsch
   c) Aristotle           d) Karl Marx

14. Who authored the book Mein Kempf?
   a) Karl Marx           b) Plato
   c) Adolf Hitler        d) Adam Smith

15. Nazism believed in
   a) Aryan Racial Supremacy  b) National Equality
   c) Jewish Supremacy       d) European Supremacy

   Reason: The developed nations can exercise control and domination over the
devolving counties.
   (a) Both A and R are true and R is the correct explanation of A.
   (b) Both A and R are true but R is not the correct explanation of A.
   (c) A is true but R is false.
   (d) A is false but R is true.

II. Answer the following questions very shortly

17. What is meant by End of History?
18. Explain the term “Democratic Centralism”
19. Give a brief explanation about Neo Marxism
20. Name the leaders who implemented Libertarianism in their countries.
21. What is Instrumental Marxism?
22. Is nationalism based on Primordial Identities?
23. Explain the Ideological State Apparatuses.

III Answer the following questions shortly

24. Identify the functions of the State in Positive Liberalism
25. What do you understand about the concept of Hegemony propounded by
   Gramsci?
26. Provide a detailed account of the contributions of Lenin to Communism
27. Compare and contrast Communism with Socialism
28. Explore the argument that nationalism springs from Imagined Communities.
29. Comment on the statement that Nazism and Fascism are the enemies of a democratic, peaceful and egalitarian world.

30. Enumerate the causative factors of Indian nationalism

IV Answer the following questions in detail

31. Analyze the ideology of Libertarianism
32. Examine the main characteristics of the ideology of Mao
33. Describe the salient features of Fabian Socialism
34. Provide a detailed account on the theories of Nationalism
35. Discuss the chief components of Fascist Ideology

Reference Books

4. IGNOU Political Science Study Materials, B.A and M.A
Through this activity you will learn about different philosophies and the philosophers.

Steps

1. Use the URL or QR code to open the “histropedia” page.
2. An activity window histropedia home page will open, click on search and type communism on the top right corner of the activity window.
3. It will show the timeline of the philosophy from the early beginning till its date on communism.
4. Explore the different philosophies and the philosophers by clicking the year on the timeline, you will understand philosophy developed during that period and the links related to that particular philosophy will be shown.

Download Link
*Pictures are indicative only.
*If browser requires, allow Flash Player or Java Script to load the page.
URL: http://www.histropedia.com/
**Introduction**

We have learnt a few political ideologies in the previous chapter. Now we will study the remaining ideologies. The domain of political ideologies is very fertile and new ones germinate and blossom regularly. Our subject has witnessed the emergence of many new ideologies in the last four decades.

**Learning Objectives**

- To understand the etymology, characteristics, kinds and thinkers of Anarchism
- To comprehend the meaning, emergence and diverse schools of Feminism
- To know a few measures of the Indian State to promote women empowerment
- To have knowledge about the emergence, thinkers and main characteristics of communitarianism especially its stand on Man, Society, Rights and Justice
- To grasp the meaning and thinkers of Post Modernism and also to examine its views on multiplicity of truth, particularism and identity politics
- To know the basic concepts like Deep Ecology, Shallow Ecology and Ecological Political Theory
- To identify a few important Ecological Movements of India

**9.1 Anarchism**

Anarchism is a political ideology that advocates the model of self-governed societies based on innate cooperative instincts of man. Etymologically, anarchism is derived from the Greek word 'anarchos' meaning 'without authority'. One of the earliest political philosophers of anarchism was Pierre Joseph Proudhon who famously described profit as theft.

> Where there is authority, there is no freedom
> - Peter Kropotkin

Russian thinker Peter Kropotkin and Russian author Leo Tolstoy are among the other important advocates of this philosophy.

Anarchism as an ideology seeks to abolish all authority and emancipate man from the State, property and religion. It alternatively visualizes a society based on voluntary association of human beings.

Anarchism considers the State as an unnecessary evil. State is an evil because
it suppresses rights and liberties of man hindering his moral development. Unlike the negative liberalists who called the State necessary even though it is an evil, anarchism rejects the State as an unnecessary institution. They argue that the state does not perform any useful function in society and, therefore, it must be exterminated immediately. Bakunin, another famous anarchist thinker asserted that if there is a State, there must be domination and subjugation of one class by another class and therefore all States must vanish.

Anarchism does not champion the cause of disorder and disunity. On the contrary, it claims to embody order and unity. Human beings are naturally provided with cooperative instincts. They can lead a life of happiness and fulfilment guided by the instinct of voluntary cooperation. But the artificial institution of the State suppresses the cooperative instincts of man. It endangers freedom and rights of man. Anarchism aspires to destroy the State and implant in its place a new system of voluntary associations. Every man will voluntarily and enthusiastically participate in public life. Anarchy does not mean a society without rules, rather without rulers.

Anarchism believes in the principles of self-determination and self-ownership. Every human being has the right to self-determination and can decide his or her life based on his wishes and freedom. Similarly, every person has complete ownership of himself or herself and this is the most basic form of property. The State threatens these two important principles and therefore should be discarded.

Anarchists are peaceful people who reject initiated aggression against anyone without exception.
Anarchism opposes not only State but also other social institutions like family and religion criticizing them to be responsible for the abominable exploitation of man. Some anarchists equate property with tyranny and condemn it as source of crime.

Anarchism is similar to Marxism in demanding the abolition of the State. But while Marxism believes that the State will wither away after the establishment of socialism, anarchism demands the immediate destruction of the State.

Gerard Casey supported anarchism in the 21st century by stating that not only the totalitarian and repressive ones all States are criminal organizations.

A new system of Stateless societies is the cherished goal of anarchism.

There are different kinds of anarchism. They can be categorised as philosophical anarchism, socialist anarchism, revolutionary anarchism and libertarian anarchism. However, not all of them demand the abolition of the State. The libertarian anarchism wants to restrict the State to the minimum possible extent. Still, a majority of anarchist philosophers advocate the abolition of the State.

Philosophers, critical of anarchism, opined that anarchism is too optimistic of the human nature. Their assumptions are plainly naive. They are oblivious to the ground realities especially the selfish side of human beings. Not all human beings are instinctively cooperative. Moreover, as man is not only rational but also emotional at times strongly influenced by emotions a cooperative individual may become selfish. A world or society without the State will prove to be a source of immense misery as issues like terrorism, cybercrime, and environmental pollution will spiral out of control. The safety of the world becomes fragile in the absence of the State as extremist groups will gain access and control over nuclear weapons and herald death and destruction.

9.2 Feminism

Feminism refers to the movements and ideologies that strive to promote empowerment of women so that they achieve equality with men. Feminist schools of thought emerged on the
horizon of Modern Political Theory from the last decades of the 19th century. It was propelled by scientific realisation about the innate capability and equality of women with men.

There are different feminist schools of thought that can be broadly categorized as;

A. Liberal Feminism
B. Marxist Feminism
C. Radical Feminism
D. Eco Feminism
E. Post-Colonial Feminism

A. Liberal Feminism

The feminist movement, in its infant stage in the late 19th century, advocated equal political rights for women. It believed that the subordination of women in society could be rectified with electoral enfranchisement of women and endowment of other political and economic rights. The State was considered to be a gender neutral institution. Therefore granting of voting rights to women will culminate in the fruition of women development. The greatest feat of liberal feminism lies in winning voting rights to women in the democratic western countries.

B. Marxist Feminism

It placed gender inequality and exploitation in the origin of private property from the second stage of human history called Ancient Slave Society. Friedrich Engels, a close associate of Karl Marx, wrote the book “The Origins of The Family, Private Property and the State”. He argued that subordination of women emerged with the rise of private property as men controlled the property and used it to establish their domination over women. The struggle for women liberation should take place simultaneously with the struggle for liberation of the working class. Marxist revolution will lead to the destruction of capitalism and the establishment of communism where there will be no private property. There will be equality among not only men but also between men and women.

C. Radical Feminism

There are no innate differences between men and women and women came to be subjugated deliberately for the purpose of exploitation, is the ideological crux of Radical Feminism.

"A Woman is not born but made"
- Simone de Beauvoir

Simone de Beauvoir, the famous radical feminist and author of the work “The Second Sex”, asserted that “A woman is not born but made”. Both woman and man are endowed with same capacities when they are born. Male-dominated
society and culture known as patriarchy creates through indoctrination the inequality between them. The differences in gender are created artificially and unjustly. We can understand this assertion when we note the enormous differences in the status and position accorded to women among the cultures of the world.

Carole Hanisch, a famous Radical Feminist, brought out the most important slogan of Radical Feminism - Personal is Political - to reveal patriarchal domination over women. The liberal politics divides the activities of humankind into personal and public domains. The personal domain is considered to be a sphere of personal life where family operates. It is believed that there is no scope for conflict and domination in this sphere and only love, affection and empathy are relevant. Women live in the personal sphere and therefore there is no need for political rights, power and authority for women.

But the public domain is a sphere of struggle, competition and therefore politics. This domain is dominated exclusively by men. Therefore, men alone participate in politics and possess political power.

Radical Feminism repudiates the above liberal exposition and asserts that private and personal domain is also subject to politics. The relationship between man and women in personal domain is not always characterised by the considerations of love and affection. Even here struggle, competition and domination operate. For example the relations between husband and wife and a brother and sister are not always friendly and affectionate.

ACTIVITY

Creative Skill

Women form one half of humankind. Their safety and welfare are very important.

Dear Students, each student in the class must think creatively and come up with suggestions to make the world safe for women as Mothers, Sisters, Classmates, Friends, Neighbours and Strangers.

Struggle and competition can also be found in them. Therefore, we should speak about politics, women rights, gender equality in personal domain too. Radical Feminism argues for a revolutionary re-ordering of society and politics to implant gender equality in personal and public domains.

D. Eco Feminism

Eco Feminism provides a feminist interpretation of nature. The two ideologies of Feminism and Environmentalism are fused in Eco Feminism. It argues that patriarchy is the root cause of environmental degradation and women exploitation. The important architects of Eco Feminism are Francoise D’Eaubonne, Rosemary Ruether, Ynestra King and Vandana Shiva.
There are two schools of thought in Eco Feminism. They are Radical Feminism and Cultural Feminism. Radical Feminism asserts that patriarchy or male-dominated system subjugates and degrades both environment and women. Male domination of society must be eliminated to realise the twin objectives of environmental preservation and women empowerment.

The other school, Cultural Feminism argues that women are closer to nature as both are food providers and play indispensable role in biological reproduction. The environmental degeneration affects women more than men. The division of work between the two genders leaves women more disadvantaged in the age of environmental crisis. They suffer more as in male dominant societies they are given the responsibilities directly linked with nature.

E. Post-Colonial Feminism

Post-Colonial Feminism arose as an ideology and movement in the 1980s in the countries of Asia and Africa that were formerly enslaved in colonialism. Audre Lorde contributed to the emergence of Post-Colonial Feminism in one masterpiece essay “The Master’s Tools Will Never Dismantle the Master’s House”. Gyatri Spivak, Chandra Talpade Mohanty and Ethel Crowley are important Post-Colonial Feminists.

Audre Lorde said, “To imply, however, that all women suffer the same oppression simply because we are women is to lose sight of the many varied tools of patriarchy. It is to ignore how those tools are used by women without awareness against each other... As an African-American woman in White patriarchy, I am used to having my archetypal experience distorted and trivialised.”

It revolts against the western feminist movements’ attempts at universalizing their experience. Women do not constitute a single and homogenous category as they are differentiated by a host of factors like class, race, religion and country. The mainstream feminism suffers from several deficiencies when applied to non-western societies. The Post-Colonial Feminism criticises the negative impact of western colonialism on the social economic and political universe of women in Asia and Africa, a reality that was ignored and never experienced by the mainstream feminist thought. They had experienced racism, slavery, forced migration and numerous
other evils that make them different from the Western women.

It also condemns the projection of the western women as educated, politically-conscious, modern and empowered and non-western women as passive, powerless victims. Post-Colonial Feminism argues that women in these societies are victims of double colonisation represented by the exploitative forces of colonialism and patriarchy. Post-Colonial Feminism castigates the visible indifference of the mainstream post colonial political thought to the peculiar sufferings of the women in their societies and countries.

Indian State and Women Empowerment

Not only feminism but all recent theories in political science emphasise the need to promote gender equality and women empowerment. Indian State had implemented certain crucial measures for protecting women.

DEBATE

There is a long standing demand for women reservation in Parliament and State Legislatures. The struggle is for reserving one third of the seats for women. Arrange a comprehensive debate in the class on the pros and cons of women reservation proposal.

REAL MAN
DON'T HIT

End Domestic violence.

The 73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendment Acts reserve one-third of the seats in panchayat and urban local bodies for women. The implementation of reservation in elected local bodies in the last two decades has led to political empowerment of women. The Supreme Court of India had provided ‘Vishakha Guidelines’ to protect women from sexual harassment in working places. Accordingly, the Union government enacted The Sexual Harassment of Women at Workplace (Prevention, Prohibition and Redressal) Act, 2013. The Act establishes Internal Complaints Committee and Local Complaints Committee to provide redressal to women seeking justice from
sexual harassment in their workplace. Parliament had earlier passed The Protection of Women from Domestic Violence Act, 2005 to provide justice and protection from violence within their homes.

In conclusion, one can say gender equality paves way for empowerment of the half of humankind.

### 9.3 Communitarianism

Communitarianism emerged as a political doctrine during the 1980s when Michael Sandel authored the book ‘Liberalism and the Limits of Justice’. He criticised the libertarianism and its thinker John Rawls in that work. The other political scientists supporting communitarianism include Alisdair MacIntyre, Michael Walzer, Charles Taylor, Amitai Etzioni and Will Kymlicka. Though the British Socialist Goodwyn Barmy coined the word “communitarian” in the 1840s, the doctrine of communitarianism emerged only towards the end of the 20th century.

Communitarianism rose as a revolt against the prevailing two ideologies of libertarianism and Marxism. It criticised the thinkers of libertarianism for their over emphasis on individuals. It rejected Marxism for being committed to class-based action and analysis. However, the opposition was directed against Libertarianism that had become the ruling philosophy of mankind especially in the western world.

### Importance of Community

Communitarianism argues that man is not born in a vacuum. He is a social and cultural animal. Individuals are born in a community or culture and therefore inherit it. Their beliefs, behavior, skills, capacities, attitudes etc are predominantly influenced by the community. Every individual builds on these commonly available and acquired capacities to make a mark in his or her life time. Man is not an atomistic entity existing alone but is embedded in the community. The individual is not ‘unencumbered self’ (completely free) from society but ‘situated self’ (rooted and planted) in society.

### What is Communitarian Society?

- A Community is commonly considered a social unit (a group of people) who share something in common.
- A Group of people who live in the same area.
- A Group of nations.

### ACTIVITY

**Self-Introspection:**

Every person is greatly influenced by the community in which he is born and resides. As a person born and residing in Tamil Nadu you must have acquired many skills, traits, habits and talents. Each one of you must prepare the list of skills and habits that you have acquired by living in Tamil Nadu and present it in the class.
Robert D. Putnam played a crucial role in the emergence of communitarianism. He analysed the game of Bowling in America. In his analysis he found that in the earlier days, a large number of Americans played the game. They built social networks, knowledge and skills (Social Capital) by constantly interacting with other people in the community while playing the game. But gradually people lost interest in the game with the arrival of new forces and facilities like television, internet, etc. As people spent more time in their technology-driven gadgets, their social interaction with other members came down leading to erosion of social capital. Ultimately, the quality of democracy also suffered as people have limited social interactions and public engagement. The political apathy of people eroded the strength of democracy.

**Communitarianism Meaning**

Communitarianism is a philosophy that emphasizes the connection between the individual and the community.

Although the community might be a family UNIT, **Communitarianism usually is understood, in the wider, philosophical sense,** As a collection of interactions, Among a Communitarian philosophy is based upon the belief that a person's social identity and personality are largely molded by community relationships, with a smaller degree of development being placed on individualism.

In short Balancing the Rights and Responsibilities of Individual with Rights and Responsibilities of Community.
For example a child born in Tamil Nadu speaks Tamil language fluently and not Japanese where as a child born in Japan speaks Japanese fluently and not Tamil. A man living in a community where computer technology is already available in developed form may become a skilled person in software domain. On the contrary, a man living in a remote community that has not witnessed the growth of information technology will not have adequate software skills.

**Concept of State**

Communitarianism considers the State as a positive instrument that promotes the idea of the common good. The concept of common good is present in every community. The community develops a set of goals, practices and measures that collectively promote the fundamental welfare of all. The State should promote the realisation of the common good and act against the activities that promote individual good in contradiction with common good. It should protect and promote those cultural traditions of the community that symbolise and sustain the common good. Communitarianism supports a State that is democratically elected and constituted. They strongly aspire for a State that is responsible and responsive to demands of the community.

**Concept of Rights**

Communitarianism believes that rights and responsibilities are intimately related. It rejects the excessive reliance of libertarianism on the concept of individual autonomy and rights. Instead, it focuses on a new concept of rights where common good is given importance. They strongly contend that the common good of the community has supremacy and priority over the rights of the individuals as it is prior to them. Every person may have his own conception of good but such individual good must be subordinated to the idea of common good. A new concept of positive rights is propagated where in a wide variety of rights like State-subsidised education, State-subsidized housing, safe environment, universal healthcare are demanded for the community members. A synthesis between rights and responsibilities is advocated by certain thinkers who belong to Responsive Communitarianism.

**ACTIVITY**

**Become a Member:**

There are many community organizations in your neighbourhood like Youth Service Centres. Go to their meeting and even enroll yourself in some of these organizations. Observe and participate in their activities. Analyze and prepare a report on the functioning of these community level organizations devoid of caste and religious affiliations and discuss with your friends.

**Positive Rights of Communitarianism**

- State Subsidized Education
- State Subsidized Housing
- Clean Environment
- Universal Health Care
Concept of Justice

Communitarians attack John Rawls and other libertarian thinkers on the concept of justice. They reject universalism of libertarianism, their argument that the concept of justice is universally applicable as it is based on reason. On the contrary, communitarians articulate the particularistic view of justice. Every community develops its own notions of justice and therefore it differs from society to society.

Therefore, we can conclude that Communitarianism as a political doctrine believes in the indispensability of community for the development of the ‘situated and embedded man’. The positive State should concentrate on the provision of positive rights to community and its people so that common good can be preserved and promoted. But Libertarianism still criticises Communitarianism as preparing the path for the emergence of collectivism and authoritarianism.

9.4 Postmodernism

Postmodernism refers to a variety of ideas that criticize modernity and emerge as its successor and rival. The major proponents of Postmodernism include Fredrick Nietzsche, Jean-Francois Lyotard, Michel Foucalt and Jacques Derrida. Modernity has dominated the political theory in the last 200 years. Rationality, universalism, reductionism are among the dominant principles of modernity. Postmodernism challenges these principles and advocates alternatives. It emerged in the last three decades in western political theory.

Fredrick Nietzsche is called Father of Post Modernism. He famously said “God is dead”. He argued that man should stop the search for the ultimate truth to explain human life. It is beyond our capacity.

Modernity believes in universalism and reductionism. It explains all the phenomena through a single factor or one ultimate truth. For example, Karl Marx said human life depends on economy and all problems can be solved by eliminating the right to private property. Similarly Fredrick Hegel, the German philosopher argued that the world is nothing but the embodiment of World Spirit. Postmodernism, in contrast, advocates that the world and our life is complex and cannot be explained by a single factor. A host of factors like culture, language, religion, politics, and economy decide human life and this world.

Postmodernism believes that truth is not singular but plural. There are multiple
versions of truth. For example, take any one leader or historical event. Different people will talk about the leader or the event differently. One person may call that leader a visionary. Another may call him a demagogue. Yet another may have a different perspective. All may be right in their own perspective and interpretation. The world is not constituted only by the two colours of black and white. There are more colours positioned in a continuum in between black and white.

Jacque Derrida was a French philosopher who advocated an innovative Post-modern concept called deconstruction. He provides deconstruction as an approach to understand meanings and texts. There are multiple meanings in a text and as human language is not so developed it may not be possible for the author of a text to communicate all his thoughts and the receiver or reader of the text may understand the meanings differently. Multiple interpretations of a text exist and therefore Derrida suggests deconstructing the meanings of the text.

Postmodernism opposes the universalism of modernity. In contrast it supports Particularism. It argues that the parts are more important than the whole. For example, modernity pays attention to universal theory of rights or welfare. Post-modernism focuses on the rights of particular social groups like women, tribal and the like, who are less privileged. Modernity devotes attention to systemic change but Postmodernism focuses on emancipating or changing the condition of specific social groups.

Identity politics is interlinked with post - modernism. Identity Politics refers to the activities of specific social groups,
usually the weak, vulnerable and under-privileged communities who organise themselves under the banner of their own caste, race, and gender to resist domination of other groups over them. The members of these groups call themselves ‘we’ and oppose the activities of others, ‘they’. Postmodernism and Identity Politics promote the empowerment of local, specific communities.

Postmodernism has been criticised by many thinkers and scholars. In fact, Alan Kirby, a British cultural critic, said Postmodernism is dead as its cultural period is over and the world has entered digi-modernism or the Era of Digital Modernism.

9.5 Environmentalism

The advent of modern science and technology driven development had devastated the planet’s environment precipitating several ecological crises like ozone depletion, climate change and acid rain. Environmentalism arose as a protest movement and ideology against the perilous destruction of the earth. We have only one habitable planet in the entire universe and there is no alternative home and therefore protecting the environment assumes paramount significance.

Gandhiji says that there is enough for everyone’s need but not for anyone’s greed.

There exists a profound debate in philosophy about the relationship between man and ecology, development

Black Protests in the United States of America

Kids, your turn now!
Respect the environment
Save Mother Nature
go GREEN

Humanization of Nature and Naturalization of Human Being

Do YOU KNOW?

there once was a planet with Gaia. Humanity wrecked it entire. It had species galore. None exist anymore. The whole was reduced to a pyre.
and environment. The Deep Ecology versus Shallow Ecology controversy is the central point of discussion in the debate.

**Shallow Ecology**

Shallow Ecology refers to an ideology that approaches ecology through an anthropocentric and utilitarian outlook. American philosopher Anthony Weston is the greatest supporter of shallow ecology. It considers the human beings as fulcrum of life in this world. It accords the position of centrality and supremacy to man in ecology. It adopts an instrumental value of nature meaning that the ecology is important only as it useful to human welfare. The non-human biological forms and inanimate world are nothing but natural resources for human life.

**Deep Ecology**

Norwegian ecological philosopher Arne Naess coined the term Deep Ecology in 1973. He was influenced by Rachel Carson and Mahatma Gandhi. Deep ecology theory argues that the planet Earth is constituted by three interlinked parts of the human beings, non-human biological forms and the inanimate objects and forces. The human beings are one among the millions of living organisms in this world. They do not possess any superiority over other organisms. Anthropocentrism, that is, the belief in the centrality and supremacy of human beings in this world must be discarded.

It looks for technological solutions for any environmental problem. If pollution imperils environment then alternative energy sources that are renewable and environment friendly should be developed. It believes in the strategy of three R’s - reduce, reuse and recycle.

**Anthropocentrism**

Wrong Perception | Right Perception
---|---
Anthropocentrism | Biocentric Equality

**EGO** | **ECO**
---|---
The non-human biological forms also possess intrinsic value, inherent worth and identity. It believes in biocentric equality. The human beings need to satisfy the
vital needs by making careful use of this biodiversity. Preservation of biodiversity is indispensable. The interference of human beings on the domain of the non-human sphere of the planet so far, is destructive, excessive and unacceptable. There is an urgent need to limit the population of the world as the current population explosion has injected enormous stress on the ecology.

"Humans are part of the environment and not conquerors of it."
- Aldo Leopold

We should change our technology, philosophy, economy and politics so that ecological crises can be rectified and averted in the future. The human beings are ‘ecological selves’ the materialistic and consumerist life style must be changed and a new ecologically-sensitive social and economic order must be created. We should reduce our ‘ecological footprint’ by adopting a meager resources based life style. As the nomenclature indicated deep ecology asks deeper questions of how and why examining philosophically the impact of human life as one part of the ecosphere on other components.

### Tenets of Deep Ecology vs Shallow Ecology

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The Eight-Tenets of Deep Ecology Paraphrased</th>
<th>The Eight-Tenets of shallow Ecology</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. All creatures on Earth have intrinsic value.</td>
<td>1. All creatures on Earth have value only for their usefulness to humans.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. The whole diversity of living beings, simple as well as complex, contributes to life's richness.</td>
<td>2. Complex creatures (ie humans) are more important than simpler ones.</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. Humans should use other beings only to satisfy their basic needs.</td>
<td>3. Humans should always use all resources for their material and economic advantage.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. The health of non-humans depends on decreasing the number of humans.</td>
<td>4. The human population can increase without restraint.</td>
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<tr>
<td>5. Human interference with the world is excessive and worsening.</td>
<td>5. Technological progress will solve all problems.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Human policy (economics, technology and ideology) must change radically.</td>
<td>6. Materialism and consumerism should govern human society.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Quality of life is more important than standard of living.</td>
<td>7. The standard of living should keep rising.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Every human who believes in these points must work for change.</td>
<td>8. Leave environmental problems for the experts to solve.</td>
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Political Theory and Ecology

The words environment and ecology are synonymous. Andrew Heywood, the noted political scientist classifies ecology in political theory into three kinds

- Social Ecology
- Modernist Ecology
- Deep Ecology

A) Social Ecology

The term ‘Social Ecology’ was coined by American philosopher Murray Bookchin. It advocates radical changes in the existing social and political structures to make them ecologically correct. There are three distinct trends in Social Ecology

1. Eco-socialism
2. Eco-anarchism
3. Eco-feminism

1. Eco-Socialism

Rudolph Bahro in his book ‘From Red to Green’ supported eco-socialism. It considers capitalism as the enemy of ecology. By breeding materialism and consumerism capitalism has inflicted horrific destruction on the environment. The unlimited right to private property, the cardinal principle of capitalism endangers the precious health and wealth of the planet’s ecology. The nature is seen only as a commodity to be traded in the market and consumed by the man. Eco-socialism propounds a new approach in politics that combines socialism and ecologism. Socialism alone can nurture environment. The state must be imparted with a socialist content and direction to end the evil of capitalism and to protect environment

2. Eco-anarchism

Murray Bookchin advocated eco-anarchism. It considers authority as the enemy of ecology. The emergence of authority in human history in the form of State, religion and even family had led to the domination of man over man. The same forces have produced the subjugation and domination of nature by man. Man is a voluntary animal and his original instinct is the cooperative instinct.

In the ideal society, man establishes various associations based on voluntary cooperation to achieve development. But artificial forces of State, religion, private property have subverted the system and created structures of domination and subjugation. They have also wrought
havoc on ecology. Therefore, we should create a new society based on voluntary instincts to protect man and ecology.

3. Eco-feminism

Carolyn Merchant in the book ‘The Death of Nature’ propounded eco-feminism. This perspective considers patriarchy as the enemy of ecology and feminism as its beloved friend. Patriarchy means domination of man over women. Eco-feminism argues that patriarchy created the domination of man over not only women but over nature also. Patriarchy follows instrumental reason whereby both women and ecology are seen merely in terms of use value, as objects to be exploited and not as subjects endowed with life and intrinsic worth. Eco-feminism demands gender and ecology sensitive politics so that a new world of justice and sustainability can be established.

B) Modernist Ecology

Modernist ecology is synonymous with shallow ecology. It attempts to promote a new harmony between liberalism and ecology. The liberal tenets and approach should be reformed so that the menace of ecological destruction can be avoided. It advocates a new ‘enlightened anthropocentricism’ where man, being the centre of the planet must consider the long-term interests of humanity and ecology in his developmental activities and should not be driven solely by short-term interests. Modernist ecology believes in the concept of “inter-generational justice” and argues that we did not inherit the earth from our previous generations but borrowed it from the future generations of humanity and therefore, there is a moral responsibility to protect and preserve the earth for their life in the future. The concept of ‘sustainable development’ is a basic characteristic of modernist ecology. It argues that ‘getting richer faster’ should not be the goal of human world rather ‘getting richer slower’ should be its guiding approach.

The modernist ecology is not a homogenous ideology. On the contrary, it is heterogeneous. There are different perspectives and prescriptions. Certain followers have called for the establishment of a totalitarian ‘Green State’ to protect ecology. Another group of supporters demanded ‘Green Capitalism’. The majority of advocates and supporters of modernist ecology suggested the green tilted State intervention in market to protect ecology and satisfy human interests.

C) Deep Ecology

It advocates a new style of politics, policy and political attitude towards nature. It argues for a fundamental shift in the relationship between politics and nature. Politics must understand, respect and protect the element of interconnectedness found in ecology linking the human beings, other biological forms and the inanimate world.
Ecological Movements in India

The destruction of ecology through modern development had resulted in the emergence of many protest movements all over the world. India also has witnessed many ecological protest movements seeking to protect environment and biodiversity. We shall study four such important ecological movements of India:

A. Bisnoi Movement

Bisnoi non-violent struggle was a successful ecological movement in the 18th century in Rajasthan. Bisnoi is a religious sect in the Thar desert of Rajasthan founded by Guru Jambeshwar in medieval period. Bisnoi in Hindi means 29 and the sect came to be named after the 29 cardinal principles the founder expounded. The sect promoted a socio-religious belief system in perfect harmony with ecology creating a lush green local ecosystem in the desert.

B. Chipko Movement

C. Appiko Movement

D. Save Silent Valley Movement

ACTIVITY

Empathy for Environment

Attentively search your neighborhood, village, town and city. You will come to know many Non-Governmental Organizations, inspiring individuals who are dedicated to preserving environment. You can join them. You can start Green Clubs or Green Brigade in your school and take up environment related activities like tree planting, pond cleaning, taking care of the injured animals etc.

The maharaja of Jodhpur desired to construct a palace in the 18th century and sent the army to the Khejarli village to cut the acacia trees in the locally nurtured forest. The ecologically-conscious local population protested against the cutting of trees. An elderly woman named Amrita Devi was in the frontline of the protest and when the army refused to desist from cutting the trees she hugged the trees asking the army to cut her head instead of cutting the trees. The army remorselessly cut her head off and concerned but determined villagers came forward in a line to offer their lives. A total of 363 people sacrificed their lives for protecting the forest. Ultimately the maharaja after knowing about the terrible events in the village recalled the army and offered his apologies for the massacre. He also officially designated the area as a protected forest. Bisnoi Khejarli movement is perhaps, the first greatest ecological movement of modern India.
B. Chipko Movement

Chipko movement was a non-violent popular, ecological movement organised by villagers in the mountain state of Uttarkhand in 1973. ‘Chipko’ in Hindi means to hug. The agitators of Chipko movement embraced the trees to protect them from being cut thereby earning the name Chipko movement. The contractors of sports goods company began to cut the trees in the Alknanda valley of the Uttarkhand state (part of Utter Pradesh at that time) after getting government clearance. The enraged local population, especially women protested in a non-violent manner by embracing the trees and prevented the contractors. The organisational leadership was provided by an NGO called Dasholi Gram Swarajya Mandal (DGSM) that was formed a few years back by a noted social activist Chandi Prasad Bhatt.

The famous environmentalist Sundarlal Bahuguna joined the agitation and appealed to the union government to ban logging in the Himalayan forests. The large-scale participation of women was a significant and laudable feature of the Chipko movement. Many women leaders like Dhoom Singh Negi, Bachni Devi played a prominent role fighting for forest rights of the people. The movement gradually spread across many parts of the Himalayan Mountains forcing the government to officially ban logging from 1980. The movement symbolises the successful fusion of three major ideologies of feminism, environmentalism and Gandhism.

C. Appiko Movement

The Appiko movement is an ecological protest movement in Uttar Kannada district of Karnataka in the Western Ghats. It was inspired by the Chipko Movement and ‘appiko’ in Kannada means to embrace. The Uttar Kannada district falls in the Western Ghats. The launch of many developmental projects in the district has precipitated deforestation reducing the forest cover of the district from a massive 81 percent in 1950 to an alarming 24 percent in 1980. The ecologically-conscious people launched the movement with three-fold objectives of conservation of remaining tropical forests, afforestation of the denuded forests and dissemination of ideas on rational utilisation of forests.

D. Save Silent Valley Movement

The silent valley is an ecologically rich terrain in the Western Ghats in the Palakkad district of Kerala consisting of the tropical moist evergreen forests largely undisturbed by human activities. The valley is named after Sairandhiri (Draupati), the wife of Pandavas in
the Indian epic Mahabharata. Another explanation of the nomenclature says that when the Englishmen visited there during the colonial period the valley was observed to be strangely silent because of the supposed absence of the noise-making insect Cicadas.

The valley is rich in biodiversity. The lion-tailed macaque is abundantly found in the valley. There is even an argument that the valley itself is named after the binomial name of lion-tailed macaque, Macaca Silenus. The Kerala State Electricity Board began to implement Silent Valley Hydro Electricity Project across the river Kunthipuzha in the valley in the 1970s.

The Kerala Sasthra Sahitya Parishad, other civil society organisations and ecologically-conscious people conducted an intense protest against the project. They criticised the negative impact of the project on the environment especially the bio diversity of the valley. The Kerala government, in the face of stiff opposition from diverse sections of society dropped the project in 1980. The valley was declared a national park in 1985 and later on it came to be designated as the core area of the Nilgiris Biosphere Reserve. The Save Silent Valley movement is one of the most successful ecological movements of India in late 20th century.

**Silent Valley and Lion Tailed Macaque**

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**Summary**

Anarchism as an ideology seeks to abolish all authority and emancipate man from state, property and religion. It calls for the immediate destruction of the state describing it as unnecessary evil. It alternatively visualizes a society based on voluntary association of human beings.

Feminism fights for the emancipation of women from patriarchy. Liberal Feminism, Radical Feminism, Marxist Feminism, Radical Feminism, Eco Feminism and Post-Colonial Feminism strive for emancipation of women in their unique ways fighting against patriarchy, private property and authority.

Communitarianism articulates the centrality of community in the life of individuals. It rejects the argument that individual is an atomistic being and on the contrary considers them as embedded or situated in the community. It believes in a state that seeks to promote common good and positive rights.

Postmodernism rose as a reaction against modernity and rejects universalism and reductionism. It contends that reality is based on interpretation and therefore is not singular but plural. Contrary to modernity that devotes attention to systemic change; Postmodernism focuses on emancipating or changing the condition of specific social groups and supports identity politics.
Environmentalism seeks to preserve and conserve the nature. Philosophically there are two forms namely Shallow Ecology and Deep Ecology. Shallow Ecology believes in the principle of Anthropocentrism and provides the position of centrality to the human beings in this world. Deep Ecology in contrast articulates the principle of Bio Centric Equality where all biological forms including the human beings are equal and calls for ecological conservation. The political theory has three major schools of Modernist Ecology, Social ecology and Deep Ecology. They attempt to promote their own perspectives towards environment-development debate.

Glossary

**Anarchism** : A system in which no authority exists and cooperation among members is the basis of its functioning

**Feminism** : The ideology that seeks women empowerment and gender equality

**Patriarchy** : The system in which male domination over women exists in family, politics, economy, culture, religion etc.

**Post-Colonialism** : The condition of countries in their independence period after the end of colonialism (For example, India after 1947)

**Colonialism** : The process in which the countries of Asia and Africa were enslaved and exploited by European countries

**Vishakha Guidelines** : The guidelines contained in the judgement of the Supreme Court to protect women from sexual harassment in working places

**Gender Equality** : Equality between man and woman

**Common Good** : The common welfare or interest of the community

**Not Unencumbered Self** : Human being is not a completely free person as he lives along with others in the community

**Situated Self** : Human being is rooted in the community

**Reductionism** : The approach to reduce the world to one particular factor while interpreting it

**Universalism** : The belief that one factor or idea is universally valid.

**Particularism** : The approach that every entity has its own particular identity or validity. Every region, community, culture is special or unique

**Deconstruction** : Understanding the hidden and inner meanings while reading or interpreting something without accepting the apparent meaning

**Identity Politics** : The political mobilization of the usually less privileged around their language, race, gender, caste etc. for achieving justice, equality and development

**Anthropocentrism** : The attitude that places the human as the superior life form and other biological forms as inferior ones existing for the pleasure and life of Human Beings
Biocentric Equality: All biological life forms are equal and human beings are not superior to other animals and plants in this planet.

Inter Generational Justice: The present generation must hand over this planet to future generations without greedily destroying the environment.

Sustainable Development: We should consume natural resources carefully keeping in mind the needs of future generations.

Deep Ecology: We should understand deeply the negative impact of activities of the human beings on environment and the urgent need to preserve the ecology of the world.

Chipko Movement: In Hindi it means Hug. The people hugged the trees to protect them from being cut.

Appiko Movement: In Kannada language Appiko means Hug. The people hugged the trees in Karnataka to save them from being cut.

I Choose the Correct Answer:

1. Find out the false statement about Anarchism
   a) It strives for Anarchy
   b) It supports order
   c) It argues for co-operation among human beings
   d) It is against the state

2. Among the following who believed in Anarchism?
   a) Karl Marx
   b) Joseph Proudhon
   c) Adam Smith
   d) John Locke

3. Which institution was opposed by Anarchism as exploitative in nature?
   a) State
   b) Private Property
   c) Religion
   d) All the Above

4. Feminism seeks to promote the empowerment of
   a) Women
   b) Children
   c) Minorities
   d) Tribes

5. The meaning of the statement “Personal is Political” is
   a) We should discuss the personal life of leaders
   b) We should expect political honesty
c) We should speak about the political rights of women in family and politics
d) We should ignore the personal life of politicians

6. Who is called the Father of Postmodernism?
   a) Jacques Derrida      b) Michel Foucault
   c) Fredrick Nietzsche   d) Karl Marx

7. Who coined the term “Deep Ecology”?
   a) Michel Foucault      b) Robert D Putnam
   c) Audre Lorde          d) Arne Naess

8) Find out the wrong statement of Post Modernism
   a) It repudiates modernity
   b) It says that the truth is not singular but plural
   c) It opposes universalism
   d) It rejects particularism

9. Post Modernism is linked with
   a) Identity Politics  b) National Politics
   c) International Politics  d) Class Politics

10. Communitarianism believes in
    a) Religion         c) Community
    d) Class           e) Language

11. According to Communitarianism man is
    a) Atomistic        b) Selfish
    c) Religious        d) Embedded in Community

12. Communitarianism propagates
    a) Natural Rights  b) Moral Rights
    c) Positive Rights d) Economic Rights

13. Match the following
    1. Modernist Ecology     A. Biocentric Equality
    2. Deep Ecology          B. Reduce, Recycle and Reuse
    3. Shallow Ecology        C. Hug the Trees Movement
    4. Chipko Movement        D. Sustainable Development
14. Appiko Movement meant a movement
   a) Hug the trees to save them  
   b) Serve the poor by feeding them  
   c) Educate the less privileged people  
   d) Cure the illness of the people

15. The school of Feminism more apt for the women of countries like India, Namibia is
   a) Post-Colonial Feminism  
   b) Liberal Feminism  
   c) Radical Feminism  
   d) Marxian Feminism

   Reason: Man is not superior to other biological forms in this planet. All forms of life
   including man are equal

   (a) Both A and R are true and R is the correct explanation of A.
   (b) Both A and R are true but R is not the correct explanation of A.
   (c) A is true but R is false.
   (d) A is false but R is true.

II. Answer the following questions very shortly

1. Explain the term Anthropocentrism.
2. What is Identity Politics?
3. Find out the meaning of the term “Situated Self”
4. What are Vishakha Guidelines?
5. Provide the meaning of Feminism.
6. Why does Anarchism say that the state is an unnecessary evil?
7. Give the etymological origin of Anarchism.

III Answer the following questions shortly

8. Comment on the famous statement of Radical Feminism “Personal is Political”
10. Justify the argument of Post Modernism that truth is not singular but plural.
11. Elaborate the concept of Positive Rights of Communitarianism.
12. What is the alternative of Anarchism to state and how far do you agree with its feasibility?
13. What is Eco Feminism and do you agree with its assertion that nature and women are the twin victims of Patriarchy?
IV Answer the following questions in detail

15. Critically evaluate the chief characteristics of Anarchism.
16. Discuss the various schools of Feminism.
17. Enumerate the major Environmental Movements of India.
18. Analyze the major strands of Ecological Political Theory.

Reference books

6. IGNOU Political Science Study Materials, B.A and M.A
UNIT 10

Public Opinion and Party System

Introduction

This chapter focuses on the meaning and evolution of the Party system as adopted in various countries of the world. Tracing the emergence of party system in modern democracies we seek to explain the nature, characteristics, types and functions of political parties especially in a democracy. Deriving from this general background, the evolution of the party system in India at the national and regional levels are studied, with a specific focus on Tamil Nadu. The chapter also presents the meaning and importance of public opinion and its role in the effective working of a democracy.

Learning Objectives

- To define the meaning of party system
- To identify the role, function and types of party system within a democracy
- To trace the historical evolution of the party system in modern times.
- To outline the structure of the party system in India at the national and regional levels
- To evaluate the importance of public opinion in the effective functioning of a democracy
- To assess the impact and limitations of the party system

10.1 Defining Public Opinion:

Public opinion can be defined as a psychological and social process in which the behaviour of each member of the public is conditional to that of all others with similar beliefs. In short it is the collective views of the people, their attitudes and opinions.

It is the people's collective preferences on matters relating to government and politics. It is based on the premise that collective individual opinions matters in a democracy and public opinion should carry more weight than individual opinion. Others opine that public opinion can be influenced and controlled by organized groups, government leaders, and media elite.
In fact, democracy derives its authority from the people. Public opinion is not the opinion of an individual, though he or she may be a highly respected person. It is not a private opinion. It is also not an expert opinion, irrespective of the wisdom of the expert. Public opinion is an organized and considered opinion of a section or many sections of the people on any public issue or concern.

Role of Public Opinion:
Public opinion is an essential element for successful working of a democracy where the views of all citizens are respected and no government can survive by ignoring it.

**ACTIVITY**

Read the following article by one of the senior political leaders late Madhu Dandavate carefully and answer the questions.

**GANDHI’S DIALOGUE WITH THE NATION**

For Mahatma Gandhi, the Dandi March was not just a non-violent weapon of struggle. It was also a means of dialogue and communication with the people along the route.

At the 44th session of the Indian National Congress held on the banks of river Ravi at Lahore, a resolution demanding complete independence was passed on December 31, 1929. Jawaharlal Nehru presided over the session and Mahatma Gandhi made a memorable speech while moving the main resolution. However, Gandhi did not rest content with merely delivering a speech. He led the famous Dandi March starting from the Sabarmati Ashram on March 12, 1930, culminating in the Salt Satyagraha at Dandi, a coastal village in Gujarat, on April 6, 1930.

Gandhi had a definite strategy and perspective about the Dandi March and the Salt Satyagraha. He did not want the march to be too massive to remain under control. At the same time, he did not want it to be too small to have any perceptible impact. These considerations made Gandhi reject Vallabai Patel’s suggestion of a massive march to Delhi. He also did not approve of the romantic idea of Nehru to set up a parallel government. Gandhi proposed a march of 78 dedicated and disciplined satyagrahis from Sabarmati to Dandi village to offer Salt Satyagraha. Gandhi chose salt as the symbol of satyagraha because it was the lowest common denominator of the food consumption of the nation. The rich needed salt for a change of taste and the poorest of the poor needed it for mixing with water so that they could dip their dry and stale bread in the mixture as an alternative to the rich man’s spicy curry. During the Dandi March, some overenthusiastic admirers of Gandhi brought for him and his fellow pilgrims large quantities of fresh fruit and wholesome milk from dairies.
Gandhi, however, humbly refused to accept them on the ground that those who were involved in the noble cause of fighting for the poor through their march must not avail themselves of such lavish hospitality. Gandhi looked at the Dandi March not only as a non-violent weapon of struggle against injustice but also as a medium of dialogue and communication with the people along the route of the march. On their way to Dandi, Gandhi and his satyagrahis halted for night rest at various villages. He used this interlude to speak to the satyagrahis, the residents of the villages and accompanying journalists about the background of the Salt Satyagraha and wider issues of national importance. He treated the Dandi March as an educative process. He continued this dialogue with the people during all the 25 days of the march. Thrilled by the march, several journalists sent elaborate reports every day. These were well displayed by newspapers and journals. Thus what Gandhi said during the Dandi March became a dialogue with the nation.

Courtesy: The Hindu, article by Madhu Dandavate - 6.4.2005

On the basis of your reading and understanding of the above article answer the following questions briefly:

A. What is the importance of the Lahore Congress Session of 1929?
B. Why did Gandhi choose ‘Salt’ as the symbol of Satyagraha?
C. What, according to Gandhi, revealed the most oppressive face of the British rule?
D. What was the Civil Disobedience Movement associated with?
E. Describe briefly the ‘Salt March’ undertaken by Mahatma Gandhi.

10.2 Hindrances to formation of a genuine public opinion

Public opinion needs to be the true reflection of the peoples’ ideas and opinion, however there are some hindrances to genuine public opinion;

Selfish interests (Me above nation): The interest of the people seeking personal advancement over the affairs of their own country. People need to be sensitized towards important issues related to unity, commitment, integrity and progress of the nation.

Illiteracy: It is expected that literate and responsible public make good citizens by exercising their franchise without fear or favour. Illiterate masses are often misled by party workers and guided by sentiments, favours and rhetoric. A sound public opinion can be formed only in the environment of free thought and knowledge.
(a) **Poverty:** The poor in any country are easily influenced by the false promise of political leaders and cast their votes subjectively. Sound and objective public opinion is possible only by alleviating poverty.

(b) **Racist and Caste based Discrimination:** Sentiments that provoke discrimination based on caste, creed and religion create a divide among the masses that are often manipulated by political parties for their advantage. Social disharmony in the country is detrimental to the effective working of a democracy.

(c) **Freedom of speech and the media:**

Unbiased, objective and independent media as well as respect for individual freedom of speech and assembly play a very significant role in the formation of healthy opinion. The vital importance of an independent and impartial media that respects peoples freedom and exercises responsible news reporting are important criteria for formation of mature and responsive public opinion.

**10.3 Definition of Political Parties**

Political parties are indispensable instruments in a democratic system. They are formed with definite ideologies, and programme of action. They enlighten the general public on issues concerning the society and state and they also prescribe alternatives. Through propaganda they educate people on political issues and garner their support for their policies and programme. In legislative bodies they represent organized opinion of the voters. In parliamentary democracies the party or an alliance of parties can win a majority of seats in legislature and forms the ministry (executive) examples: UK, India. In presidential democracies, the chief executives (president) are elected on party basis (USA, France). In any system political parties function as intermediaries between the government and people.

There is consistent competition between the various political parties and this competition ensures the mature functioning of a democracy.

**ACTIVITY**

Following are the lists of various functions of political parties in a democracy:

- Parties contest in elections
- Parties put forward different policies and programmes
- Parties make laws for the country
- Parties form and run government
- Parties play the role of the opposition
- Parties shape public opinion
- Parties provide people the access to government welfare schemes

Follow the newspaper for one month and collect news items related to the various functions of political parties
In a democracy public opinion is harnessed through political parties.

10.4 Functions of Political Parties

In a democracy, political parties serve as an integral link through which government and the public can interact. Political Parties act as a foundation that orients the people towards political initiatives and public experience. Political Parties work to influence political thought and opinion with the intention of mobilizing votes. They provide a platform for political, economic and social activism that serves as a training ground for future regional and national leadership. In the long run they hold leaders accountable for their actions through rigorous debate and queries both within the party as well as through opposition parties. Thus the people are presented with a diverse choice of candidates, ideologies and approaches to various issues governing the nation. Their confidence in democracy is thus reinforced in the knowledge that they can bring about change and transformation should a majority of the population desire a transformation in the way they are governed.

The Party System

The party system helps to operate and stabilize governments and they are particularly relevant for the effective functioning of democracies. The party system provides a system of checks and balances against the government’s policies. By soliciting popular support among the masses and providing a structure for leadership and dialogue within the party according to specific party objectives and agenda, it helps sustain good governance.

Types of Party Systems

Different types of party system have evolved in various parts of the globe depending on the particular elements of democracy practiced. By and large the quality of a democracy is determined by how the government is representative of its people, how accountable the government is to its people, how human rights and equality of status and opportunity is guaranteed to all citizens and the level of political participation exercised by the people. The various types of party system address these issues in different ways, thereby determining the quality of democracy practiced.
A. One Party System

In a one party system, a single political party exercises its right to form the government, which is often derived from a written or unwritten constitution. In most cases under a one party system, there is less participation and weaker accountability. **Examples:** Communist Party of China, (CPC) the Peoples’ Action Party (PAP) in Singapore, Korean Workers Party, (KWP) North Korea, Communist Party of Vietnam (CPV) Vietnam, Communist Party of Cuba (CPC) Cuba. The single party system does not provide adequate space for democratic expressions and not provide scope for alternative. For example in the 1920s fascist movements advocating nationalistic militarism, captured power in Germany under Hitler, in Italy under Mussolini and in Spain under General Franco. They prevented other political parties to emerge.

B. Two Party System

In the two party system, two political parties, with distinctly different interests have equal opportunity to attain a majority and form the government. The majority party is the governing party and the minority party forms the opposition party in two-party systems. The Two-Party system has far greater accountability by the political leaders and greater political participation. The threat of being voted out by the opposition hangs as a ‘Damocles sword’ on the incumbent thereby guaranteeing a higher degree of responsible conduct and action. However since the political atmosphere is heavily polarized, drastic changes can happen once a party loses power which may prove detrimental to national interests. Examples of the two-party system include USA – Democrats and Republicans and UK Conservatives and Liberals.

However, in either country there is no constitutional restriction on number of parties. The constitutional procedures and peoples’ political maturity led to the emergence of two party system.

C. Multi-Party system

In the Multi-party system, multiple political parties are capable of garnering popular support and forming a government, either as a majority party or in coalition with many non-majority parties with similar political objectives. In this system, the political leaders are constantly observed and checked by checks and balances by their coalition partners. They are also subject to rigorous accountability to the people. The multi-party system offers the electorate the multiple avenues of political participation and the ability to bring about political change for greater national development.

The proportional representation system in France and Italy results in multi-party systems and coalition cabinets.

Examples of countries with multi-party systems include Canada, France, Germany, India and Sweden.

**ACTIVITY**

**THINK – PAIR – SHARE**

**Topic for Pair 1:** Why is one party system not considered a good option?
10.5 Role of Political Parties in a Democracy

The existence of political parties is largely responsible for ensuring the quality and effectiveness of a democracy. In a federal multicultural and plural societies such as the United States of America and India, the maintenance of peace, unity and communal harmony are vital for social-economic progress. While single party system may have greater flexibility towards quicker decisions making and cohesive action, these decisions may not represent mass opinion and thus it would create greater opposition and dissent for the government.

The Role of Political Parties in a Democracy

What are political parties?

- They recruit and run candidates for public office under the party level
- They try to organize and coordinate the activities of government officials under the party name.

Many political scientists believe that parties are essential to democracy

- The political party is seen by some as the main instrument of popular sovereignty and majority rule.
- When political parties are working properly they can be essential tools of popular sovereignty

In the dual party system due to the nature of the party structure and leadership, this usually result in public policies and decisions blocked in political polarization rather than collaboration. While in Multi party systems, the performance is on the basis of deliberation and negotiation between coalition members, and issues are mostly settled by reaching a mutually derived consensus after debate and discussion. Thus, political parties are the drivers of a democracy that are necessary to safeguard the rights and freedoms of the people. Through effective citizenship training and greater civic participation, youth in democratic nations can play a greater role in political parties thereby fostering more mature and wider democratization in countries.

Quotable Quote

Political parties are the drivers of a democracy.

Politicians exercised oratorical and leadership skills to create public opinion.
10.6 Modern Party system

A. Party system in the United Kingdom

In the United Kingdom, polarization of opinions on issues relating to the status and role of monarchy led to the emergence of two parties:

A. Tories or Conservatives and
B. Whigs or liberals.

In the 20th century labour party became a major force eclipsing the liberals.

B. Party System in the USA

The founding fathers of the United States wanted to steer clear of political parties and the ensuing factional conflict between them. Nevertheless, after American Independence, the first parties in the newly constituted nation under the Presidency of George Washington were the Federalist Party supporting a strong national government and the Democratic Republican Party supporting state autonomy.

In 1828, the democratic Republican Party was renamed as the Democratic Party which championed state rights. In 1854, the Republican Party established itself on the anti slavery platform and gained pre-dominance with Abraham Lincoln as President of USA.

Since the United States settled for the Two-Party system, the Republican and Democratic parties have dominated the American political scene, though third party candidates have been floated on and off.
C. Party system in Europe:

After the French Revolution (1789), democratic forces gained strength in European Nations, and political parties emerged. Political parties in Continental Europe were largely divided into Conservatives, Liberals, and Christian Democrats. By the 19th century socialist movements gained popularity and social democratic or labor parties emerged which became popular and gained trade union support.

In Soviet Russia, the Bolshevik Party, was responsible for the Communist Revolution in 1917 which created the USSR (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics), popularly called the Soviet Union. The COMINTERN (Communist International) was established with the task of encouraging world communist revolution by supporting Communist parties in other countries. After the end of the Cold War era, the Communist party lost its popularity in Russia, though some minor communist parties still influence governmental policies within democratic states. Communist Parties
however continue to control authoritarian governments in China and North Korea.

Democratic political systems are often reactive and responsive to the basic socio-economic values of their citizens. There has always been significant transformations in values and these are reflected in the political opinion of the people through political parties and their varying objectives. By late 20th century, socio-economic factors impacting Europe were reflected in the emergent types of parties some of which were more nationalistic and less open-minded, vocalizing their sentiments against immigration and the refugee influx that they see as a threat to European culture, security and economy.

D. Party System in South Africa

In African countries, political parties were at first formed to secure decolonization. In many decolonized African countries, political parties are struggling hard against militarism.

The Constitution of South Africa

- Universal adult suffrage vote at 18
- A national common voters roll

E. Party System in India

The party system in India emerged along with the rise of nationalism and out of the freedom struggle against British rule. While Indian politics today represent a multi-party system, for long periods in Indian political history, one party has dominated the political stage. The Indian National Congress (INC) was established in 1885 by A. O Hume, as the indigenous base for the political participation of Indians in legislative and political wings. It demanded political reforms in gradual stages. After the non-cooperation movement (1921-23) Indian National Congress began to demand absolute
political freedom. In the 20th century, the parties with communal agenda have also come up i.e. The All India Muslim League in 1906 and Hindu Maha Sabha in 1916. In the Madras Presidency the South Indian Liberal Federation (Justice Party) was formed to project their interest of the Non-Brahmins (Dravidian).

ACTIVITY

I want to see how many of you are against the new policy- please raise your hands

Topic for Group Discussion : Why do we have a multi-party system in India? What are the advantages and disadvantages of a Multi-party system?

Divide the class into three or four groups and conduct Group Discussion. Select anyone of the teams and present their views to others.

(Courtesy: Cartoon, The Hindu)

However, the Indian National Congress represented the urban, upper caste elite, mostly western educated and provided a platform for negotiations with the British government. Gradually the Indian National Congress evolved to play a pivotal role in the development of India's political party system. After the partition of Bengal in 1905, the Indian National Congress was divided between the Moderates (policy of petitions) and the Extremists (aggressive militant strategy). The formation of the Muslim league in 1906 resulted in the era of conflicting political bargaining, reflected the true beginnings of the Indian party system.

The entry of Mahatma Gandhi into the political scene with his moral-ethical focus on non-violence as a political ideology and strategy, transformed the Indian National Congress to represent all sections of Indian society- the poor agriculturalists and lower caste people. Other parties that also emerged representing specific goals which included the Swaraj Party formed by Chittaranjan Das in 1922, the Congress Socialist Party, formed in 1934 by Acharya Narendra Dev and Jayaprakash Narayan and the
Communist Party, formed in the 1920’s by the efforts of M. N. Roy were the other major political parties.

There were a number of political parties which carry on political campaigns and propaganda, but do not contest elections, they function as pressure groups. Till 1977, the Communist Party, the socialist parties, and the right wing Janasangh were the mentionable opposition parties at the national level.

Until 1977, no single party could become an alternative to Indian National Congress at national level. Hence, a number of so called national parties, under the stewardship of Jayaprakash Narayan, merged to create a large national alternative party known as Janata Party. In 1977, it captured power at the centre. Yet this party lacked cohesion and unity and became shattered after 1980. The Jana Sangh was revived with a new name Bhartiya Janata Party, Meanwhile Kanshi Ram’s Bahujan Samaj Party emerged as national level party with social justice as its main plank. The Communist Party of India (Marxist) became very powerful in a few states like Kerala, West Bengal and Tripura.

The 1990s was the period of an increasing quest towards coalition governments in Indian politics. The Indian Political System became more competitive, more democratized and more representative of the multicultural social nexus and diversity that is observed in contemporary India. It is observed that old parties became obsolete and defunct, and new parties have emerged that represent and seek to address the trans formative challenges faced by various diverse sections of the people. Since the 1990’s we see a federalization of politics with regional parties gaining greater influence, representative of regional aspirations against the dominance of the Centre.
Regional Parties

Shiromani Akali Dal in the Punjab, Samajwadi Party in the Uttar Pradesh, Telugu Desam Party in Andhra Pradesh, Rashtriya Janata Dal (RJD) in Bihar, Trinamool Congress in West Bengal, Telangana Rashtra Samithi in Telangana, Asom Gana Parishad in Assam, Shiv Sena in Maharashtra, National Conference, People Democratic Party in Jammu & Kashmir, Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK) and All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (AIADMK) in Tamil Nadu are some of the major regional parties.

While there is growing political awareness among the electorate, there is also greater mobilization along lines of regional, social and religious identities. There is a widespread difference in the composition of political groups, and characteristics of political and social groups between one region and another.

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<td>Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP)</td>
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<td>Samajwadi Party (SP)</td>
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<td>All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (AIADMK)</td>
<td>Nationalist Congress Party (NCP)</td>
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Party System in Tamil Nadu

In Tamil Nadu, like most Indian states, the early independence period was dominated by the Congress party. However, issues of caste hierarchy, and the rising North South divide eroded the popularity of Congress leadership in the state. The Dravidian movement regenerated in Tamil Nadu under Periyar E.V Ramasamy and garnered popularity on assertion of Dravidian Rights and Dignity and through an anti-North, anti-Hindi, anti-Brahmin social agenda.

The Party System in Tamil Nadu is a pioneer model of the pre-eminence of the regional parties in state politics of independent India. There are very clear socio-economic, cultural and historical reasons for this development. The long history of rationalist and social justice movements from the colonial era and the mobilization of Dravidian consciousness since the beginning of 20th century have fundamentally transformed the nature of politics and the future of party system in state politics.

10.7 Role of Political Parties in a Democracy

For the effective functioning of a democracy, the existence of political parties that represent conflicting interests is mandatory. While they advocate various interests and policies, largely political parties adopt Rightist ideology (conservative, traditional and capitalistic) or Leftist (pro-equality, liberal and labour interests). While it is true that political parties are essential for attaining the democratic ideal, the rise of individual parties with non-democratic agenda and
Authoritarian leadership is a critical challenge to Democracy. This is very relevant in the case of a multicultural, multilingual, multi-religious and economically diverse country like India, only political parties can truly represent the multidimensional interests of people from every corner of the country. It is vital in a democracy like India that political parties exercise maturity and maintain a secular position, the precious and precarious unity and stability of India cannot be maintained. It is in the interests of the nation, that responsibly and principled parties show a level of maturity and responsibility in exercising their duties and functions for the sustainability of democratic institutions.

Role of Opposition in a Democracy

The relationship between party system and democracy will be incomplete without the discussion of the role of opposition parties in democracy. Democracy has no meaning without an effective opposition party or parties in the country. The nature of democracy is not only determined by the strength of ruling party alliance but also in the role and functioning of the opposition party alliance. In fact, the leader of the Opposition party enjoys the status and privileges of the rank of cabinet minister. A weak opposition leads to either a government without accountability or the tyranny of the majority.

Pressure or Interest groups also play an important role in special issues and events. These are organized groups, having common political and social interests, which influence decisions from outside. Pressure groups have voluntary membership and lobby for specific interests. Unlike political parties, pressure groups do not contest elections. The Pressure Groups are able to influence the government through various techniques with various public policy issues and are therefore called pressure groups. Professional pressure groups may include business interests, trade unions, Farmers, Teachers and Students, Doctors, culture groups, and institutional groups. Pressure Groups play an important role in the Indian political system by acting as a link and source of communication between the masses and the political parties. They sensitize the public towards vital socio-economic issues and through their

ACTIVITY

The exit polls will be proved all wrong – an astrologer told me

The above mentioned cartoon is open to many views and comments, what are yours? Share your views in the classroom.

lobbying, influence both the government and the administrative policies.

"Leadership and learning are indispensable to each other."

*John F. Kennedy*

**Psephology**

Psephology deals with the study and statistical analysis of elections and polls. Public opinion polls play an important role in psephology. They analyze both Opinion Polls and Exit Polls as well as election results. Opinion Polls and Exit Polls are both important indicators of voter’s choice during the elections.

The main difference between the two is that opinion poll is conducted before the voter actually votes and the exit poll is conducted after a voter comes out after casting his or her vote. Results of exit polls are generally considered to be more trustworthy than that of opinion polls.

The result of opinion polls may or may not actually collaborate the actual results. Yet they are important in generating opinions among the unsure and undecided as well as help to sustain a balance in voting practices for all parties concerned.

**Political Party:** An organization that seeks to achieve political power by electing its members to public office.

**One-party system:** A system in which a single political party has the right to form the government, usually based on the existing constitution, or where only one party has the exclusive control over political power.

**Two-party system:** A system where only two parties or alliances, typically placed either side of the centre, have a realistic chance of forming a majority. Other parties are very minor or solely regional.

**Multi-party system:** A system in which multiple political parties have the capacity to gain control of government offices, separately or in coalition.

**Ballot:** This piece of paper contains information on the symbols and names of the candidates contesting in a constituency.

**By-election:** When a seat in Legislature becomes vacant between general elections (often because the incumbent has either resigned, defected to another party or died), a by-election is held.

**Election:** The process whereby eligible persons vote to determine who will hold a political office.

**Elector:** A person who is included in the electoral roll for an electorate.
Election Commission: The Election Commission is an independent autonomous entity responsible for the administration of Parliamentary and State Legislature Assembly elections and related works.

Ballot box: The box at a polling place into which a stamped ballot paper is to be dropped.

Coalition: A Government is formed by more than one party when no single party sets absolute majority.

Electoral roll: The list of all the registered electors for a particular electorate kept by the Registrar of Electors.

Electoral System: The general name for all the rules concerning elections, i.e. the voting system, boundaries, registration of electors, candidacy, campaign spending, broadcasting, etc.

Majority Government: A government made up of one or more political parties is formed by a political party which has absolute majority in legislature.

Democracy: Government by the people, through free, fair and periodical elections.

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**Evaluation**

**I Choose the correct answer:**

1. A group of people who come close to each other to attain their common aim of power is known as
   - a) Political party
   - b) Factional group
   - c) Interest group
   - d) Political leadership

2. Which of these is the main component of political party?
   - (a) Leaders
   - (b) Followers
   - (c) Active members
   - (d) All of these

3. Which of these are a function of political party?
   - (a) To contest election
   - (b) To form and run government
   - (c) To form public opinion
   - (d) All of these

4. Political party that runs the government is ….
   - (a) Ruling party
   - (b) Interest group
   - (c) Opposition party
   - (d) Factional group

5. The rise of political parties is directly linked to….
   - (a) Emergence of representative democracies
   - (b) Large scale societies
   - (c) Mechanism of restrain and support the government
   - (d) All of these
6. System with one party is known as….
   (a) Single party system  (b) Multi-party system
   (c) Bi-party system     (d) None of these

7. System of two parties is known as….
   (a) Single party system  (b) Multi-party system
   (c) Bi-party system     (d) None of these

8. Which of these countries have Uni-party system?
   (a) China               (b) North Korea     (c) Cuba       (d) All of these

9. Which of these countries have Bi-party system?
   (a) India              (b) England        (c) France      (d) Pakistan

10. What is the symbol of Congress Party?
    (a) Symbol of Lotus    (b) Symbol of Hand
        (c) Symbol of elephant (d) Symbol of clock

11. Lotus’ is the symbol of which party?
    (a) Indian National Congress  (b) Bahujan Samaj Party
        (c) Bhartiya Janata Party (d) CPI (M)

12. Public Opinion plays a vital role in:
    (a) Democratic system
        (b) Dictatorial system
        (c) Both democratic as well as dictatorial systems
        (d) The smooth working of all types of political systems

13. The two major political parties of U.S.A. are
    (a) Independent and Democratic  (b) Republican and Democratic
        (c) Democratic and Socialist (d) Republican and Communist

14. Psephology deals with
    (a) statistical analysis of elections and polls
        (b) Opinion Polls and Exit Polls
        (c) Public opinion
        (d) All the above.

15. Assertion: Political parties mobilize public opinion.
    Reason: Public opinion influences election results.
    Directions: Given below are two statements labelled as Assertion (A) and Reason (R) in the context of the two statements which of the following is correct?
    (a) Both A and R are true and R is the correct explanation of A.
(b) Both A and R are true but R is not the correct explanation of A.
(c) A is true but R is false.
(d) A is false but R is true.

II. Answer the following questions very shortly
16. Define political party.
17. Explain about Single Party System.
18. Write a short note on Multi-Party system.
19. Make a brief note on regional political party.
20. List out the major political parties in India.
22. Explain the role of opposition party in India.

III Answer the following questions shortly
23. Explain the role of political parties in a democracy.
24. List out the functions of political parties.
25. Bring out the types of party system.
26. Discuss the merits and demerits of multi-party system.
27. Describe the party system in the UK.

IV Answer the following questions in detail
28. Analyze the different kinds of political party systems and indicate which type is best suited in a democracy?
29. Elucidate the merits and demerits of bi-party system.
30. Give an account on political parties in India.
31. Evaluate the party system in South Africa.
32. Write an essay on Public opinion in India.

Reference books
Unit-10  Public Opinion and Party System

Structure of Party System in The State Level

Steps

1. Use the URL or QR code to open the How the state government works page.
2. An activity window will open, click the navigation key on the bottom right corner of the activity window.
3. After a small introduction story, an explanation of state government will start.
4. Explore the different aspects of the state government by clicking the forward navigation button.

Download Link

*Pictures are indicative only.
*If browser requires, allow Flash Player or Java Script to load the page.

URL: mocomi.com/how-does-state-government-work/
11.1 Meaning and nature of Franchise and Representation

What is Franchise and Election?

The right to vote in public elections. The word “Franchise” is of Anglo-French derivation—from Franc, meaning FREE. An election is the process of voting to choose someone to be their political leader or representative in government.

And what is Representation?

It is nothing but the action of speaking or acting on behalf of someone or the state of being so represented.

Learning Objectives

- To enable the students to understand the meaning of election and representation.
- To explain the term ‘Psephology’.
- To enable students to understand the various methods of election.
- To gain awareness about the Election Commission of India.
- To know the importance of Anti-Defection Law.
- To enlighten about the need of free and fair elections.
- To bring out the role of youth in politics.

Part XV of the Indian Constitution titled “Elections” is of great importance. The constitution-makers had been anxious to safeguard this political right as an integral part of the constitution itself. It is for this important reason that the subject of elections has been accorded a constitutional recognition in our country.

Although elections were used in Ancient Athens, Rome and in the selection of Popes and Holy Roman Emperors, the origins of elections in the contemporary world was in the gradual emergence of representative government in Europe and North America which began in the 17th century. In a representative democracy elections are extremely important. Voting, in elections is the best way to make your voice heard. One fact that makes elections more important is when political parties try to suppress voting with the use of laws to disallow people to vote. Election and representation is the core for the formation of government.
Democratic Electoral System

Let us study the most essential features of a democratic electoral system. A democratic electoral system can be said to be one where…

- Elections are regular and fair, votes are of equal value
- The will of the majority is achieved, interests of minorities are respected
- There is a high level of participation by the electorate
- There is the maximum possible franchise
- Voting is accessible

Features of a Democratic Electoral System

Why do we need Elections?

Let us try to imagine a democracy without elections. A rule of the people is possible without any elections if all the people can sit together every day and take all the decisions. This is not possible in any large community nor it is possible for everyone to have the time and knowledge to take decisions in all matters. Let us presume that the people can resolve these difficulties and such a place do not require elections. In such case can we call this place a democracy?

How do we find out if the people like their representatives or not? How do we ensure that these representatives rule as per the wishes of the people? How to make sure that those whom the people don’t like do not remain their representatives? This requires a mechanism by which people can choose their representatives at regular intervals and change them if they wish to do so. This mechanism is called Election. Therefore, elections are considered essential in our times for any representative government. Hence in most democracies, people rule through their representatives.

In an election the voters make many choices:

- They can choose who will make laws for them
- They can choose who will form the government and take major decisions
- They can choose the party whose policies will guide the government and law making.

Psephology is the study of results and other statistics relating to Elections...

ACTIVITY

Students can think individually for three or four minutes, and then discuss and compare their responses with a partner before sharing with the entire class.

What makes an Election Democratic?

- Everyone should be able to choose. This means that everyone should have one vote and every vote should have equal value.
- There should be something to choose from parties and candidate should be free to contest elections and should offer some real choice to the voters.
- The choice should be offered at regular intervals. Elections should be held regularly after every few years.
- The candidate preferred by the people should get elected.
- Elections should be conducted in a free and fair manner where people can choose as they really wish.

An election is a formal decision making process by which a population chooses an individual to hold public office. Elections fill offices in the legislatures, sometimes in the executive and judiciary and for regional and local government.

11.2 Types of Representation/Reservation of Constituencies

**Election Systems-Plurality/Majority Systems**

What are Plurality / Majority Systems? The principle of plurality/majority system is simple. After votes have been cast and totalled, those candidates or parties with the most votes are declared the winners. However, the way this is achieved in practice varies widely. Five types of plurality/majority systems can be identified.

**ACTIVITY**

Do you know when the last Assembly Election was held in your State? Which other elections have taken place in your locality in the last five years? Write down the level of elections (National, Assembly, Panchayat etc.) When were they held? Find out the details of the MLA/MP who got elected from your area.

A. First Past The Post (FPTP)
B. Block Vote (BV)
C. Party Block Vote (PBV)
D. Alternative Vote (AV)
E. Two-Round Systems (TRS)

**ACTIVITY**

India follows first past the post system in elections. What are the positives and negatives of this system in the present political scenario of India?

A. First Past The Post (FPTP)

The First Past The Post system is the simplest form of plurality/majority system, using single member districts and candidate-centered voting. FTPT systems
are found primarily in the UK and those countries historically influenced by Britain. Along with the UK, the other countries are Canada, India and the USA. FPTP is also used by a number of Caribbean countries, Bangladesh, Burma, India, Malaysia, Nepal and small island countries of the South Pacific.

**B. Block Vote (BV)**

The Block –Vote is common in countries with weak or non-existent political parties. The Cayman Islands, The Falkland Islands, Guernsey, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, the Maldives, Palestine, the Syrian Arab Republic etc use Block Vote electoral systems.

**DO YOU KNOW?**

FPTP is the simplest form of plurality/majority electoral system. The winning candidate is the one who gains more votes than any other candidate, even if this is not an absolute majority of valid votes. The system uses single-member districts and the voters vote for candidates rather than political parties.

**C. Party Block Vote (PBV)**

PBV is simple to use, encourages strong parties and allows for parties to put up mixed slates of candidates in order to facilitate minority representation. It can be used to help to ensure balanced ethnic representation. Dijibouti, Singapore, Senegal, Tunisia use the PBV method.

**DO YOU KNOW?**

Party-Block Vote is a plurality/majority system using multi- member districts in which voters cast a single party-centered vote for a party of choice, and do not choose between candidates.

**D. The Alternative Vote (AV)**

This system enables voters to express their preferences between candidates rather than simply their first choice. Hence it is known as ‘Preferential Voting’. AV is used in Australia, Fiji and Papua Guinea. By transferring ballots, it enables the votes of several candidates to accumulate, so that diverse but related interests can be combined to win representation.

**DO YOU KNOW?**

The Alternative Vote is a preferential plurality system that voters use in single member districts. Voters use numbers to mark their preference on the Ballot paper.
E. The Two-Round System (TRS)

The central feature of the Two-Round System is as the name suggests: it is not one election but takes place in two rounds, often a week or a fortnight apart. This system is used to elect national legislatures and are most common methods used worldwide for the direct election of Presidents. TRS is used by the Central African Republic, Congo, Gabon, Mali, Mauritania, Haiti, Iran, Vietnam, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan etc.

The Two-Round System is a plurality/majority system in which a second election is held if no candidate or party achieves a given level of votes, most commonly an absolute majority (50 percent plus one), in the first election round. A TRS may take a majority-plurality form where more than two candidates contest the second round and the one who wins the highest number of votes in the second round is elected regardless of whether they have won an absolute majority or not.

Various Methods Of Minority Representation

- Limited Vote System
- Cumulative Vote System
- Proportional Representation
- Separate Electorate System
- Joint Electorate with Reservation of seats

Is it good to have political competition?

Elections are all about political competition. This competition takes various forms. The most obvious form is the competition among political parties. At the constituency level, it takes the form of competition among several candidates. If there is no competition, elections will become pointless. Though an electoral competition leads to a sense of disunity and factionalism in every locality, regular electoral competition provides incentives to political parties and leaders. They know that if they raise issues that people want to raise, their popularity and chances of victory will increase in the next elections. But if they fail to satisfy the voters with their work they will not be able to win again.

Ah.....
So, elections are like exams where politicians and parties know if they have passed or failed. But who are the Examiners?!!!!!!!

What is our system of Elections?

Can we say that Indian elections are democratic? To answer this question, let us take a look at how elections are held regularly after every five years. After five years the term of all the elected representatives comes to an end. The Lok Sabha or Vidhan Sabha stands dissolved. Elections are held in all the constituencies at the same time, either on the same day or within a few days. This is called a general election. Sometimes election is held only for one constituency to fill the vacancy caused by death or resignation of a member. This is called By-Election.
Electoral Constituencies

You would have heard about the people of Tamilnadu electing 39 lok sabha MPs. You may have wondered how they did that. Did every person in Tamilnadu vote for all the 39 MPs? You perhaps know that this is not the case. In our country we follow an area based system of representation. The country is divided into different areas for the purpose of elections. These areas are called Electoral Constituencies. The voters who live in an area elect one representative.

For Lok sabha elections, the country is divided into 543 constituencies. The representative elected from each constituency is called a member of Parliament or an MP. One of the features of a democratic election is that every vote should have equal value. That is why our constitution requires that each constituency should have a roughly equal population within it. Similarly each state is divided into a specific number of assembly constituencies. In this case the elected representative is called the Member of Legislative Assembly or a MLA. Each Parliamentary constituency has within itself several assembly constituencies. The same principle applies for Panchayat and Municipal elections. Each village or town is divided into wards that are like constituencies. Each ward elects one member of the village or the urban local body. Sometimes these constituencies are counted as Seats, for each constituency represents one seat in the assembly.

Reserved Constituencies

Our Constitution entitles every citizen to elect its representative and to be elected as a representative. In an open electoral competition, certain weaker sections may not stand a good chance to get elected to the Lok Sabha and the State Legislative Assemblies. They may not have the required resources, education and contacts to contest and win elections against others. If that happens our Parliament and Assemblies would be deprived of a significant section of our population. That would make our democracy less representative and less democratic.

Reserved Constituencies

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So, the makers of our Constitution thought of special system of reserved constituencies for the weaker sections. Some constituencies are reserved for the people who belong to the Scheduled Castes (SC) and Scheduled Tribes (ST). This system of reservation was extended later on to other weaker sections at the district and local levels.

Delimitation

The division of each state into as many constituencies as in the Loksabha from that state and State Legislative Assemblies is done primarily on the basis of population census. As far as practicable, geographical area of constituencies were to be delimited taking into account physical features, existing boundaries of administrative units, facilities of communication and public convenience.
**Delimitation Acts**

First Delimitation Commission Act, 1952  
Second Delimitation Commission Act, 1963  
Third Delimitation Act, 1973  
Fourth Delimitation Act, 2002.

**Voters’ List**

Once the constituencies are decided, the next step is to decide who can and who cannot vote. This decision cannot be left to anyone till the last day. In a democratic election, the list of those who are eligible to vote is prepared much before the election and given to everyone. This list is officially called the Electoral Roll or the Voters’ List.

Like in Panchayat should we not have at least one-third seats in the Parliament and assemblies reserved for WOMEN?

This is an important step for, it is linked to the first condition of democratic election that everyone should get an equal opportunity to choose representatives irrespective of differences. In our country, all the citizens aged 18 years and above can vote in an election. Every citizen has the right to vote, regardless of his or her caste, religion or gender.

It is the responsibility of the government to get the names of all eligible voters put on the voters’ list. Names of those who move out of the place or those who are dead are deleted. A complete revision of list takes place every five years. In the last few years, a new system of Electoral Photo Identity Card (EPIC) has been introduced. The voters are required to carry this card when they go out to vote. Not compulsory, for voting, the voters can show many other proofs like the Aadhar Card, Ration card or Driving License.

**ACTIVITY**

**Time Sequence**

Arrange the different election related activities mentioned in the left side of the table given below in a time sequence, beginning with the first activity and ending with the last.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Disorder</th>
<th>Order</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Releasing election manifesto</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preparing the voter’s list</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Counting of votes</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Election campaign</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Declaration of election results</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Filing nomination</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ordering of re-poll</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Casting of votes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Announcing election schedule</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Electoral Process In India

- Delimitation of Constituencies
- Notification of the Election
- Notification by the Election Commission regarding Nomination and withdrawal
- Filing of nomination papers by the intending candidates
- Verification and the acceptance or rejection of the nomination papers
- Election campaign
- Polling process
- Counting of votes and announcement of Election Results

Provisions Regarding Elections in India

- Representation of people's act 1950 and 1951
- Representation of people's act 1966
- Delimitation commission acts 1962 and 1972

**ACTIVITY**

Find out the importance of the following:

- Representation of people's act 1950 and 1951
- Representation of people's act 1966
- Delimitation commission acts 1962 and 1972

Nomination of Candidates

In a democratic election the people should have a real choice. This happens only when there are no restrictions on anyone to contest an election. This is what our system provides. Anyone who can be a voter can also become a candidate in the elections. The only difference is that in order to be a candidate, the minimum age is 25 years, while it is only 18 years for being a voter. Political parties nominate their candidates who get the party symbol and support. Party's nomination is often called as party 'ticket'.

Every person who wishes to fill a 'nomination form' has to give some money as security deposit. According to the direction of the Supreme Court, every candidate has to make a legal declaration, giving full details of:

- Serious criminal cases pending against the candidate
Details of the assets and liabilities of the candidate and his or her family
Educational qualifications of the candidate

This information has to be made public. This provides an opportunity to the voters to make their decision on the basis of the information provided by the candidates.

**Election Campaign**

The main purpose of election is to give people a chance to choose the representatives, the government and the policies they prefer. Therefore it is necessary to have a free and open discussion about who is a better representative, which party will make a better government or what is a good policy. This is what happens during election campaigns.

**Activity**

**Our Representatives and Our Responsibility**

*Where Answers Lie…*

Mumbai based Non-governmental organization has requested voters to ask the candidates the following questions on the eve of the upcoming elections:

- What is your qualification?
- What is your occupation?
- What is your source of income?
- Are you paying your income tax honestly?
- How many times in the last five years did you defect? Why so?
- Can you mention three good qualities of yourself?
- What is your personal achievement in politics?
- Have you been charge sheeted in any criminal case? Any litigation pending against you? What are the details?
- Do you figure in the rowdies list of the Police?
- What is your opinion on the preposition that those with a criminal record should not contest elections?
- Would you restrict expenditure to the limits set by the Election Commission?

The questionnaire is open to many views/comments what are yours? Share it in the class.

In our country such campaigns take place for a two week period between the announcement of the final list of candidates and the date of polling. During this period the candidates approach their voters, political leaders address election meetings and political parties mobilise their supporters. This is also the period when newspapers, social media, televisions are full of election related stories and debates. Election campaign is
not limited to these two weeks only. Political parties start preparing for elections months before they actually take place.

**ACTIVITY**

Prepare a list of what the candidates and parties said and did in the last election campaign in your constituency.

In election campaigns, political parties try to focus public attention on some big issues. They want to attract the public to that issue and get them vote for their party on that basis. In a democracy it is best to leave political parties and candidates free to conduct their election campaigns the way they want to. But it is sometimes necessary to regulate campaigns to ensure that every political party and candidate gets a fair and equal chance to compete.

According to our election law, no party or candidate can:

- Bribe or threaten voters
- Appeal to them in the name of caste or religion
- Use government resources for election campaign

If they do so, their election can be rejected by the court even after they have been declared elected. In addition to the laws, all the political parties in our country have agreed to a model Code of Conduct for election campaigns. According to this no party or candidate can:

- Use any place of worship for election propaganda
- Use government vehicles, aircrafts and officials for elections
- Once elections are announced, Ministers shall not lay foundation stones of any projects, take any big policy decisions or make any promises of providing public facilities.

**ACTIVITY**

Draw a cartoon here about the model code of conduct for the guidance of political parties and candidates during elections.

11.3 Free and Fair Elections

The true test of any election system is its ability to ensure a free and fair electoral process. If we want democracy to be translated into reality on the ground, it is important that the election system is impartial and transparent. The system of election must allow the aspirations of the voter to find legitimate expression through the electoral results. Elections in India are basically free and fair. The party that wins an election and forms government does so because people have chosen it over its rivals. This may not be true for every constituency. A few candidates may win purely on the basis of money power and unfair means. But the overall verdict of a general election still reflects popular preference. But still if deeper questions are asked, the picture looks different. Are people’s preferences based on real knowledge? Are the voters getting a real choice? Is election really a level playing field for everyone? Can an ordinary citizen hope to win elections?
Questions of this kind bring the many limitations and challenges of Indian Elections to our attention. These include:

- Candidates and parties with a lot of money may not be sure of their victory but they do enjoy a big and unfair advantage over smaller parties and independents.
- Candidates with criminal connection have been able to push others out of the electoral race and to secure a ticket from major parties.
- Some families tend to dominate political parties; tickets are distributed to relatives from these families.
- Very often elections offer little choice to ordinary citizens, for both the major parties are quite similar to each other both in policies and practice.
- Smaller parties and independent candidates suffer a huge disadvantage compared to bigger parties.

These challenges exist not just in India but also in many established democracies. These deeper issues are a matter of concern for those who believe in democracy. Hence citizens, social activists and organisations have been demanding reforms in our electoral system. In a democracy, the electoral process has a strategic role. Every ordinary man of this country would have basic elementary right to know about a candidate who is to represent him in Parliament where laws to bind his liberty and property may be enacted.

The right to get information in democracy is recognised all throughout and it is a natural right flowing from the concept of democracy. Article 19(1)(a) of Indian Constitution provides for freedom of speech and expression. Voters’ speech or expression incase of election would include casting of votes, that is to say, voter speaks out or expresses by casting vote. For this purpose, information about the candidate to be selected is must. The ordinary man may think over before making his choice of electing law breakers as law makers.

First General Elections In India:
All You Need to Know.....

The first general election of 1951-1952 elected the first Lok sabha since India became independent. The Congress had won 364 out of 489 Lok sabha seats. Its vote share was 45 percent. The CPI was the second party with just 16 seats. Jawaharlal Nehru became the Prime Minister, the first of independent India. The voters’ turnout was 67.6 percent. 54 parties had contested this election. Elections took around four months; October 25, 1951 to February 21, 1952. Election was held in 26 Indian states and 401 constituencies.

11.4 Election Commission of India

For the conduct of free, fair and regular elections, Article 324 of the Indian Constitution provides for a single
Election Commission which is entrusted with the superintendence, direction and control of all elections to Parliament, state legislatures and to the offices of the President and Vice-President of India.

**DEBATE**

**Have a critical debate on social media. Is social media an effective electoral tool?**

- Social media has changed the way people think, write and react but politicians believe it has also influenced the way people vote. Most of the national and regional parties are aware of the impact of social media in elections. Digital strategies become more meaningful when it allows campaigners to know the voters, target a specific audience, splice demographics, mobilize support, and urge people to support and participate. Reaching out to the voters through memes, FM Radio, TV Channels, Mobile phones and Social media are very crucial to the political campaigns.

- Teacher can conduct a debate on positive and negative aspects of Social Media in the election campaign.

**Election Commission - An independent body.**

The Main objective of the constitution of Election Commission of India is to have a permanent and independent election machinery, which is free from political pressure of the party in power and the executive of the day, and which could be entrusted with the task of holding free and fair elections to the parliament and the state legislatures and to the offices of the President and Vice-President of India.

**Election Commission of India-Structure**

**ACTIVITY**

Which Article deals with the appointment, powers and functions of the Chief Election Commissioner?

**DEBATE**

Debate about the feasibilities and consequences of giving more punitive power to the Election Commission of India.

More than 553 million voters in our country exercised their franchise in the 16th Lok Sabha in 2014 in 930,000 polling stations. India’s voting pool is larger than the total population of the United States of America and Western Europe combined. It is for the first time after three decades that a single party receives a majority.
### Details of Legislative Assembly Elections Conducted in Tamilnadu

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of Elections</th>
<th>Duration of the Assembly</th>
<th>Election Dates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1952-1957</td>
<td>1952 January 2, 5, 8, 9, 11, 12, 16, 21 and 25 (9 days)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>1957-1962</td>
<td>1957 March 1, 4, 6, 8 and 11 (5 days)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>1962-1967</td>
<td>1962 February 17, 19, 21 and 24 (4 days)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>1967-1971</td>
<td>1967 February 5, 16 and 21 (3 days)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>1971-1976</td>
<td>1971 March 1, 4 and 7 (3 days)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>1977-1980</td>
<td>1977 June 12 and 14 (2 days)</td>
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<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>1980-1984</td>
<td>1980 May 20 and 31 (2 days)</td>
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<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>1985-1986</td>
<td>1984 December 24 (1 day only)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>1989-1991</td>
<td>1969 January 21 (1 day only)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>1991-1996</td>
<td>1991 June 16 (1 day only)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>1996-2001</td>
<td>1996 April 27 and May 2 (2 days)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>2001-2006</td>
<td>2001 May 10 (1 day only)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>2006-2011</td>
<td>2006 May 8 (1 day only)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>2011-2016</td>
<td>2011 April 13 (1 day only)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>2016-ongoing</td>
<td>2016 May 16 (1 day only)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Multi-member body**
- Chief Election Commissioner
- Two other election commissioners

**Appointment and term of office**
- By the President of India
- 6 years or 65 years of age (whichever is earlier)

**Removal from Office**
- Chief Election Commissioner - Impeachment
- Other Election Commissioners - Recommendation of CEC
Powers and functions of the Election Commission of India

- Preparation of the electoral rolls
- Revision of electoral rolls
- Allotment of seats
- Conduct of elections
- Superintendence, direction and control of all matters pertaining to the elections
- Granting of recognition of political parties
- Allotment of symbols
- Ensuring fair and free elections
- The Election Commission of India advises the President of India or the Governor of the concerned state regarding all electoral matters including questions relating to disqualifications of members.

Settles disputes and petitions referred to it by the President of India or the Governor of a state.

Decides disputes pertaining to election symbol in the event of a split in the political party.

Has power to impose ceiling on the election expenses of the contestants.

Entrusted with the task of collecting affidavits from the contestants to the elections regarding their assets.

Has the power and duty to disqualify a candidate if he/she fails to submit election returns within the prescribed period.

It issues a notification after the election is over, that the house is duly constituted.

SUPREME COURT’s Landmark Verdict To Cleanse the Polity

In a landmark judgement, the Supreme Court held on July 11, 2013 that a person, who is in jail or police custody, cannot contest elections to legislative bodies. A day earlier, on July 10, 2013, the same Bench had held that charge-sheeted Members of Parliament (MP’s), Members of Legislative Assembly (MLA’s) and Members of Legislative Councils (MLC’s), once they are convicted for the offences, will be immediately disqualified from holding office. The Bench struck down Section 8(4) of the Representation of the People’s Act, which allowed convicted MP’s and MLA’s, a three-month period for filing their appeal to the High Court.

courtesy: The Hindu, Pocket Watch, 3.5.2004

Chief Electoral Officer (CEO)

The chief electoral officer of a state/union territory is authorised to supervise the election work in the state/union territory subject to the overall superintendence, direction and control of the election commission. The Election commission of India nominates or designates an officer of the government of the state / union territory as the chief electoral officer in consultation with the state government/union territory administration.
District Election Officer (DEO)

Subject to the superintendence, direction and control of the chief electoral officer, the district election officer supervises the election work of a district. The Election Commission of India nominates or designates an officer of the state government as the district election officer in consultation with the state government.

Returning Officer (RO)

The returning officer of a Parliamentary or Assembly constituency is responsible for the conduct of elections in the Parliamentary or Assembly constituency concerned. The Election Commission of India nominates or designates an officer of the government or a local authority as the returning officer for each of the assembly or parliamentary constituencies in consultation with the state government/union territory administration. In addition, the election commission of India also appoints one or more assistant returning officers for each of the assembly or parliamentary constituencies to assist the returning officer in the performance of his functions in connection with the conduct of elections.

Electoral Registration Officer (ERO)

The Electoral registration officer is responsible for the preparation of electoral rolls for a parliamentary/assembly constituency. The Election commission of India, in consultation with the state/union territory government, appoints an officer of the government or the local authorities as the Electoral registration officer. One or more Assistant electoral registration officers to assist the Electoral registration officer are appointed by the Election commission of India.

Presiding Officer (PO)

The Presiding officer with the assistance of Polling officers conducts the poll at a polling station. The district election officer appoints the Presiding officers and the Polling officers. In the case of union territories, such appointments are made by the returning officers.

Election Observers (EO)

The Election Commission of India nominates officers of government as Election observers (general observers and election expenditure observers) for Parliamentary and Assembly constituencies. They perform such functions as are entrusted to them by the commission. They report directly to the commission.

11.5 Electoral Reforms, Anti-Defection Law and Committees related to Electoral Reforms

Based on the recommendations made by the above committees and commissions, various reforms have been introduced from time to time in our electoral system. Let us have a look at them.
Lowering the voting age from 21 to 18 through the 61st amendment act of 1988.

Officers, and staff engaged in preparation, revision and correction of electoral rolls for elections to be on deputation to the Election commission.

Increase of number of proposers to 10% of the electors of the constituency or 10 electors, whichever is less.

In 1989, a provision was made to facilitate the use of electronic voting machines in elections.

In 1989, a provision was made for adjournment of poll in case of booth capturing.

Listing the name of candidates as candidates of recognised political parties, candidates of registered-unrecognized political parties and other(independent) candidates.

Prohibition on the sale of liquor within a polling area during the period of 48 hours ending with the hour fixed for the conclusion of poll.

On the death of a contesting candidate, the party concerned would be given an option to propose another candidate within 7 days.

The registered voters are entitled for a paid holiday on the polling day.

Prohibition of arms.

In 1998 a provision was made whereby the employees of local authorities, nationalized banks, universities, LIC, government undertakings and other government aided institutions can be requisitioned for deployment on election day.

In 1999, a provision was made for voting by certain classes of persons through postal ballot.

In 2003, the facility to opt for voting through proxy was provided to the service voters belonging to the armed forces and members belonging to a force to which provisions of the Army Act apply.

In 2003, the Election commission issued an order for the declaration of criminal antecedents, assets etc.

In 2003, Rajya Sabha elections were reformed by removing the domicile of the contesting candidate and further introduction of open ballot system was introduced.

In 2003, an exemption of travelling expenditure from being included in the election expenses of the candidate was made.

Free supply of electoral rolls by the government.

In 2009, restrictions were imposed on conducting exit polls and publishing the results of exit polls.

In 2009, a provision was made for the disqualification of a person found guilty of corrupt practices which provided for a three month time limit within which the specified authority will have to submit the case of the person found to be guilty.

All officials have to be included in corrupt practice.
Increase in security deposit.

Appointment of appellate authorities within the district.

Voting rights to citizens of India living abroad were provided in 2010.

Ceiling on election expenditure was increased in 2011.

**Anti-Defection Law**

The 52nd Amendment Act of 1985 provided for the disqualification of the members of Parliament and the State legislatures on the ground of defection from one political party to another. For this purpose it added the Tenth Schedule to the Constitution. This act is often referred to as “Anti-defection law”. Later the 91st Amendment Act of 2003 made one change in the provision i.e., disqualification on ground of defection not to apply in case of split.

**Provisions of the Act**

**A. Disqualification:**

A member of a house belonging to any political party becomes disqualified if he voluntarily gives up his membership or if he votes or abstains from voting contrary to any direction issued by his political party without obtaining prior permission of the party.

An independent member of the house becomes disqualified to remain a member of the house if he joins any political party after such election.

A nominated member of the house gets disqualified if he joins any political party after the expiry of six months from the date on which he takes his seat in the house.

**B. Exceptions:**

Disqualifications on the ground of defection does not apply, if a member goes out of his party as a result of a merger of the party with another party; if a member, after being elected as the Presiding officer of the house, voluntarily gives up the membership of his party or rejoins after he ceases to hold that office.

**C. Deciding Authority:**

Any question regarding disqualification arising out of defection is to be decided by the Presiding officer of the house.

**D. Rule making power:**

The Presiding officer of a house is empowered to make rules to give effect to the provisions of the tenth schedule. All such rules must be placed before the house for 30 days. The house may approve or disapprove them. Further he may direct that any willful contravention by any member of such rules may be dealt with in the same manner as a breach of privilege of the house.

**Evaluation of the Act**

A. The tenth schedule of the constitution is designed to prevent the mischief of political defections motivated by the lure of office or material benefits

B. It is intended to strengthen the fabric of Indian Parliamentary democracy by curbing unprincipled and unethical political defections
C. It provides for greater stability in the body politic by checking the propensity of the legislators to change parties

D. It facilitates democratic realignment of parties in the legislature by way of merger of parties

E. It gives a clear cut constitutional recognition to the existence of political parties.

Let us learn about the Rajya Sabha Elections……

Transferable Vote System is followed for Rajya Sabha elections. Every state has a specific quota of seats in the Rajya Sabha. The members are elected by the respective State Legislative assemblies. The voters are the MLAs in that state. Every voter is required to rank candidates according to her or his preference. To be declared winner, a candidate must secure a minimum quota of votes, which is determined by a formula:

\[
\text{Total votes polled} + 1
\]

\[
\text{Total number of candidates to be elected} + 1
\]

For example if 4 Rajya Sabha members have to be elected by the 200 MLAs in Tamilnadu, the winner would require \((200/4+1=40+1)\) 41 votes. When the votes are counted, it is done on the basis of first preference votes secured by each candidate; If after the counting of all first preference votes, required number of candidates fail to fulfill the quota, the candidate who secured the lowest votes of first preference is eliminated and his/her votes are transferred to those who are mentioned as second preference on those ballot papers. This process continues till the required number of candidates are declared elected.

Why did India adopt the FPTP System?

The answer is not very difficult to guess. If you have read carefully the method of election of Rajya Sabha members, you would have noticed that it is a very complicated system which may work in a small country but would be difficult to work in a sub-continental country like India. The reason for the popularity and success of the FPTP system is its simplicity. The entire election system is extremely simple to understand even for common voters who may have no specialized knowledge about politics and elections. There is also a clear choice presented to the voters at the time of elections. Voters have to simply endorse a candidate or a party while voting. Depending on the nature of actual politics, voters may either give greater importance to the party or to the candidate or balance the two.

The FPTP system offers voters a choice not simply between parties but specific candidates too. In other electoral systems, especially Proportional Representation Systems, voters are often asked to choose a party and the representatives are elected on the basis of party lists. As
a result, there is no one representative who represents and is responsible for one locality. In constituency based system like the FPTP, the voters know who their own representative is and can hold him or her accountable. The FPTP system generally gives the largest party or coalition some extra bonus seats, more than their share of votes would allow.

Thus this system makes it possible for Parliamentary government to function smoothly and effectively by facilitating the formation of a stable government. The FPTP system encourages voters from different social groups to come together to win an election in a locality. The FPTP system has proved to be simple and familiar to ordinary voters.

It is also believed that state funding is a natural and necessary cost of democracy. It brings new and growing parties, thus ensuring fair elections. If parties and candidates are financed with only private funds, economical inequalities in the society might translate into political inequalities in government.

**Indrajit Gupta Committee on state funding of Elections, 1998**

The Indrajit Gupta Committee on State Funding of Elections, 1998, backed the idea of state funding of elections on principle, stating that “The committee see full jurisdiction constitutional, legal as well as on the ground of public interest, for grant of state subvention to political parties, so as to establish such conditions where even the parties with modest financial resources may be able to compete with those who have superior financial resources.

**It added two limitations**

A. Such funds could not be doled out to independent candidates, and only to national and state parties having granted a symbol and proven the popularity among the electorate

B. In the short –term, state funding may be given only in kind, in the form of certain facilities to the recognized political parties and their candidates.

The committee has recommended the creation of a separate Election Fund with an annual contribution of Rs. 600 core by the centre and a matching

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11.6 State Funding of Elections

**What is state funding?**

- State funding of elections is a concept designed to reduce corruption by funding elections with government money as opposed to individual campaign contributions
- It is recommended that the state funding of elections can be the best way to achieve transparency in political funding

Open Ballot is a system of choosing the representative by raising one’s hands!!

Secret Ballot is a system in which the voter casts his vote without the knowledge of anyone into a Ballot Box or uses an Electronic Voting Machine!!

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- [DO YOU KNOW?](#)

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- [State Funding of Elections](#)

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amount contributed by all state governments together. The committee has suggested that in order to be eligible for state funding, political parties and other candidates should have submitted their income tax returns up to the previous assessment year.

Why youngsters should vote??

- Elections play a vital role in a system of representative democracy. Youngsters who are involved in the electoral process affirm their support as well as acquire a stake in the system and an appreciation that they too can affect politics and policy.
- Voting is the only form of participation in which each citizen has an equal say (one person, one vote). By voting, youth have the same ability as others to exercise political influence or pressure.
- Universal participation in elections ensures the faithful representation of the popular will.
- Young people should vote to develop a habit of voting from the start, and thus ensure high turnout.
- Young people may have political interests that differ from those of old voters. If young people don’t vote, they and their distinct interests are more likely to be ignored or neglected by policy makers.

ACTIVITY

Essay writing

Topic: If you were the Prime Minister of India, what would you do to make India a superpower by 2035?

11.7 Role of Youth in Politics

This must all be the exact thought running through the minds of all the political leaders in the fray to win elections. With a huge Percentage of first time voters being added to the voters’ list every year, the decisions of the youth will go a big way in elections.

Today youth has the power to transform our nation, and it will. The responsibility of transformation, progress and innovation lies on their shoulders.

ACTIVITY

Discuss more ways in which Youth can be utilized by a Returning Officer during Elections.

What is NOTA?

None Of The Above - A voter’s right to reject a step towards electoral reforms.

In its efforts of cleansing the political system, the Supreme Court of India upheld the right of voters to reject all candidates contesting the elections. The apex court directed the Election Commission to have
Before the NOTA option was introduced, people who wanted to cast negative votes, had to enter their names in a register and cast their vote on a separate ballot paper.

Under Section 49(O) of the conduct of election rules, 1961, a voter could enter his electoral serial number in the form 17A and cast negative vote.

Do you know that there was a similar provision before NOTA? It was called Negative Voting.

Election: A formal and organised choice by vote of a person for a political office or other position.

Representation: The action of speaking or acting on behalf of someone.
**Franchise**: The right to vote in public elections.

**Voting**: Go to the polls, mark one’s ballot paper

**Electoral system**: The way in which votes can be translated into elected representatives

**Psephology**: The statistical study of elections and trends in voting.

**Plurality**: Number of votes cast for a candidate who receives more than any other but does not receive an absolute majority

**Panchayat**: A village council in India

**Minority representation**: The number of elected candidates supporting the minority positions.

**Factionalism**: Arguments or disputes between two or more small groups from within a larger group.

**Democracy**: A system of government by the whole population, typically through elected representatives

**Delimitation**: The act or process of fixing limits or boundaries of territorial constituencies in a country or a province having a legislative body.

**Electoral Roll/ voters’ list**: Grouping of candidates for election

**Nomination**: The act of officially suggesting someone or something for a position.

**Election campaign**: A time when a politician or party try to persuade people to vote for them

**Electoral reform**: A change in electoral systems to improve how public desires are expressed in election results

**Anti-defection law**: Law passed in 1985 which disqualifies elected members on the grounds of defection to another party.

**Constituency**: A group of voters in a specified area who elect a representative to a legislative body.

**Secret ballot**: A voting method where voter’s choices are confidential

**Voters’ turnout**: Percentage of eligible voters who cast a ballot in an election

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**Evaluation**

**I Choose the correct answer:**

1. The word ‘Franchise’ is of _____ origin.
   a. Anglo-French  
   b. Anglo-Indian  
   c. Anglo-German  
   d. Anglo-Italian

2. Part XV of the Indian Constitution deals with ________.
   a. Elections  
   b. Citizenship  
   c. Fundamental rights  
   d. DPSP
3. Psephology is the study of _______.

4. _______ is the simplest form of plurality/majority electoral systems.
   a. FPTP  b. Block vote  c. Party block vote  d. Limited vote system

5. The first delimitation commission act was passed in the year _______.

6. The list of eligible voters is called as _____.

7. Which Amendment Act reduced the voting age of Indian citizens from 21 to 18?
   a. 61st  b.42nd  c.91st  d.73rd

8. Which Article of the Indian Constitution provides for a single Election Commission in India?
   a. Art 324  b. Art 256  c. Art 370  d. Art 360

9. The 52nd Amendment Act of 1985 deals with _______.

10. Election due to death or resignation of a member is ________.

11. _____ seats are reserved for women in Panchayat bodies.
    a.1/3rd  b. 1/4th  c.2/3rd  d. 3/4th

12. The Chief Election Commissioner of India is appointed by the ________.
    a. President of India  b. Chief Justice of India  c. Prime Minister of India  d. Chief Secretary of India
13. The Indrajit Gupta Committee 1998 deals with_________.
   a. Electoral Reforms   b. Anti-Defection
   c. FPTP system        d. Secret ballot

14. First general elections in India took place in the year _____.
   a. 1952  b. 1951
   c. 1950  d. 1947

15. State funding of elections was backed by ______ committee.
   a. Indirajit Gupta Committee  c. Vohra Committee
   b. Tarkunde Committee      d. Tanka Committee

16. Assertion: Indian Parliament has a bicameral legislature.
   Reason: Loksabha is the lower house and Rajya sabha is the upper house.
   (a) Both A and R are true and R is the correct explanation of A.
   (b) Both A and R are true but R is not the correct explanation of A.
   (c) A is true but R is false.
   (d) A is false but R is true.

II. Answer the following questions very shortly

16. What is Franchise?
17. Define Psephology.
18. Expand the term FPTP.
19. What are electoral constituencies?
20. Explain Voters’ List.
21. What is election campaign?
22. What is Anti-Defection Law?

III Answer the following questions shortly

23. What are the features of a democratic electoral system?
24. Mention the various methods of minority representation?
25. Explain the Delimitation of constituencies.
26. What are the committees related to electoral reforms?
27. Why did India adopt the FPTP system?
28. Write about the first general election in India.
29. Explain about open ballot and secret ballot.
IV Answer the following questions in detail

30. What does Part XV of the Indian Constitution deal with?
31. Explain the various types of representation.
32. Explain the need for free and fair elections.
33. Bring out the powers and functions of Election Commission of India.
34. Bring out the various electoral reforms in India.

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ICT CORNER

Unit-11  Election and Representation

Right age to know who the representatives were so far. Shall we check and learn?

Steps

1. Click the URL or scan the QR code to launch the “indiavotes” page.
2. For, Lok Sabha Elections Select “year”, “states” and Click “GO”. For Legislative Assembly elections (State Elections), Select “State” and “Year” to know the details.
3. On having accurate details, Go for “Advanced search” and give in the details to fetch the data.
4. Click “Election Maps” on the home page to check the same with maps by feeding in the required on the left of the window.

Download Link

*Pictures are indicative only.
*If browser requires, allow Flash Player or Java Script to load the page.
URL: http://www.indiavotes.com/
UNIT 12

Local Governments

Learning Objectives

- This chapter provides insights into the local governments in India and as well as in Tamil Nadu state.
- It also provides the significance of local self-government today.
- This chapter would explain the scope of the Local Self-government in the lives of the people today.
- This chapter would throw light on historical development and the major changes that have been made in powers and functions of local government since independence.
- Students would learn the structure, functions, elections, sources of revenue and issues in the rural and urban local governments in India.

12.1 Meaning, Nature and Importance of Local Government

Local Government means, the government which manages services and amenities in our villages, towns and cities with focus on local problems. The local governments normally functions within a specified limited territory of a village, a town, a city and also a large metropolitan city. The local governments function as the basic link between the people in a village or town with the government. As and when people have problems such as road repairs, water stagnation in the streets, non-functioning of street lights and construction of small water bodies, recreation parks, etc., the local governments have the responsibility to attend to any emergency situations, birth or death of persons in the village or town. The local governments are the institutions which issue certificates of proof of residence, birth, death and incomes etc. to the residents in that area. In total, the local governments are the institutions which are responsible for all such local needs of the people. They are the lowest unit of administration in the administrative structure of the government. The local government has a council, which is normally elected by the people of the village or town concerned, which is responsible for the representing the problems of the citizens in the council and find solutions to the problems. The council representatives are elected once in five years, or four years, depending upon the law in operation in the country.
The local governments are representative institutions, representing people in the council. There are legally mandated to discuss and give solutions to the problems of the people of that area and also represent the problem to the higher levels of the government such as state. Since the local governments are established on the basis of democratic process, all the problems discussed by the council of the local governments should go through the process of discussion, debate and deliberations and unanimously accepted by the council. The members of the council are given freedom to discuss and also to take decisions at same time within the framework of the fundamental law of the land called Constitution.

The importance of the local government lies in the nature of the problems handled by the local governments, which are basically “local” in nature and also the variety of problems attended by the local government cannot be attended by the higher levels of the government like state or central governments. Because the local problems are specific to the local areas and the solutions found for those problems should also be relevant to the situation. An irrelevant solution to the problems may hamper the situation and also it is also concerned with the spending of the taxes collected from the people. If solutions are irrelevant to the local problems, the resources used for that programme may by wasted and it gives more burden on the people again.

Therefore, local governments are the institutions created for the purposes of solving the local issues and addressing the local level problems. The local governments normally consist of elected representatives drawn from the local population representing the local people and they represent the local issues in the council and try to find solutions to the problems. The local governments are the important channel of flow of resources and programmes to the people at the lowest levels normally called “grassroots” level. No country today afford to ignore local governments because of the fact that local issues at present becomes global issues. With development of Information and communication Technology (ICT), the whole world have become global village.
12.2 Classification of local government institutions

Local governments are classified as Rural and Urban based local governments. The Rural and Urban divide is made based on the nature of the occupation of the residents viz; agriculture based or non-agriculture based occupations. The agriculture based occupation means that almost or most of the residents of an area are engaged in agriculture related occupation and the nature of the functions normally would be farming, dairying, poultry, and other similar types of activities. Whereas, in urban areas the citizens would engaged in industrial, trade and business and other activities.

The urban areas are the places where the people's livelihood is based on occupations in industry, trade, commercial institutions and administration like government offices and private company offices. The urban areas are the link between the outside world to the local villages. The local governments formed in rural and urban areas are called rural local governments and urban local governments respectively.

In India, the rural local governments have given general name “Panchayati Raj” which means the system of Panchayat institutions, that is, the institutions which does the panchayat, (deliberate, discuss, and deliberate). The Urban local governments in India are classified in to various types depending upon the political and economic basis of the formation of the urban local governments such as, Municipal Corporations, Townships, Area Planning Committees and Cantonment Boards. For example, in India the urban local governments are classified into various types such, Municipal Corporations in metropolitan cities, Municipalities in small towns, Townships in industrial towns, Cantonment Boards in military establishments.

**Types of Urban Local bodies**
- Municipal Corporations
- Municipalities
- Municipal Townships
- Town Panchayats
- Cantonment Boards
machinery for providing amenities and services to the metropolitan population.

The increase in the number of the population in metropolitan cities due to migration of people from rural and other small and medium towns and other metropolitan areas over the years make these cities mega polis.

The Municipalities are established in small and medium cities and town with population of less that 1 million. The Municipalities too are reclassified as Class I, Class –II etc., depending upon

**ACTIVITY**

"Corporate cleanliness can only be ensured if there is a corporate conscience and a corporate insistence on cleanliness in public places"

Today on 2nd October, we pay homage to the father of our National and work towards his vision of providing basic sanitation facilities to the poor.

**Towards Total Sanitation**

- Revised Guidelines of Integrated Low Cost Sanitation (ILCS) Scheme with the goal of eradication of manual scavenging by 2010 and increased subsidy for urban proof for conversation of dry latrines to water sealed systems.

- Basic services (Water, Sanitation, Sewerage, Electricity, Health, Social Security, Affordable House) in all slums under Jawaharlal nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (Basic Services to the urban Poor and integrated Housing and Slum Development Programme) and Proposed Rajiv Awards Yojana(RAY) with individual water sealed toilets in each home.

- Emphasis on upgrading sewage, sanitation and solid waste management under JNNURM (Urban Infrastructure & Governance and Urban Infrastructure Development Scheme for Small & Medium Towns).

- Total Sanitation Policy announced by Government.
the number of the population and also range of the revenue collection. The grades of the Municipalities are reviewed periodically by the higher levels of the governments to facilitate the classification of the municipalities.

The Townships and the Notified Area Committees are emerging urban areas, where the new industries are established, the changing occupations of the residents of that area from farm employment to non-farm employment.

The Cantonment Boards are established in military establishments, where the defense establishments such as Training institutes for defense personnel, defense industry etc. Both the Rural and Urban local governments are lowest tier in the government hierarchy.

In various countries of the world, rural and urban local governments are organized differently. However, the basis and principles of which local governments are being established are almost same. Local governments are being established for the local people with revenue predominantly derived from local resources. The upper layer of the governments normally does the function of supervision and monitoring the local bodies.

**ACTIVITY**

Do you think the distribution of public facilities such as water, electricity, roads, public transport, sanitation, etc., in your district or area is adequate and fair? Give an example of your own to explain.

**12.3 Local Government around the world**

Local Governments are as old as that of human civilization and in many countries around the world local governments are the foundation upon which the modern state is established. A preliminary reading about the Local Governments in various countries of the world show us that large or small, developed or under developed, some form of Local governments exist to deliver amenities and services at local level.

However they differ widely in their structure, powers, functional domain, fiscal resources etc. In many of the European countries there has been efforts on the part of the government to decentralize the powers and functions, which were otherwise centralized. The question of devolution of finances, the jurisdictional issues in policing, transport and inter-state commerce are some of the pending and irritants in the case of the developed countries. Whereas in the developing countries, there is more and more attempt on the part of the central or federal governments to centralize the powers and financial resources. In India the constant pressure is being exerted on
12.4 Origin and development of Local Governments in India

In tracing the origin and development of local governments in India, one finds the evidences of the existence of local governments even before the times of Christ (B.C.E). The period between 600 B.C.E to C.E. 600 witnessed the rise and fall of republics. During this period, there emerged Mahavira (founder of Jainism) and Buddha (founder of Buddhism). Villages were classified according to size and mode of habitation in Jain and Buddhists literature.

The religious orders founded by Buddha and Mahavira observed highly democratic procedures in arriving at decisions. Kautilya’s Arthshastra (Treatise) gives a comprehensive account of the central government for more devolution of administrative and financial powers to state as well as local governments.

**ACTIVITY**

**Design a poster**

Water bodies in your village or town or city often hear the brunt of carelessness, with several lakes, ponds or rivers filled with plastic trash becoming the dump yards and sewer drains. Our country is fast losing critical habitats. To reclaim lost habitats and to ensure protection of what is left, you organize an awareness programme aimed at cleaning major portion of the lakes or pond or beach to ensure a garbage free natural environment for all life forms.

**What can you do?**

- You design a poster with catch phrase and invite people from different walks of life to eliminate trash from water bodies.
- **Catch phrase**: “Remove trash, Secure the water bodies.”
- Remember, any effort you make is helpful for the future.

**ACTIVITY**

Take some of the public facilities in your area such as water, electricity, drainage, sanitation, etc., Is there any scope to improve these? What in your opinion should be done? Complete the table.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Facilities</th>
<th>Is it available?</th>
<th>How can it be improved?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Water</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drainage</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sanitation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electricity</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Road</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Transport system</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
of the system of village administration prevailing in his time In the days of Maurya the village and the district were units of administration.

In the South Indian peninsula, the existence of the local self governing institutions could be traced well before the period of the Christian calender. The historical period can be grouped in to early Chola period, Kalabira period, and the later Chola period, the emergence of Vijayanagara empire, entry of Muslims and Moghuls and the British. There were very little evidence available about the system of local governance in the early Chola Period (which dates back to Before Christ) and the Kalabira Period.

But there were some account of existence of local governments during the times of Pandyas (rulers of deep south India) and the Pallavas (rulers of mid south india). But Cholas (rulers who ruled mid Tamil country) period witnessed a well developed local self governments. The inscriptions of Paranthaka Chola – I (919.C.E. – 922.C.E) from Uthiramerur in Kanchipuram district of Tamilnadu state, give detailed account of local self government. They inform that each village had an assembly consisting of all adult males and their involvement in general matters. These assemblies are of two types, the “Ur” and the Mahasabha”. The third kind was the nagaram (town) confined to mercantile towns (trading centers) and the fourth was the “nадu”. Hence two types of institutions were mentioned one nadu (village and other areas) and nagaram (urban centers).

In general there is little information on the functioning of any village assemblies prior to the 9th century. Both “nадu” and “Nagaram” were concerned about the control and regulation of land holdings, management of irrigation works, temples, collection and remission of taxes, floating of loans for capital works and the management of charitable institutions. The “ur” and the “mahasabha” were the two institutions that assisted the officers in executing the orders of the king.

It has been found that Raja Raja Chola, the First, ordered the “mahasabha” of the Viranarayana Chaturvedi Mangalam to confiscate the property of traitors. Many historians such as Sir Charles Metcalfe, Sir George Bird wood and Eliphinstone opined that a strong system of local government existed in Ancient and medieval South India. But doubts are expressed by some of the historians about the elaborate existence of the local self government in ancient and medieval South India.

During the Moghul period A.D (C.E.)1500 to A.D (C.E.)1777, the fundamental principles of central local relationships hardly changed with change of kingdoms. When the Mughal Empire was at its zenith of glory, it was divided into provinces (Subhas), and Provinces into sub divisions (Sarkars), and Sakars into union of villages (Paraganas). At each level the government is organized and the officials were appointed by the Emperor. In the Twilight of the Mughul Empire, the self governing institutions in rural areas had been severely damaged at vital points, but they had withstanded the onslaughts with remarkable tactics.
After the Battle of Plassey in A.D (C.E.) 1757, the British East India Company derived land taxing rights (Diwani rights) from Bengal ruler (Nawab), which was the first step in the ascendency of the British rule in India. The rural and the other urban trading centers during the British East India company rule, was not under any control or supervision, except the three Presidency towns of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. The District administration under the charge of the district collector was the king pin in the British control over vast rural areas.

The important mile stone during the company rule was the establishment of the Municipal Corporations, as mentioned earlier at Calcutta (Kolkata), Bombay (Mumbai) and Madras (Chennai). Viceroy Lord Rippon in 1882 brought out a resolution, proposing a smaller unit for constituting rural local boards, a sub division, tehsil (taluk) and district boards to supervise.

Lord Rippon’s resolution emphasized that the institutions he proposed should have a majority of non-officials who should be elected wherever it was feasible. Nearly 500 rural boards were created with a two third majority of non officials who depended upon the district magistrate (district collector) for the favour of nomination. The main activities of the district boards till 1909 were police, public works, education and village sanitation.

The rural local government introduced by Lord Rippon faced many criticisms and in the A.D (C.E.) 1907, the British government appointed a commission to enquire into the question of administrative and financial relations between the Government of India, Provincial governments and subordinate authorities under them so as to simplify and improve the prevalent system through devolution or otherwise. With the passing of Government of India Act, 1919, the local governments were entrusted with the elected elements of the provincial government under the diarchy system of government.

The number of the village bodies in Tamilnadu increased from 1417 in 1926 to 6250 in 1937. There are three tier system of rural local bodies viz; District Boards, Taluk Boards, and Village Boards. The District and Taluk boards have undergone changes by 1923, the non-official chairman in all provinces replaced official chairman. In Tamilnadu, most of the District Boards came to be dominated by Justice Party members, which stood at 545 in 1927. From 1937 upto 1947, the rural local authorities faced many challenges including the national freedom movement.

After Indian Independence in 1947, an attempt was made to revive local governments in India. Mahatma Gandhi argued for the decentralized administrative system in India entrusting responsibility of governance with the village panchayats (self sufficient Gram Swaraj). Shrima Naryan with blessings of Gandhiji published a blue print of the Gandhian Constitution for Free India wherein panchayats are the basic institutions for organizing social, economic and political activities of the citizens. In addition to the
civic, political and administrative roles, the Panchayat was to play the economic role of organizing production and distributing resources in such a way that the village communities became self sufficient for meeting most of their basic needs.

Thus Article 40 came to be incorporated in the Constitution, as part of the Directive Principles of the State policy (Part –IV) of the Constitution of India adopted on Nov. 26th 1949. The Art. 40. States that, “the state shall take steps to organize village panchayats and endow them with such powers and authority as may be necessary to enable them to function as units of self government”

In compliance with the provisions of the Directive Principles of the State Policy, an ambitious rural sector initiative, the Community Development Programme was launched in 1952 with main focus of securing social-economic transformations of village through people’s own democratic and cooperative organizations with the government providing technical services, supply and credit. This programme was extended to most of the blocks as National Extensions Service aimed at transferring scientific and technical knowledge to agricultural, animal husbandry and rural craft sectors. In 1956, under the Second Five Year Plan, (1956-1961), it was recommended that village panchayats should organically link with popular organizations at higher levels and in stages, the popular body should take over the whole administration. In 1957, Government of India appointed a Committee on Plan Projects under the Chairmanship of Balwant Rai Mehta. The Mehta Committee recommended two points namely, the administration should be decentralized and the administration should be placed under the control of local bodies.

Secondly, the community development blocks should be designed as administrative democratic units with an elected Panchayat Union to operate as a fulcrum of developmental activity in the area. It also recommended for the formation of District Development Councils (Zila Parishad) at the district level consisting of all the Presidents of the Panchayat Unions (Samities), Member of legislative assemblies and Members of Parliament with district level officers of the public health, agriculture, veterinary and education departments as members and the collector as the chairman. The district body is only an advisory body. The recommendation of the Mehta Committee were generally welcomed and Panchayati Raj legislations were enacted and by 1960s about 90 per cent of the population were covered by the Panchayati Raj bodies.

Diarchy

The diarchy system entries that the subjects of the administration had been divided into reserved subjects and transferred subjects. The police, law and order, finance are the reserved subjects, which will be under the Governor and other subjects like education and other as mentioned earlier will be entrusted to the elected representatives.
In 1977, the Government of India formed a committee under the chairmanship of Ashoka Mehta to go into the working of the Panchayati Raj bodies and suggest measures to strengthen it. It recommended that Panchayati Raj should emerge as the system of democratic local government, discharging developmental, municipal and ultimate regulatory functions. Hence the first recommendation was to set up district Panchayat (Zilla Parishad) as the directly elected body. As a temporary arrangement, the committee recommended continuation of the Panchayat union at the block level. Not as a unit of local self-government but as a nominated middle-level support arm for the District Development Council. The Ashoka Mehta Committee submitted its report in 1978, which was well received and led many states to introduce appropriate amendments in their Panchayat Acts such as Karnataka, Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh, West Bengal, and Gujarat.

A number of committees were formed between 1978 and 1986, to look into various aspects of strengthening the local self-government institutions, such as, C.H. Hanumantha Rao Committee, G.V.K Rao Committee, and L.M. Singhvi Committee. Only minor changes were suggested by these committees from the Ashok Mehta committee. The next landmark was the introduction of 64th and 65th Constitutional Amendment Bills, in July 1989 by Rajiv Gandhi government, which could not be passed in the Council of States (Rajya Sabha).

After many attempts, in 1992, incorporating important features of earlier exercises on this subject, government drafted and introduced the 73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendment bills in Parliament in 1992 which was passed by the Indian Parliament in 1993. The 73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendments introduced new parts IX and IXA in the Indian Constitution containing Articles 243 to 243 ZG.

12.5 73rd Constitutional Amendment – implementation and implications.

Article 243 B of the Constitution which was inserted into the Constitution under the 73rd Constitutional Amendment, envisages that states and union territories except those with population not exceeding 20 lakhs, will have to constitute a three-tier system of Panchayat i.e., village, intermediate, and district levels. While the district has been defined as a normal district in state, the jurisdiction of village and intermediate levels have not been specifically defined in the Act.

The territorial area of a village Panchayat can be specified by a public notification by the Governor of the state, and may consist of more than one village. Similarly, the intermediate level which can be a Taluk or Block is also to be specified by the Governor through a public notification in this regard. This provides a certain amount of flexibility to the States in constituting Panchayats at the lower and middle levels.

A new schedule, Eleventh Schedule was inserted into the Constitution of India, which provided for obligatory and discretionary functions of the Panchayats at three levels,
(a) The Village Level

(b) The District Panchayat at the district level

(c) The Intermediate Panchayat which stands between the village and district Panchayats in the states where the population is above 20 lakhs

All the seats in a Panchayat shall be filled by persons by direct election from territorial constituencies in the Panchayat area. The electorate is named as “Gram sabha” consisting of persons registered in the electoral rolls relating to a village comprised within the area of a Panchayat.

The Chairperson of each Panchayat shall be elected according to the law passed by a State and such State law shall also provide for the representation of Chairpersons of Village and Intermediate Panchayats in the District Panchayat, as well as members of the Union and State legislature in the Panchayats above the village level.

Hence, the new Amendment Act provided for participation of Members of Parliament and Members of Legislative Assemblies in the Panchayat Union Councils and also in the District Panchayats. The Amendment Act also provided reservation of seats in the three tiers for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and not less than one third of the total seats for women. The tenure of the Panchayats shall be five years.

The law provides that any person who is eligible to be elected to the state legislature shall be qualified to be chosen as a member of a Panchayat. The responsibilities of the Panchayats are clearly laid down in the Eleventh Schedule. (Box.1). Like the National Finance
Box-1: Eleventh Schedule (Article 243 G)

- Agriculture, including agricultural extension
- Land improvement, implementation of land reforms, land consolidation and soil conservation
- Minor irrigation water management and watershed development
- Animal Husbandry, dairying and poultry
- Fisheries
- Social forestry and farm forestry
- Minor forest produce
- Small scale industries, including food processing industries
- Khadi, village and cottage industries
- Rural housing
- Drinking water
- Fuel and fodder
- Roads, culverts, bridges, ferries, waterways and other means of communication
- Rural electrification, including distribution of electricity
- Non-conventional energy sources
- Poverty alleviation programme
- Education including primary and secondary schools
- Technical training and vocational education
- Adult and non-formal education
- Libraries
- Cultural activities
- Market and fairs
- Health and sanitation including hospitals, primary health centres and dispensaries
- Family welfare
- Women and child development
- Social welfare including welfare of the handicapped and mentally retarded
- Welfare of the weaker sections and in particular of the scheduled castes and the scheduled tribes.
- Public distribution system
- Maintenance of community assets.

Consequent to the 73rd Constitutional Amendment as well as the Supreme court’s rulings which effectively mandate that local authorities are also to be treated as “Government or state”, The Panchayats that have acquired substantial legitimacy are recognized as an instrument of the Government and have created participatory structure of grass roots democracy for the rural people. Creation of constitutional bodies like the State Election Commissions and the State Finance Commissions have also given permanency and stability to these institutions. However, most Panchayats continue to be treated as agencies of the state for implementation of prescribed schemes, even though essential services such as provision of drinking water, rural
sanitation, preventive health and primary education are accepted as their legitimate core functions. The structure of district administration under the control of the Collector, characteristically by a command structure and lack of horizontal coordination at the grass roots level, has become somewhat anachronistic in the modern democratic framework of our polity. In order to make local administration more responsive transparent and accountable to citizens there is a need to have a representative government not only in the Union and States but also at the District and Village levels with an equitable division of functions among them.

12.6 74th Constitutional Amendment Implementation and Implications

Under the 74th Constitutional Amendment, the urban areas comprise different types of municipal bodies constituted with reference to character, size and importance of different towns and cities. Municipal Corporations, Municipal Committees, Notified Area Committees, Town Area Committees, and Cantonment Boards are the usual types of municipal bodies and while the first four types were created under the state municipal laws, the Cantonment Boards owed their origin to the Central Act called the Cantonments Act, 1924.

In most of the states, all these types of urban local bodies existed except the Town Area Committees, which had since been abolished and converted into class – III Municipal Committees. Town Area Committees were semi municipal committees constituted for small towns by a separate act of the state legislative assembly.

After passing the Constitution (74th Amendment) Act, 1992, the Government of India notified the Amendment in June 1993. The Act of 1992 provided for a period of one year from the date of its commencement, the states were required to change amend or modify the existing laws to provide for the establishment of urban local bodies under the Act.

The Grama Sabha meetings are held four times in a year i.e. January, 26 (Republic Day), May, 01 (May Day) August, 15 (Independence Day) and October, 02 (Gandhi Jayanthi).
there legislations in order to incorporate the Central Amendment. Various states and union territories have enacted legislations for the governance of the urban local bodies in their respective jurisdictions. For example, the Punjab government enacted the Punjab Municipal Bill, 1998 to replace the Punjab Municipal Act, 1911.

A three tier structure of urban local bodies were proposed in the 74th Constitutional Amendment act namely, Nagar Panchayat or Town Panchayat, Municipalities and Municipal Corporations. We shall discuss briefly the details of the above three urban local bodies established under the 74th Constitutional Amendment Act.

Nagar Panchayat or Town Panchayat

A Nagar Panchayat or Town Panchayat is constituted for a transitional area, i.e., an area in transition from a rural area to an urban area. The population of such an area is 5000 or more but less than 15,000 and the revenue generated from tax and sources exceeds such amount per capita per annum as many be specified by the government from time to time. Every Nagar Panchayat is a body corporate and has a perpetual succession and a common seal with power to acquire and hold, or dispose of properties and may sue and sued.

A Town panchayat shall consist of such number of elected members not less than 9 or not more than 15, as the state government may determine by rules. The members of the legislative assembly representing the constituencies comprising transitional area or any part of thereof, and two members nominated by the state government from amongst persons having special knowledge or experience in municipal administration. The nominated members shall not have the right to vote in the Town panchayat meetings. The term of a Town Panchayat shall be 5 years.

The government shall divide a transitional area (town panchayat area) into a number of territorial constituencies known as wards and each ward shall elect only one member. Out of the total number of seats in Town Panchayat to be filled by direct election, seats are reserved for Scheduled Castes (SC) and Scheduled Tribes (ST) in the same proportion of the population of SCs and STs to the total population of that town panchayat area. In addition, one third of the total number of seats of that area are reserved for women, including the seats reserved for SCs and STs. The town panchayat members shall be elected from amongst its members, One President and one Vice President in a meeting convened by the Deputy commissioner. Every Town Panchayat shall perform obligatory functions such as water supply, drainage, clearing the streets etc. Every town panchayat shall have an executive officer appointed by the state government.

Municipal Council

A Municipal Council or municipality is constituted for a small urban area with a population of 15,000 or more but is less than 3 lakhs and the revenue generated from the tax and other sources exceeds...
such amount per capita per annum as may be specified by state government from time to time.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Municipality Grade</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Class A</td>
<td>1 Lakh or more</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class –B</td>
<td>50,000 – less than 1 lakh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class – C</td>
<td>Less than 50,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A Municipal Council or Municipality for example in Class-A, not less than 20 and not more that 50 elected members; Class-B 15-30, and Class-C, 10-15. The members of State Legislative Assembly representing the constituencies lying within the municipal area are “Ex-Officio” members of the Municipal Council. Not more than 3 members are nominated by the state government. The nominated members do not have the right to vote in the elections of the chairpersons and vice chairpersons. The members are elected through secret ballot.

The whole municipal area is divided into wards, as per the number of councilors to be elected, say 15 or 30 or 10. The electoral rolls of the legislative assembly in relation to municipal area are generally taken as the voters list. The candidates contesting in the elections are allotted symbols. The symbols of the recognized political parties are allotted only to the candidates sponsored or adopted by the them.

The Deputy Commissioner has to call the meeting of the elected members within 14 days of the notification of the election results to administer the Oath of office and to hold the election of the President and Vice-President. As that of Town Panchayats, seats are reserved for the SCs and STs according to the proportion of the population of SCs and STs to the total population of the municipal area. In addition, 30 per cent of total seats are reserved for women including the SCs and STs seats.

The 74th Amendment provide the constitution of ward committees consisting of one or more wards within the territorial area of a Municipality, having a population of 3 lakhs or more. A member of a Municipality representing a ward with in the territorial area of the ward committee shall be a member of the ward committee. The Standing Committees shall be constituted for each Municipality consisting of the President, senior Vice-President, and Vice president and 4 other members in the case of Class- A, 2 in the case of Class-B from among the elected members for a period of 2 and half years. The term of office of Municipality is five years. The elected municipality can be dissolved if it is not performing as per the provisions of law.

The Municipal Council meets at least once in a month, presided over by the President or in his/her absence Vice-President. The Municipal Council with the increasing load of work, elects subcommittees comprising councillors from amongst itself to study a problem in depth and make recommendation for its solution. The sub committees are of two types statutory committees and, non-statutory committees. Municipal bodies also appoint special sub committees for certain specific purposes and follow the
same procedure for their election as it adopts the constitution of standing sub committees.

A Municipal Council elects its President from amongst members within one month of the constitution of Municipal Council. The Municipal Council is constituted after elections are held. The President is elected for a period of 5 years. The Municipal Council also elects one or two Vice- Presidents. The Presidents of the municipalities in various states draw monthly salary in addition to travelling allowance. The President convenes and presides over the meeting of the Municipal Council. He/ She is empowered to take disciplinary action against offending councilors. The President is the chief spokesperson of the Municipal Council and represents it at official functions and also with regard to correspondence with the government.

The state government in every municipality appoints an Executive Officer. The Executive Officer is the principal executive authority and all municipal staff is sub-ordinate to him/ her. He/ She is the important officer to execute, supervise monitor and report the activities of the Municipalities to the council. The Municipal Council is the governing body of the Municipality, responsible for Municipal Administration. It makes by laws the governing place and time of council meetings, the manner of giving notices, the conduct of meetings.

The councilors are expected to keep themselves in touch with the citizens and enquire about their grievances against municipal staff, and bringing to the notice of the appropriate administrative head or to raise the matter in the council meetings. The powers and responsibilities of municipalities are enshrined in the Twelfth Schedule of the Constitution. (See Box-2)

**ACTIVITY**

Examine why local governments have been entrusted with the very important responsibilities provided in the 11th and 12th Schedule of the Constitution.

The 74th Constitutional Amendment provided the constitution of committee for district planning, to prepare a draft development plan for the district as a whole. The Committee shall consolidate the plans prepared by the panchayats and municipalities in the district. The composition of the District Planning Committee as provided in the Act of 1992, consists of that not less than 4/5th of the total members of the committee. They shall be elected by and from amongst the elected members of the Panchayats at the district level and of the municipalities in the district, in proportion to the ratio between the population of the rural areas and of the urban areas in the district.

The Municipalities have been provided with the power to raise revenue for discharging its duties and performing its functions such as the taxes, duties and fees which could be levied and collected by the Municipalities (For example: tax on lands and buildings, scavenging tax on octroi, a tax on advertisements, a fire tax, toll on roads and bridges etc) the 74th
Amendment Act made it obligatory for the state governments to Constitue State Finance Commission within one year from the commencement of Act.

The State Finance Commission shall make recommendations regarding:

(i) Distribution between the state government and municipalities of the net proceeds of taxes, duties, tolls and fees to be assigned or appropriated by the state;

(ii) Allocation of share of such proceeds between the municipalities at all levels in the states;

(iii) Determination of taxes, duties tolls and fees to be assigned or appropriated by the municipalities;

(iv) Grants-in-aid to fund the state;

(v) Measures needed to improve the financial position of the municipalities.

Box No-2 : Twelfth Schedule of the constitution: Powers and Responsibilities of Municipalities

Subject

- Urban Planning including town planning
- Regulation of land use and construction of buildings
- Planning for economic and social development
- Roads and Bridges
- Water supply for domestic purposes,
- Public Health, sanitation conservancy, and solid waste management
- Fire services
- Urban forestry, protection of the environment, and promotion of ecological aspects
- Safeguarding the interests of weaker sections of society, including the handicapped and mentally retarded
- Slum improvement and up gradation
- Urban poverty alleviation
- Provision of urban amenities and facilities such as parks, gardens and play grounds
- Promotion of cultural, educational and aesthetic aspects
- Burials and burial grounds, cremations, cremation grounds and electric crematoriums
- Cattle ponds, prevention of cruelty to animals
- Vital statistics including registration of births and deaths
- Public amenities including street lighting, parking, bus stops and public conveniences
- Regulation of slaughter houses and tanneries
However in practice, the Municipalities in our country undertake only such functions which have been specifically assigned to them by respective state legislative enactments. This restrictive approach to municipal functions no longer holds good in the changed political context and needs of the country. There has been increasing tendency on the part of the state government to take over more and more local functions either directly or by creating special purpose agencies.

**Activity**

Imagine a city’s commercial area. The footpaths on either side of the road have trees, vendors, junction boxes, electricity poles and parked vehicles too. With the lack of space, people walk on the road instead of the foot path. Can you give suggestions to local self-government institutions/corporation to make public facilities accessible to all in not more than 200 words.

**Municipal Corporations**

The Municipal Corporations constitute the highest or the top most form of urban local government in India. They are created for big cities by the enactments of the State Legislatures or of the Parliament in the case of Union Territory. The various categories of the cities are determined by its population, area or revenues. Municipal Corporations in the early period were established in three Presidency towns viz; Bombay, Madras and Calcutta. A Municipal Corporation is based on the democratic principle of management of local affairs by the representatives of the people of the city concerned, who are to be elected periodically on the basis of universal adult franchise with reservation of seats for SCs and STs in proportion to their population and also for women. The Municipal Corporation is marked by statutory separation of deliberative and executive wings.

The Corporation Council and the Standing Committees Constituted the deliberative wing and the executive wing. The Council, consisting of elected representatives and a few nominated members, is responsible for the exercise of legislative powers. The Standing Committees function as an auxiliary of the Corporations. All the matters to be passed by the council pass through it after it considers the proposals and recommendation made by the Municipal Commissioner. The Municipal Commissioner is the chief executive and implementing the decisions taken by the council.

Municipal Corporations in India are generally structured on the pattern of Bombay Municipal Corporation. The tenure of the Municipal Corporation is 5 years. The 74th Amendment provides wards committees, which shall be considered for one or more wards within the territorial areas of the Corporation. The chairperson shall be elected for one year and shall be eligible for re-election. A ward committee supervises provision of water supply, pipes and sewage, drainage connections to premises removal of accumulated water on streets.
or public places due to rain or other, collection and removal of solid waste, provision of health immunization, services for the civic services in slum and lighting, repair of roads, maintenance parks drains and etc.,.

A Municipal Corporation shall have a Standing Committee constituted by it, consisting of Mayor, the senior deputy Mayor and other councilors elected by the councilors of the Corporation from amongst the members. The Mayor shall be the chairperson of the Standing Committee. The Municipal Corporation also constitutes committees to deal with subject matters such as water supply, sewage etc.,. Each subject committee shall consist of not less than three and not more than five members.

The term of the subject committees is one year. The Municipal Corporations have been provided with financial resources to carry out its duties assigned

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**ACTIVITY**

_Pune Tops In Urban Governance, Bengaluru Worst, Finds Survey_

**Top Five Cities**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Top Five Cities</th>
<th>Ranking</th>
<th>Bottom Five Cities</th>
<th>Ranking</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pune</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>Chennai</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kolkata</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>Patna</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thiruvananthapuram</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>Dehradun</td>
<td>3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhubaneswar</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>Chandigarh</td>
<td>3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surat</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>Bengaluru</td>
<td>3.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Ranking of cities out of 10**

_Cities Face Five Systemic Challenges_

A. Lack of modern contemporary framework of spatial planning of Cities and design standards for public utilities such as roads, footpaths, bus stops and other underground utilities.

B. Weak finances, both in terms of financial sustainability and Financial accountability of cities.

C. Poor Human Resource Management, in terms of number of staff, Skills and competencies of staff, organization design among others.

D. Powerless mayors and city councils and severe fragmentation of Governance across municipalities, parastatal agencies and state departments.

E. Total absence of platforms for systematic citizen participation and lack of transparency in finances and operations of cities.

_Source: Annual Survey of India’s City Systems (ASICS)_

_Courtesy: The New Indian Express, 15.3.2018._
to it by the 74th Amendment. A list of 18 functions to be performed by Municipal Corporations has been given in the 12th Schedule of the Constitution. Like the 73rd Amendment Act, the 74th Amendment Act also provided for a committee planning metropolitan area.

The Committee consists of not less than 2/3rd of the members who shall be elected by and from the elected members of the Municipalities and chairpersons of the panchayats in the metropolitan area in proportion to the ratio between the population of Municipalities and of the Panchayats in that area.

All Municipal Corporations are provided with the office of the Mayor and Deputy Mayor. Mayor in some states are directly elected by all the voters with in the metro city. In some states, Mayor is elected from amongst the elected councilors. The Mayor presides over council meetings, guide its deliberations to maintain decorum and exclude any objectionable portion from the record of the proceedings of the council. He/She is also empowered to expel and even suspend members for gross misconduct or disorderly behaviour. In case of a tie he/she exercises his/her casting vote.

The Municipal Commissioner is the chief executive officer of the Corporation. Normally the commissioner is being appointed from officers in I.A.S (Indian Administrative Service) cadre. The commissioner’s appointment vested in the state government, has been a subject of great controversy. The term of the commissioner is three years, which can be extended by the state government. He/she is one of the statutory municipal authorities to carry out the provisions of the Corporation Act.

12.7 The case of Tamilnadu

The Tamilnadu State Election Commission established under the 73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendments, gives a brief account of the status of local government in the state of Tamilnadu.

As stated by the Tamilnadu State Election Commission, under the 73rd Constitutional Amendment Act (Rural Local Bodies) the government of Tamilnadu as a constitutional obligation has taken into account important points including: formation of Gram Sabha in every village with powers of general supervision over the elected village Panchayat and the power to grant approval to the annual plans of the Panchayats; formation of three tier Panchayats i.e., District Panchayats, Panchayat Unions and Village Panchayats made obligatory; reservation of seats for weaker sections of society like SCs, STs and Women; powers to impose taxes and provision for grants, assignments etc., from government funds through constitution of a State Finance Commission.

ACTIVITY

Students are divide into, as many groups as needed to visit nearby local body office for understanding the problems of the local bodies.
Under the 74th Constitutional Amendment Act, devolution of more functions and taxing powers; revenue sharing with state governments; regular conduct of elections; reservation of seats for SCs and STs and for women; uniform composition of the urban bodies throughout the country were provided.

Following 73rd constitutional amendment the Tamilnadu Panchayats Act was passed in 1994, which replaced the earlier Tamilnadu Panchayats Act, 1958. The Tamilnadu Panchayats Act, 1994 was amended in 1996. The Act of 1996 provided as far as Panchayats are concerned: to plan for their developmental needs, constitution of District Planning Committee; constitution of State Election Commission and constitution of State Finance Commission. In the first elections under the 1994 Act, 1,17,000 representatives were elected for the three different tiers of local government across Tamilnadu.

The State of Tamilnadu has 12,564 village panchayats, 388 panchayat unions and 31 district panchayats.

Urban Local Governments

As far as urban local bodies are concerned, the 74th Constitutional Amendment Act, paved the way for setting up urban local bodies in various states. Elections were held to the rural and urban local bodies in Tamilnadu in 1996, 2001, 2006 and 2011.

12.8 Contemporary Issues

There are many issues which are highlighted by the experts in the field of local governance from time to time. The main issues brought out by the experts are provided in the following section. First there is considerable expansion in responsibilities of local governments, which were previously state government responsibilities.

Taking into account the capacities of the levels of government and the line of control, throughout government apparatus should be considered and reclassification of list is needed. Second, maintenance of village courts is also an important issue, where the policing is state wise centralized, which can not entrusted practically to the local governments.

Third, urban local bodies are entrusted with many functions out of which many of them are connection with the state government departments.

In sum, the 73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendment Acts brought reforms in local government in India. The rural and urban local bodies prior to the reforms were the creation of the British. Many new and innovative changes were brought in the amendments. So far only
18 states in India have ratified or approved the amendments in their legislative assemblies, which is required as per the law. In addition, many state government even after enacting the amendments and ratified them, have not put in to operation many provisions, because of the issues mentioned above. Unless these issues are resolved, the objectives for which the 73rd and 74th amendments were made, could not realized.

**ACTIVITY**

Take some leading dailies and collect information about the local issues published in the paper, and among the class students, try to evolve some solution to the issues.

There are 12 Municipal Corporations, 148 Municipalities and 561 Town Panchayats in Tamilnadu as urban local bodies.

**Glossary**

**Municipal Corporation:** Municipal Corporation is the legal term for a local governing body. A Municipal Corporation or city corporation is a local government in India that administers urban areas with a population of more than one million.

**Municipality:** A Municipality is usually a single urban or administrative division having corporate status and powers of self-government or jurisdiction as granted by national and state laws to which it is subordinate.

**Cantonment Board:** A Cantonment Board is a civic administration body in India under the control of the Ministry of Defence. The Board comprises elected members besides ex-officio and nominated members as per the Cantonments Act, 2006.

**Town Panchayat:** A town panchayat is a small town of approximately 20,000 to 25,000 inhabitants. It is formed under the panchayati raj administrative system.

**Panchayati Raj:** Panchayati Raj generally refers to the system of local self-government in India introduced by a Constitutional Amendment in 1992.

**Gram Sabha:** Gram Sabha is a body consisting of all persons whose names are included in the electoral rolls for the Panchayat at the village level.

**Mayor:** Mayor is a person who is elected or chosen to lead the group who governs a town or city.
**Ward:** A ward is a local authority area, typically used for electoral purposes.

**Nagar Palika:** In India, Nagar Palika, is an urban local body that administers a city of population 100,000 or more.

**Councillor:** A member of a council

**Dyarchy:** Government by two independent authorities (especially in India 1919–35).

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**Evaluation**

**I Choose the correct answer:**

1. When was the Madras (Chennai) Municipal Corporation established?
   - (a) 1870
   - (b) 1882
   - (c) 1687
   - (d) 1992

2. When was the Lord Rippon’s Resolution adopted?
   - (a) 1992
   - (b) 1858
   - (c) 1882
   - (d) 1870

3. The dyarchy system was established for the first time under
   - (a) Government of India Act, 1909
   - (b) Government of India Act, 1919
   - (c) Government of India Act, 1935
   - (d) Government of India Act, 1958

4. The Nagarpalika Bill was passed in the year
   - (a) 1989
   - (b) 1990
   - (c) 1991
   - (d) 1992

5. What is the percentage of reservation of seats in local bodies for women under 73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendment Acts?
   - (a) 45
   - (b) 50
   - (c) Proportionate to the percentage of population of women in the constituencies
   - (d) 20

6. State Finance Commission is the organ responsible for
   - (a) Recommend to the state government about sharing of taxes between state and the local bodies
   - (b) Recommend to the state governor on the issue of elections
   - (c) Recommend to the President of India on issues connected with financial emergencies
   - (d) Recommend to the chief Minister about the law and financial situations in the state
7. District Planning Committee is provided under
   (a) 93rd Constitutional Amendment Act
   (b) 73rd Constitutional Amendment Act
   (c) 89th Constitutional Amendment Act
   (d) 94th Constitutional Amendment Act

8. Jawahar Rozgar Yojana is a programme
   (a) To provide employment guarantee
   (b) To get loan from Public sector banks
   (c) To construct housing units
   (d) To get employment abroad

9. The Delhi Development Authority (DDA) was set up on 30 December 1957 under
   (a) An act of Delhi Assembly
   (b) An executive order of the President of India
   (c) An Act of the Parliament
   (d) The order of the Leivtenant Governor of Delhi.

10. Which of the following election has no place for political parties?
    (a) Municipal Corporation Mayor Election
    (b) Municipal Council Election
    (c) Panchayat President and Panchayat Ward Member Election
    (d) District Councillor Election

11. who is considered as the father of Local self Government in India?
    (a) Lord Mayo
    (b) Robert Clive
    (c) Warren Hastings
    (d) Lord Rippon

12. Who conducts Local body elections in states?
    (a) State Election commission
    (b) Election commission of India
    (c) Chief election commissioner
    (d) The State Government

13. which are the Articles in the Constitution of India that deals with Local Government?
    (a) Art. 40, Art. 243 to 243 O , Art. 243 p to 243 ZG
    (b) Art. 300, Art. 300A
    (c) Art. 3A, Art. 43 A
    (d) Art. 31, Art. 117 (1)
   (a) Village Panchayat – Intermediate Panchayat – District Panchayat
   (b) Panchayat Union – District Panchayat – Village Panchayat
   (c) District Panchayat – village Panchayat – Intermediate Panchayat
   (d) Village Panchayat – Town Panchayat – District Panchayat – Intermediate Panchayat

15. Assertion: 73rd Amendment Act brought rural local bodies
   Reason: Democracy reached grass root level through local governments
   Directions: Given below are two statements labelled as Assertion (A) and Reason (R) in the context of the two statements, which of the following is correct?
   (a) Both A and R are true and R is the correct explanation of A.
   (b) Both A and R are true but R is not the correct explanation of A.
   (c) A is true but R is false.
   (d) A is false but R is true.

II Answer the following questions very shortly

16. What is the lowest unit of the Panchayati Raj system in Tamilnadu?
17. What are the days the Gram Sabha meets in a year?
18. What is the term of office of a Mayor of Municipal Corporation.
19. Describe the powers and functions of the State Finance Commission.
20. Does the local bodies in Russia have any executive powers to do anything?
21. Which committee recommended the establishment of Panchayati Raj Institutions?
22. What are the sources of revenue of a village Panchayats?
23. Give at least two reasons for the need for the PRI institutions in India?
24. How many municipal corporations are there in the state of TamilNadu?
25. Who is levying and collecting Entertainment Tax?

III Answer the following questions shortly

26. Give at least three salient features of the PRI.
27. Define an urban area
28. Explain the concept of local self government
29. What are the main problems of big cities in India?
30. Explain the organization of Mahasabhas.
31. What were the major changes brought by the British in local administration?
32. Explain that functions of the Metropolitan Planning committee.
IV Answer the following questions in detail

33. Explain the system of Panchayati Raj in India.
34. Describe the functions and powers of the Mayor of a Municipal corporation
35. Write a short note on the State Election Commission.
36. Trace the developments in Local governments in India after passing of the 73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendments.
37. Trace the origin of the local self government in India

Reference


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- Http://www.cssforum.com.pk/cssaccessed on 1/16/2018
- Copy right material : enquiries to Jeffrey Hays ajhays@yahoo.com
- TamilNadu state election commission, http://www.tnsec.tn.in/about_us/introduction.html
Let us learn about the villages in Tamil Nadu.

**Steps**

1. Click the URL or scan the QR code to launch the “Village maps” page and learn the name of the districts and number of villages in the district.

2. “Click any “district” (For Example: Cuddalore) to know the sub districts of the district and number of villages in it and click the “Map” on the right side to have satellite view.

3. Click any “Sub-District” (For Example: Virudhachalam) to know the number of villages pertaining to the sub district and click the “Map” on the right side to have satellite view.

4. Click any “village” (For Example: Nallur) to know the map of the village.

**Download Link**

*Pictures are indicative only.

*If browser requires, allow Flash Player or Java Script to load the page.

URL: http://villagemap.in/tamil-nadu.html
**Introduction**

Until the late 20th century, most philosophical discussions of justice and equality were limited in scope to a single society. Even Rawls's theory of justice, for example, had nothing to say about the distribution of wealth between societies. In the 1990s philosophers began to think about the moral implications of the vast inequality in wealth between the leading industrialized countries and the countries of the developing world, some of which were afflicted with widespread famine and disease. The German-born philosopher Thomas Pogge argued that affluent countries are responsible for increasing the poverty of developing countries and thus for causing millions of deaths annually.

**Learning Objectives**

This Social Justice chapter – Provides insights into

- Several dimensions of the concept of Social Justice
- Significance of Social Justice
- The meaning and importance of distributive justice. -Impact of Social hierarchy
- John Rawls perspective of fair and just society
- Social Justice Movements in Tamil Nadu.

- The concept/political principle of Affirmative Action/Positive Discrimination.
- Caste discrimination and its consequences
- Egalitarian society
- Reservation policy and its essentiality
- Government’s role in upliftment
- Privileges and its impact
13.1 What do you mean by Social Justice?

The negative values which are made by the society results in inequality and cleavage among people. Gender inequality may be quite natural, if looked upon superficially. All along the centuries, women were subjugated and exploited without an opportunity which portrays them as weaker section. The negative attitude against blacks of Africa belongs to same category which is mentioned in the previous lines. Blacks were discouraged and kept aside as knowledge less. This situation continued for many centuries and factualised against the black community. Same situation prevails also in India. Many people were refused opportunities on the basis of caste and it is believed as natural one in the society. Every action and reaction is fudged one in our country. Power as a demon spread its tentacles in all the sphere of the society, as stated by so many experts and exponents. Social power is the dominant phenomenon which leads to cut-throat competition and ends in absolute control of the subjects. It is in order to protect the social identity, the dominant communities endeavor to capture the power sector. Among different communities in a plural society, dominance of a single group is considered as unfair and unjust. The dominant groups activate racial, religious, caste, lingual and cultural feelings and intend to misuse the social rights of other groups that may end in permanent hostility between different groups. The struggle that is undertaken by the weaker groups in order to react for establishing equal society is known to be Social Justice.

Background of Social Hierarchy

The ancient Indian civilization had evolved with the “Varnashrama Dharma” which kick-started the principle of hierarchy i.e. Upper and Lower strata. The Varna system is also called as “Four Varna System” by which people were divided as Brahmmins, Kshatriyas, Vysyas and Shudras.

This division on the basis of birth has been inculcated and socialized along different phases of civilization from which inequalities surfaced in the society.

Race, religion and lingual minorities UN proclamation – December 18, 1992.

Salient Features

1. All minorities are having equal right without any discrimination and intervention to exercise their freedom in following hereditary values, to cling with religion, to propagate and to use their language.

2. All minorities can make their own organization and are having every right to maintain it.

3. Minorities should have right to upgrade their knowledge related with their history, conventions, language and other hereditary values. They should also be provided with opportunity to learn about entire society to which they belong to.

4. This declaration may not affect the basic freedom which is stipulated in the existing rights declaration.
Article 15 (4) of Indian Constitution

Article 29 (2) may not act as an obstacle in making special policy decisions for socially and educationally backward communities or SC/ST people.

Article 16 (4) of Indian Constitution

This will not prevent any sort of appointment or reservation among backward communities, if sufficient representation is not provided. India is a sub-tropical, sub-continent with varied geographical atmosphere. People speak different languages and follow unique hereditary values. Albeit of these factors, inequality is existing due to the Varna System. It is in order to advance and develop the socio-economic conditions of the downtrodden communities; Indian Constitution is having its ideal guidelines with strong structural foundation.

According to Indian Constitution, States which are having low technological development or inadequate natural resources can make their own special policies for holistic advancement. In accordance with the existing constitutional provisions, the downtrodden and underprivileged communities were provided with special laws and privileges in all the states.

Ideas like all inclusive development and self-sufficient societal growth highly hinges upon social justice along with special arrangements for the marginalized sections. Equal opportunity is the process and social arrangement by which social democracy can sustain and pluralism will be strengthened. In such a society different groups of religion, race and other factors can live with their social identity, tolerance and shared power.

Economic condition and status is one among the reason for the wedge created in the European society. Whereas in India, the division is on the basis of purusasvaktha of Rigveda and particularly Four Varna System.

This Varna System prevents individuals from their exercise of rights and values. Indian Constitution in this regard is implementing all its supervisory mechanisms and also is delivering distributive justice which is the motto of the largest democracy. This justice intended to weed out the caste distinction (Varna System) and to establish equal society in India.

The democratic values in Indian Constitution protects and delegate power to all the people equally to develop themselves in the socio-economic sectors. Sticking on with this constitutional provisions may lead to social development and further give place for social freedom and justice. Hence, vibrant social justice in India protects National Integration from which distributive justice and democratic values are concretized.

DEBATE

Democracy is being misunderstood as in terms of numbers, votes or the reflection of majority. All-inclusive representation is the new thought which is growing in the society. Democracy succeeds successfully only in the all inclusive system.
I3.2 Equality is essential for Social Justice

People accept equality as an essential phenomenon but still inequality and discrimination are serving as distributing factors. Inequality prevails in almost all spheres like opportunities, comforts and working atmosphere. This kind of inequality and discrimination are permanent and unavoidable in our life, is it so? What we are going to do for the people, who do not have opportunities to work for the development of our nation? How far cultural values are responsible for this kind of inequality.

This is not only happening in India, but also at global level which creates stir in the minds of the people. It is for this reason, social equality stood in primary place in the Socio-political principles. Equality as a principle indicates what? What do you mean by “equal society”. How do we assure equality? With that assurance, what we are going to achieve? Do we try to resolve inequality only in our income? What type of equality has to be established? To whom we have to provide equality?

Need of special privileges

If poor children were not provided with adequate education and proper health care, we are raising hue and cry.

We give our voice for justice. First let us understand what we accept and which we refuse. If a person is treated with great respect on the basis of his caste, language or race, we may not tolerate the reputation. If a person wants to achieve in a field like music and if he is denied opportunity on the basis of caste, religion, gender and race that is injustice. Why this kind of discrimination and divisive tendencies exist?

ACTIVITY

Visit a nearby building construction site and check whether different wages are given to male and female workers for the same job?

We have to understand the reasons. If opportunity is denied along with social identity, that is absolute injustice in a society. This creates inequality among the people. Regardless of caste, gender, religion and other differences, people should be provided with appropriate opportunities to prove their talent and capacities in the individual life. In socio-political theories, the distinction between the difference among individual and socio-cultural differences exiting among them is considered as an important aspect. Individuals should receive respect and reputation on the basis of their
achievements and talents. It should not be on the basis of social identities. Inequalities and discriminatory practices which prevail in the society are artificial and are known as prejudices.

13.3 Just Distribution

When we agreed to the idea that different people in a society must be treated differently, the subsequent question would be who and how we can ensure the Justice. Governments can and will enact laws to facilitate the just distribution of resources to individuals within a society. Laws simply pave the way for the fair distribution of resources. Law enforcing agencies may have to monitor the process of the distribution itself. This is the ideal situation.

A country like ours where socio-cultural inequalities are well entrenched, a law for fair distribution will not automatically ensure just distribution of resources. Governments will have to ensure a level playing field in order to establish Justice. In other words, before the law brings us together, people should enjoy some basic equality of life conditions and opportunities. This attempt to create a level playing field must be seen as a necessary condition for each person to pursue his/her objectives in life. Since our constitution has abolished untouchability and other caste-based discriminatory practices, both the State and the legislature would have to ensure the creation of such a level playing field. Thus, the government which swears in the name of protecting
our constitution has the obligation of ensuring one of the finest promises of our constitution itself – bringing in equality to our society. Therefore, it is legal, constitutional and moral on the part of the government to create a level playing ground for all its citizens especially those who have been historically denied basic rights.

This level playing field or what we popularly call ‘equal opportunity’ must not be treated either as charity or as philanthropic gesture of the government. It is the obligation on the part of the government to treat people differently in order to ensure Justice; more importantly it is a fundamental right enshrined in the constitution for disadvantaged people to seek legal, constitutional remedy. Similarly, level playing ground is aimed at creating equal opportunity only in education and employment opportunities for the disadvantaged communities. In many realms of our everyday lives, there is virtually no demand from the marginalized sections to provide a level playing ground.

This clearly conveys the meaning of what is the aim of providing equal opportunity. When modern education becomes the most significant resource and employment in government sector remains a major source of livelihood, the concept of level playing ground or equal opportunity was advocated and subsequently this idea became an integral part of our constitutional apparatus.

There are several opinions in this regard. How should we distribute the resources and ensure equal opportunity/fair access to education and jobs to all especially to the disadvantaged groups. Many especially people from the so called upper echelon of the society tend to think of treating people differently in order to ensure just distribution effectively amounts to discrimination. This opinion slowly and steadily invokes strong passion and at times results in violence too. The fear of losing educational and employment opportunities among the privileged communities was steadily growing as the government planned to ‘reserve’ seats for people from marginalized and underprivileged communities as part of its equal opportunity plan.

The idea of ‘merit’ would be invoked by the privileged sections of our country to argue that any attempt to ‘reserve’ seats for the underprivileged people would strongly damage merit based output of our education system; thus it would subsequently affect the professional abilities of the candidates. But as students of political theory, we must be able to dispassionately examine the issues involved in our quest to understand Justice. Do you first of all
agree that some interventions are required to help the marginalized, underprivileged people? What would be the outcome if the privileged section retains all the resources including education and employment opportunities with themselves even after we become an independent country and a republic? Should we opt for an inclusive nation or an exclusive mob? What kind of social justice we would eventually emulate?

13.4 Distributive Justice and Retributive Justice

The substantial point of debate while studying the concept of justice would be how the resources would be distributed to all sections of the society. In order to understand this point more clearly let us dwell upon a few important perspectives on the issue of justice. In conventional understanding of politics, there are a few major theories of justice being discussed at length. Equality of resources, common ownership theories and entitlements are often referred while discussing justice.

A. Equality of Resources

This perspective defines distribution of resources to be just; that is to say, if every individual has the same effective resources that amounts to justice. If, for some given work, each person obtains the same amount of wage or reward, that is how we must realize justice. If inequality exists it is singularly the result of individual choices – to be a productive earner or to be a person of leisure. This perspective effectively rejects self-ownership and resource ownership but strongly advocates only responsibilities and obligations.

B. Common Ownership Theories

These theorists argue that a fair distribution means each person in the initial stages must have the same amount of land or other valuable resources. It clearly means there are no major differences in terms of an individual’s preferences and abilities. All individuals are endowed with equal amount of abilities. Therefore, by ensuring common ownership of resources, we can bring in substantial justice.

C. Entitlements Theory

It defines just distribution when land or any other resources disbursed must be historically justified. Individuals who have never had the ownership of land or other resources can appropriate it by voluntary transfer between and among themselves. Transfer of resources, for them, must be absolutely voluntary.

All these perspectives as it is evident from the brief description do focus on both resources and human ability. Resources could be for example, land as well as knowledge; human ability also plays a vital role for some theorists. There is a grand consensus that justice in a society is possible only when it becomes distributive rather than retributive. How do we define retributive justice?

D. Retributive Justice

The concept of retributive justice is often invoked in several contexts. One can understand the framework of this form of justice by following certain principles.

i). Those who have committed wrongful acts, serious crimes do deserve harsh
punishment quite proportionate to their crime.

ii). It is morally good; when the legitimate punisher gives the culprit a stern punishment what that person deserves; no matter whether the punitive action against wrong doers is compared with others or not, the punishment is necessary as moral good.

iii). It does not encourage punishing the innocent intentionally and also disapproves inflicting large punishments on wrongdoers disproportionately.

Even though, the idea of retributive justice played vital role in theorizing punishment and Justice for some time, some of its pivotal features such as proportionality, normative status of suffering and the ultimate justification for retribution become highly contentious.

In a country like India, there are a few who tacitly approve violence as a mean to achieve and establish Justice by advocating retributive justice for many wrong acts. This is highly untenable proposition in modern context. Retributive justice as a modes operandi to establish justice was firmly rejected in our constitution itself. The architects of our constitution firmly believed that violent methods will not bring in peaceful and enduring solutions to our problems nor does it establish sustainable Justice in our society.

Our intention is to introduce several perspectives on Justice to you. In the process, we must also realize which perspective would be very appropriate in our Indian context to realize the spirit of Justice. Of all these perspectives, the framework offered by John Rawls stands out as a significant one; let's study the vital aspects of his theory.

13.5 John Rawls Theory of Justice

John Rawls is considered as one of the finest political philosophers of 20th century. He developed the theory of Justice based on the paradigm called Justice as Fairness. His framework treats all personal attributes as being morally arbitrary; therefore Justice for him demands equality. For him ‘all social values including liberty, opportunity, income, wealth, self-respect are to be distributed equally. In other words, injustice is ‘simply inequalities that not to the benefit of all’. If/when any action/attribute of an individual that does not benefit all actually signifies inequality and unfair/unjust character of a society. This perspective compels us to have a more comprehensive understanding of Justice itself. Let's see what he says about Justice.

**Impotent works of John Rawls**

- Theory of Justice - 1971
- Die Idee Des Politischen liberalmus - 1993
- Justice as fairness - 1985
- The law of People - 1993

Just think of a moment when you are asked to imagine a new society. It is obvious many would construct a society in which they would place themselves with all power/authority and privileges. Do you think that anyone will imagine themselves in a pitiable situation? Most
likely no one would do that. Why? It is not possible also to imagine people sacrificing their personal ambitions and self-interest in a new society. People will immediately think of their children and their grand children’s welfare. Why would people sacrifice the well-being of themselves and their children? You may wonder how this simple question would be the basis for John Rawls theory of Justice. There are strong foundations for this simple question and its plausible answer.

John Rawls tries to find out an answer for this question. He offers a hypothetical situation for us to imagine. Yes, let’s imagine ourselves to be in a situation in which we have to make decisions about how society should be organized although we do not know which position we would ourselves occupy in that society. We may not know which family we would be born in and similarly no knowledge about our caste, class, religion, gender and region etc. Here Rawls argues that if we do not know where we will be and what options would be available for us in the future society, we will most likely support a decision on the rules and organizations of that future society which would be fair for all members. When we are quite uncertain about our future, we like to facilitate an order in which all members would get a fair deal.

This moment Rawls describes as thinking under a ‘Veil of Ignorance’. We are ignorant about our possible position and status in society; each person would decide the way they generally do – trying to have optimum self interest in the new society. But surprisingly no one knows exactly who he/she would be and what is going to benefit him/her. Each one of us will imagine the future society from the point of view of the worst off. We usually tend to place ourselves with all privileges and entitlements. Now in the new imagined society, we really do not know where and what we will be. In such a situation, what strikes people is, what if we unfortunately are born in a disadvantaged section of the society with a few or very minimal opportunities? Suddenly, we try to create new system in which even persons from the most marginalized sections get reasonable opportunities and resources.

Even though this is a moment of departure, it is not so easy to erase our identities and think/imagine oneself under a veil of ignorance. Similarly, it is not easy to expect people to be self sacrificing and share their good future with unknown people. However, the merit of the ‘veil of ignorance’ framework is that it expects people to just be their usual rational selves; they are expected to think for themselves and choose what they regard to be in their interest.

But what is more important here is that by wearing an imagined veil of ignorance is the first step towards arriving at a system of fair laws and policies. It tries to latch its trust in the human agency of rationality among people in contemporary world. The ethics of reason will create, for Rawls, a new political structure in which people will think of polices not to optimize their self interests but rather envisage society as a whole. This comprehensive and holistic
perspective embedded in Rawls’ framework makes it highly pertinent while debating on Justice. That is to say, it would be in the interest of all sections of the society as a whole must benefit from the policies and rules; not for an exclusive section of a society. Such fairness would be the outcome of rational action not benevolence or generosity. John Rawls theory premises upon the arrival of quintessential modern, rational beings to realize the spirit of Justice in our society; a society like ours wherein non-rational identities and sentiments play a major role in organizing the society, may have to toil to truly understand the spirit of Justice as emulated by John Rawls.

What are the main issues of our Nation?

Beliefs and practices on the basis of caste and religion are dastardly obstacles. In many parts of India, the status of women is at lower level - education, employment, right to property are refused to women. If this situation extends and established as our culture, a major catastrophe may not be averted in India. If inequality and discrimination is stamped as our cultural value, the path of equality may be at cross roads and cannot be attained at all.

Economic Equality

Economic equality can be identified by individual’s income and the value of property, he possess in a society. Otherwise, the gap between rich people community and poor may indicate the status of economic equality. Further, by calculating number of people under poverty line, we may draw strong inferences and resolutions. This kind of identification is widespread among all the nations. But certain discriminations on the basis of culture and historical cum habitual practices, may create precarious issues in the concerned society. Radical reformers during different phases of history, has made wide awareness about these untoward and unethical happenings to the people.

"Humans respected on the basis of caste which he belongs to, is barbarian.
and anti-human thinking", exclaimed E.V.Ramaswamy alias Periyar in Tamilnadu. He out-rightly condemned the cultural practices, habitual follow-ups and other so called values which refutes equality in all its aspects. Periyar also was against “Patriarchal Chauvinism” which subjugated women all along the history.

That society is best which got rid of caste, religion, gender and suppressive habitual practices”, lamented Periyar. Modern society cannot be sanctified by the people who cling towards the language and discriminatory cultural practices. Apart from Periyar, various saints, seers and philosophers took strenuous efforts to have egalitarian society. People who enjoyed all kind of privileges on the basis of dynasty, birth and descent so far has to come to end. Determining an individual's capacity on accordance with the birth is the primary and precarious feature of the unequal society.

All are equal and individual's capacity, if decided on the basis of merit, is the first step towards equal society. So far, number of modern nations refused to provide voting rights for the poor people. There are nations which restricts women education and public offices in the 21st century.

In India, lower strata people are permitted to work only in the clerical and other benefit-less offices. They were not permitted to occupy higher positions, because of their caste identity. Individuals and organization for the past centuries made onerous efforts to curb out in equal menace from the society.

There some human communities which needs special attention, since they were totally ignored and exploited by the upper strata people.

Truthful equality can be identified only in those rare occasions. Injustices unleashed in the past must be identified to know about what real or fair equality is.

Reservation policy is a good initiative from the part of government in delivering equal justice. People, who were denied of education and employment opportunities so far, were provided with reservation for uplifting the condition and status.

Discriminatory practices which were followed for long time in the historical phases may not be curbed out in a short span. Expecting the change within one or two generations is an utopian faith, stated researchers. If reforms happened in short time, it will be a good sign for the development of the entire nation.

Social Justice and Equality

All civilizations were equipped with the awareness of their practices. The accepted practices are “Dharma” and the negative is “Adharma”. Those people who breach these practices will be punished by the king. Mistakes and related punishments are quite natural in all the countries.
Greek philosopher Plato and his disciples often debate and discuss about justice and its practices. Discourses and teachings of Socrates consists of anti-justice people and their impact in the society. Justice and fairness may do only good things in a society.

If justice do favour for certain individuals, that may not be considered and called as justice. Justice is all about the entire development and advancement of a society. Fair justice is applicable to all the people in a society, claimed Socrates. We may infer from the above said arguments that reservation is the fair justice provided to the people, who were hitherto discriminated and exploited.

**Proportional Justice**

The social justice provided by our Indian Constitution to the depressed and downtrodden communities is a helping hand for their development and advancement. But how much and to whom are the major questions?

Caste hierarchy is the primary reason for inequality in our nation. Hence on the basis of the caste hierarchy, social justice has to be maintained/must be maintained. In categorization, we are having backward caste, most backward caste, scheduled caste and scheduled tribe for whom; governments’ policies are distributed accordingly.

**13.7 Discrimination - Social Basis Theory**

As socio – psychologists describes, Human beings identify themselves as part of their group. They felt prestigious and energetic only when they are recognized as a part of their own group. What discrimination means is that out grouping their own members from the membership of their group or ban their members from accessing natural resources. Indeed, wealth is an important matter. Someone of the group’s eligibility and self – respect indirectly defends of someone getting wealth.

Empirical studies confirm that persons with a low sense of social recognition display more out-group devaluation and group-focused enmity based on an ideology of human inequality. Negative attitudes toward different out-groups (ethnic and religious minorities, women, and people who are disabled or homeless) are strongly correlated with each other, indicating the unspecific nature of discrimination.

**13.8 Affirmative Action**

The principle of affirmative action is to promote societal equality through the preferential treatment of socially and economically disadvantaged people.
Often, these people are disadvantaged for historical reasons, such as oppression or slavery. Support for affirmative action has sought to achieve a range of goals: bridging inequalities in employment and pay; increasing access to education; enriching state, institutional, and professional leadership with the full spectrum of society; redressing apparent past wrongs, harms, or hindrances and in particular addressing the apparent social imbalance left in the wake of slavery and slave laws.

For example, a 2017 study found that affirmative action in the United States of America "there is an increase in the share of black employees over time: in 5 years after an establishment is first regulated."

**United States of America**

Though there were developments in Liberty, Economy and Technology in United States of America, still there were sustained discrimination on the basis of colour till the later period of Twentieth century. This raised Civil Rights agitations there.

Following this Affirmation Action was introduced by John F. Kennedy in 1960s in the United States of America. This was called as Executive Order 10925. Through this order, Govt requested the employers not to discriminate their employees or candidates on the basis of race, creed, colour, or national origin.

This order was replaced by another order 11246 in the year 1965. By this the Federal Government commit "to promote the full realization of equal employment opportunity through a positive, continuing program in each executive department and agency". In the U.S., affirmative action’s basic purpose was to pressurize institutions into compliance with the nondiscrimination mandate of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Affirmation Action was extended to women in 1967.

**United Nations**

The International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination stipulates that affirmative action programs may be required for all countries that ratified the convention, in order to rectify systematic discrimination. It states, however, that such programs "shall in no case entail as a consequence of unequal or separate rights for different racial groups after the objectives are achieved."

The United Nations Human Rights Committee states that "the principle of equality sometimes requires State parties to take affirmative action in order to diminish or eliminate conditions which cause or help to perpetuate discrimination prohibited by the Covenant."

**Social Justice laws in South Africa**

Following the transition to democracy in 1994, South Africa chose to implement affirmative action through legislations to correct previous imbalances. As such, all employers were compelled by law to employ previously disenfranchised groups (blacks, Indians, and Coloured). By this the companies employing more than 50 people have to design and implement plans to improve the workforce demographics, and report them to the Department of
Labour. Employment Equity also forms part of a company's Black Economic Empowerment scorecard. Moreover, the Supreme Court has ruled that in principle blacks may be favoured.

**China**

China followed some sort of affirmative action in education for minority nationalities.

**Russia**

Quota systems existed in the USSR for various social groups including ethnic minorities, women and factory workers for access to university education, offices in the former Soviet union.

**New Education – New Requisites**

The educational system which we had in Ancient India was discriminatory. People were permitted to undergo education on the basis of their own caste. After the introduction of new education system in modern India, the marginalized communities are not allowed in the main stream.

In south India, new or modern education was introduced by Christian missionaries of European nations. In the initial part of 19th century, British established more number of Christian missionaries in many parts of India. Many communities, who were denied educational opportunities, utilized the choice for their development.

**13.9 Status in Madras Presidency**

During the same period, Chennai presidency came under the direct rule of British Empire. Laws like ‘Ryotwari’ were made. Moreover, tax collecting system was introduced. Further, military forces were also instigated. In 1835, English was declared as official and administrative language in India. Indians were appointed in the British Indian military forces. Majority of the people who joined in military were non-Brahmins and deprived communities.

Although colonial British regime appointed Indians in military forces, it hesitated to permit Indian languages in the educational institutions. This untoward situation remained same until the end of the 19th century. People who are fluent in English were appointed in these services. Apart from the Europeans, Anglo-Indians and Brahmins were appointed in all government services.

Due to the establishment of ‘Jamindari’ and ‘Ryotwari’ system in the initial part of 19th century, ‘Landlords’, ‘Zamindars’ and other dominant groups spearheaded in entire India. All the above
said are “Caste Hindus”. “Caste Hindus” domination in all villages greatly affected the villages and particularly, the downtrodden communities were kept aside from the lands in all villages of India.

In this connection, a British officer ‘Francis Ellis’ was appointed to submit the status report regarding ‘Ryotwari System’. In similar way, another officer, ‘Thomas Munro’ also submitted a report related to the ‘Ryotwari System’.

According to the reports, ‘Lands which were tilled by lower strata people, were illegally occupied and acquired by ‘Zamindars’ and ‘Landlords’ and thus caused quality-less farming and low level of yields. It is also reported that Land Income Tax was also affected due to this acquisition. Moreover, the deprived and downtrodden communities were checked-out of their lands and also their children denied admissions in the schools and other educational institutions.

In 1854, court delivered direction that there may not be any restriction to admit children who belongs to lower caste groups. The Caste Hindus and other dominant communities, however, didn’t obey the judgment of the court proceedings. In 1865, Secretary of state for India in British Parliament ordered for admission of children who belong to lower caste groups but the condition remains unchanged.

**Preferential Rights for the Downtrodden**

In 1885, Madras Presidency Government declared financial assistance policies for the downtrodden communities and also the government oriented new schools for the lower caste people.

In the meantime, Tremancre, collector of Chengalpet district submitted a report on the downtrodden communities of Chengalpet. Those excerpts are: People of downtrodden community were at low level in all aspects, particularly social-economic, educational spheres. Lands are denied for them. They were not permitted to build houses for their own. Educational opportunities were rejected. They are sold as slaves. Lots of lands are kept barren. Due to this, income for the government has been diminished. To increase the income of the government, lands can be distributed to the people.

There were so many recommendations present in the officers’ report. In 1892, this report was considered and accepted by the government. Accordingly 12 lakh acres were distributed to the lower caste groups. These lands are called as “Panchami.” Schools for lower caste groups are called as “Panchamer School”.

“Panchamer” means people who are out of Varna System or excluded communities. ‘Ayothidasa’ and ‘Singaravela’ opined that “Panchamer Schools” can be called as “Adidravidar” schools. Since it is the traditional name carved to the category.
British India in the end part of 19th century supported Brahmin development in all spheres, whereas minorities were denied opportunities in education, society, power and employment sectors.

The Non-Brahmins, particularly minorities (lower caste) who studied in the modern educational institutions were dissatisfied with the government’s biased stand. They demanded representation for lower caste groups in government services. Those people who demanded for appropriate representation are Ayyothidasa, Singaravel, Rettamalai Srinivasan, Pitti Theagarayar, Raja of Panagal and many others. Demands put forth by these people were accepted in 1892. Community based representation order was issued in all departments of Madras Presidency. This order is called 128(2). The order has to be implemented in all parts of Chennai Presidency, declared the government.

The efforts taken towards “education to all” in Tamilnadu also spread over to other states of India. Leaders like Jyotiro Phule, Savithribai Phule took onerous efforts in Maharasstra for educating the depressed and downtrodden communities. There were more applications forwarded in 1913 to Royal Commission which was headed by Alexander Cardow. Apart from Madras Presidency, Rangoon Thravi Association and others also submitted their application with demands to the commission. All applications emphasized for appropriate representation in employment for backward, downtrodden and religious minorities. Dr. Natesan, Pitti. Theagarayar, T. M. Nair tried to submit and a report on the burning issue of the minorities and low caste groups. P. Theagarayar has written and published it as "Non-Brahmin Manifesto" in December, 1916.

In 1916, Pitti. Theagarayar, T. M. Nair and others started South Indian Liberal Federation for the welfare of the Non-Brahmin communities. A magazine
“Justice” was also published by this Federation to express their thoughts and ideas. Later on, this Federation was popularly known as “Justice Party”.

This movement spread out “communal representation for Non-Brahmin in education, and employment sectors. In 1915, Justice Party submitted a petition in which it condemned the domination of English and Sanskrit in higher education. Further they demanded to include Tamil and other languages in higher education.

In 1917, 54 Associations met the representative members of British empire and demanded “Fair Representation” for Non-Brahmin communities and other minorities. Moreover, “Communal Representation” was demanded during multiple conferences.

First Communal Representation Order

During the rule of Justice Party in Chennai Presidency, the demand for communal representation reflected in vigorous manner. The prolonged struggle for communal representation by Justice Party and wide support from the people propelled the central government to make resolution in this regard in 1921. This resolution, later on, was called as Communal Representation Decree.

It is the red lettered day in Indian history, lower caste groups, who were suppressed and deprived of Social and Economical condition for many centuries had fullest confidence to lead their life with self-respect and dignity by this decree.

A resolution was submitted by Munusamy the member of legislative assembly in Chennai. The Resolution reads; "Non-Brahmins with minimum educational qualification should be provided with employment opportunity. Non-Brahmins specifically, Christians, Muslims and lower caste groups to be appointed in all government services. For this, a permanent order should be legalized. If salary is above Rs.100, this order should be implemented for 7 years until it reaches 75% of the population". With regard to this resolution, R.K. Shanmugam stated that “If this historical and land mark resolution is implemented, the future generation may really appreciate our truthful efforts towards emancipation”. In supporting this view, Dr. C. Nadesan voiced that “If fair representation is not provided for our people, we will not pay taxes”.

Periyar, EV. Ramaswamy, a staunch supporter of Congress party also eulogized the ideas of Justice Party, he expressed the same demand in Congress Party. In 1925, during the Kanchipuram Congress Party Conference, Periyar passed a resolution regarding communal representation in education and employment. Periyar came out of congress party, since his resolution was rejected by the high command.

In 1928, during the leadership of R. Muthiah, (Justice Party), Communal
representation was passed and implemented in all the government departments.

First Amendment

In the aftermath of the effective implementation of Indian Constitution, in 1951, Mr. Senbagarajan filed a suit in the High Court; related to the denial of Medical Seats. He also mentioned that, communal representation is the reason for the denial of his seat.

The High Court gave its Verdict that Communal representation decree is against the constitution and to be abandoned. In addition to that, Supreme Court also sided with the same Verdict. Reservation Policy on the basis of caste was abandoned due to the Verdict.

State wide protests erupted in Tamilnadu against the Verdict. E. V. Ramasamy, demanded for an amendment in the constitution. It is due to efforts of Periyar, Tamilnadu congress committee President Kamaraj, Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru and Ambedkar, an amendment was made related with the extension of Reservation Policy. This was the first Amendment in the Indian Constitution. Due to this, backward and other communities retained the opportunity of reservation.

According to articles 15 and 16 of Indian Constitution, "Socially and economically backward people can be provided with special privileges". This provision made Nehru to come with First Amendment in the Indian Constitution.

Accordingly, sub-sections 15 (4) and 16 (4) were included in the constitution. After the Amendment, from 1951 onwards Backward Communities receive 25% and Lower Caste 16% respectively due to reservation policy.

Expansion of Reservation

Under the Chief Ministership of M.Karunanidhi, a commission was constituted under the Chairmanship of Sattanathan to take into account on the welfare of backward community.

It is on the basis of the recommendations of Sattanathan commission, backward community got 31% and SC/ST received 18% as reservation in 1971.
In 1979, Social Welfare Department of Tamilnadu Government issued an order (MS No.1156, Dated 02.02.1979). According to this order, annual family income of backward community was fixed as Rs.9,000/-. Later on, that order was repealed.

A new order was issued, in which reservation for backward community was increased from 31% to 50% and for SC/ST it is 18%. To sum-up, 68% reservation came into effect in Tamilnadu.

In continuum with this, in 1989, another suit filed in Supreme Court with regard to allotment of separate reservation for Scheduled tribe (ST) community. In this case, Supreme Court of India delivered the verdict by which, backward community, most backward, scheduled caste and scheduled tribes received 30%, 20%, 18% and 1% respectively. The entire reservation was changed combinedly and 69% came into effect in Tamilnadu.

**Reservation in Central Government:**

**Mandal Commission**

The central government under the Prime Ministership of V.P.Singh consented with the recommendations of Mandal Commission. The Government issued an order which confirmed 27% reservation for Backward Community in Central Government Services.

In opposing this order, Indira Sawhney, filed a suit stating the order breaches the constitutional provisions. She also added that reservation policy overrides the principle “All are equal before Law”.

Supreme Court delivered a clear verdict that 27% for backward community in Central government services can be legalized. Further it states, “the reservation should not reach beyond 50%”.

The Supreme court of India fixed 50% as ceiling for reservation policy, whereas it was not mentioned in the constitution. Moreover, the highest ceiling of 50% can also be discharged.

**Thus the Judgment says**

“Although 50% is the ceiling fixed for the reservation in central government services, it may be changed, taking into account the diversified communities and abnormal situations of this nation”.

“People who are distant, those who could not mingle with the mainstream society or without opportunity, unique in culture may be exempted from this ceiling fixed by the Supreme Court.

50% of the ceiling may be exempted, said the same judges who delivered the famous verdict in this sensitive case.

That said, a member of consumer trust, K.N. Vijayan from Tamilnadu filed a suit stating, 69% reservation in Tamilnadu is given against the Supreme Court Verdict. Supreme Court, however, in its Verdict mentioned that Engineering and Medical Colleges should not be provided reservation more than 50%. It also issued Interim prohibition for the reservation.
It was similar with the untoward happenings during 1951, which prompted the state government under J. Jayalalitha who passed a bill in the state assembly by citing the reference from directive principles of state policy (Article 31(c)).

The bill on 30.12.1993 was given consent by the President of India on 19.07.1994 by which 69% reservation received fullest legal protection. To avert further filing of suit against Tamil Nadu Government, it endeavored to incorporate reservation policy in IXth schedule of the Indian Constitution.

Parliament passed the 76th Amendment in which reservation policy of Tamil Nadu Government was incorporated in IXth schedule of Indian Constitution. Further it came into retrospective effect from November 16, 1992.

Reservation for different communities is a temporary effort to get place in power sector. To attain social change and social ideals, caste hierarchy has to be demolished and eternal equality to be established. One among the means to attain permanent equality is “Inter-Caste Marriages”. Marriages happening within caste may further strengthen caste system and serve as an obstacle for the equal society. Casteless marriages and lateral cum ideal thinking are the best contrivances for making radical social change.

**Backward classes Commission**

According to article 340 of Indian Constitution, President of India can appoint backward classes commission to identify socially and educationally backward groups and also to submit recommendation related to their standards and states.

Hitherto, the Indian government has constituted the backward classes commission.

1. **Kaka Kalelkar Commission**

   Kaka Kalelkar Commission was the first one constituted in 29.01.1953. There were 11 members including the Chairman Jawaharlal Nehru who tabled the report submitted by this commission in the Parliament.

2. **Mandal Commission**

   Central Government under the Prime Minister-ship of Morarji Desai constituted Subindeswari Prasad Mandal Commission on 20.12.1978. This is the second such Commission established for the backward community. S.S. Gill was appointed as the Secretary of this Commission.

   It is in order to identify the condition of backward community; a group was constituted under the leadership of B.B. Mandal in 1978. The group travelled all over the nation. This Commission on the basis of 11 basic reasons identified 3743 castes which comes under backward community. Castes were identified on the ground of peoples’ status in education and
The Government of India appointed the 2nd Backward Classes Commission in 1979. It was headed by B.P. Mandal. Hence it was popularly known as Mandal Commission. It was asked to determine the criteria to identify the socially and educationally backward classes in our country and recommend steps to be taken for their advancement. One of the recommendations was that 27 per cent of government jobs be reserved for the socially and economically backward classes.

It was in December 1980 members of Mandal Commission submitted their report to Zail Singh, the then Home Minister. After submitting the report B.P. Mandal said,

“I know much labour has gone into the writing of this report. But let me tell you that today we have performed its immersion (visarjan) ceremonies.”

Next ten years, the report lay in the Home Ministry’s office. Report was dusted up by the then National Front Prime Minister Vishwanath Pratap Singh (1931 – 2008) for implementation in 1990. Mandal Commission report became the single-most burning topic of controversy and heated discussion. There was total confusion in the national political arena and V.P. Singh was accused of indulging in the worst form of opportunism. No major political party supported the implementation of Mandal Commission recommendations.

Some section of people and associations opposed to this order filed a number of cases in the court. Eleven judges of the Supreme Court heard arguments of both sides and by a majority, the Supreme Court judges in 1992 declared that this was valid. At the same time the Supreme Court asked the government to modify its original order. It said that well-to-do persons among the backward classes should be excluded from getting the benefit of reservation. Accordingly, the Department of Personnel and Training issued another Office Memorandum on September 8, 1993. The dispute thus came to an end and this policy has been followed since then.

Between

Indira Sawhney V. Union of India AIR 1993 SC 477

- Also known as Mandal Commission Case.
- On January, 1979 under the Chairmanship of B.P. Mandal, the second Backward Classes Commission under Article 340 was appointed by the Union Government headed by Prime Minister Morarji Desai.
- One of the major recommendations made by the commission was that, besides the SCs and STs, for other backward classes which constitute nearly 52% of the population, 27% government jobs are be reserved so that total reservation for all, SC, ST and OBCs, amount to 50%.
Mandal has written in the preface of the report which reads, “Madras is a pioneer state in communal representation. It has given representation for backward classes”. We may infer that Tamilnadu is the birth place for Social Justice and serve as a great pioneer for all other states.

52% of the backward communities in India has to be provided with 27% reservation, remarked Mandal Report. This reservation was implemented by V.P.Singh Government on 13.08.1990 in all Government (Central) Services. Due to this order, backward communities who are backward in social and educational sectors entered into central services.

Promoting Social Justice

In order to achieve social justice, it is often suggested that reservation policy is an important tool. We must realize that reservation in education and in jobs is one of the methods to achieve ‘Social Justice’ and not the only method. Social Justice must necessarily premise upon the idea of egalitarian philosophy that no one is inferior or superior to anyone by birth.

Those who have been benefitted extensively by the philosophy of ascriptive status (status based on birth) must realize that such status cannot be part of a modern world; to be a modern person what is more important is to have the consciousness of being equal to everybody around us. Unfortunately ‘modern’ is being equated with latest electronic items and luxury items we possess. Having latest gadgets will not make us modern. For India to become a modern nation, this radical transformation is required more than anything. That is why the social justice is organically embedded in the idea of modern India.

Fraternity - Universal brotherhood which is stipulated in the Indian constitution.
Exploitation – Misusage of resources
Egalitarian society - Society without stratification
Privileges - Special schemes or rights for particular human communities
Injustice - Activities which are against the will of people
Social identity - An indicator which locates the people in a society
Apartheid - Suppression of one race by the other
Varna system - Divisive phenomenon in the society
Minorities - people who belongs to a group at less number in population
Reservation - Policy which helps people for upliftment
Plural society - Varied on the basis of culture

Social change - Change which creates behavioral variation
Civil rights - Rights provided by the government to live in a society
Political rights - Rights of the people in the political sector
Economic equality - Less cleavage between people in terms of economic condition
Dharma - Do's and Don'ts
Landlordism - Exploitation by land owners
Deprived - Economically and socially exploited and exhausted
Panchamer - people who are out of the Varna system
Justice - Fair distribution of authoritative allocation of values

Evaluation

I. Multiple Choice Questions

1. Survival of the fittest theory was coined by
   a) Denim
   c) Darwin
   b) Roosevelt
   d) All the above

2. Slave Trade means
   a) Women trafficking
   b) Child trafficking
   c) Men trafficking
   d) All

3. Apartheid regime means
   a) One race suppressing other
   b) Blacks suppressing whites
   c) Torture
   d) Affluent society
4. A change effected by the social movement from capitalistic to socialistic is
   a) Structural change  b) Organizational change
   c) Both A & B        d) None

5. “Nothing to lose except blood and sweat” is a clarion call by
   a) Marx           b) Mao
   c) Stalin     d) Lenin

6. Narayana Guru belongs to which state?
   a) Andhra Pradesh  b) West Bengal
   c) Maharashtra    d) Kerala

7. “Vaikom Movement” was spearheaded by
   a) Periyar            b) Rajaji
   c) Nehru                 d) Gandhi

8. "An inquiry into Wealth of Nations" was written by
   a) Keynes           b) Adam smith
   c) Rousseau     d) Bodin

9. “It is not by ballots, but by bullets” exclaimed
   a) Castro          b) Mao
   c) Netaji           d) Bagatsingh

10. "I have a dream" was a famous speech by
   a) Lincoln         b) Thoreau
   c) Gandhi           d) Martin Luther king

11. Reservation policy is to
    a) Upliftment       b) Advancement
    c) Justice           d) All

12. Caste system is at high level in
    a) Hinduism         b) Islam
    c) Christianity    d) Zoroastrianism

13. Ambedkar at the end phase converted to
    a) Christianity       b) Hinduism
    c) Buddhism           d) Jain
14. Just society means
   a) No discrimination  b) Casteless
   c) Religion less  d) All

15. Mandal Commission uplifted
   a) SC  b) ST
   c) OBC  d) OC

16 Assertion: Non- brahmins were appointed to government services in British India.
   Reason: Communal Representation Decree was passed in the year 1921.
   (a) Both A and R are true and R is the correct explanation of A.
   (b) Both A and R are true but R is not the correct explanation of A.
   (c) A is true but R is false.
   (d) A is false but R is true.

II. Answer the following questions very shortly
   18. What do you mean by caste discrimination?
   19. What is equality?
   20. What is exploitation?
   21. Define about caste violence.
   22. Explain temple entry movement.

III. Answer the following questions shortly
   23. Write a note on Reservation policy.
   24. Write about Equality in Indian constitution.
   26. Give a brief account on Caste organizations.
   27. Write about caste discriminatory practices in India.
   28. Communal decree - Explain.
   29. Explain the recommendation of Mandal Commission.

IV. Answer the following questions in detail
   30. Write a note on the vitality of ideology for a Nation.
   31. Discuss the basic tenets of equal society.
   32. Give a brief account on political ideas of Periyar.
33. Discuss about various leaders’ role in equality.
34. Write a note on leadership of the modern movements.
35. Explain about new social movement.

Reference Books

### Diary of Events

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>Birth of Dravidian Association</td>
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<tr>
<td>1916</td>
<td>South Indian Liberal Federation was formed</td>
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<td>1917</td>
<td>Justice Party</td>
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<td>1919</td>
<td>Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms</td>
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<td>1925</td>
<td>Periyar founded Self Respect Movement</td>
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<td>1937</td>
<td>Congress Ministry formed under the leadership of Rajaji</td>
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<td>1937</td>
<td>Anti-Hindi Agitation</td>
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<td>1944</td>
<td>At Salem conference the Justice Party was renamed into Dravidar Kazhagam (DK)</td>
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<tr>
<td>1946</td>
<td>T.Praakasam of Congress formed Government in Madras Presidency</td>
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<tr>
<td>1947</td>
<td>O.P.Ramaswamy became the Chief Minister</td>
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<tr>
<td>1949</td>
<td>P.Kumaraswami Raja formed his ministry</td>
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<tr>
<td>1949</td>
<td>Birth of Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK)</td>
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<tr>
<td>1952</td>
<td>First General Elections took place</td>
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<td>1956</td>
<td>States Reorganization Act</td>
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<td>1965</td>
<td>Anti-Hindi Agitation</td>
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<tr>
<td>1967</td>
<td>Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam formed government under the leadership of C.N.AnnaDurai</td>
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<tr>
<td>1969</td>
<td>Madras State was renamed as &quot;Tamilnadu&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>1969</td>
<td>C.N.AnnaDurai passed away</td>
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<td>1969</td>
<td>M.Karunanidhi became the Chief Minister of the State</td>
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<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>AIADMK was founded by M.G.Ramachandran (MGR)</td>
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<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>State Autonomy Resolution was passed in the Assembly</td>
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</table>
16.1 Political History of Tamil Nadu

Compared with rest of India, Tamil Nadu has had a healthy administrative and political culture, more or less stable economic life, and continuity of traditions from the hoary past to the present. Madras Presidency of South India came into existence due to the administrative and political needs of the British. The Madras Presidency was formed in A.D (C.E.) 1801. The Presidency, as it existed during the 19th and 20th centuries, comprised of the present states of Andhra Pradesh, Malabar region of Kerala, Southern Karnataka, Southern most part of Odisha and Union Territory of Lakshadweep.

Madras Presidency politics in the early part of 20th century was dominated by the "Brahmin – non – Brahmin conflicts". Scholars and political thinkers believed that understanding the conflicts between these two groups, (the Brahmins and non – Brahmins), is necessary to understand the South Indian Politics and society.

Madras Presidency

Simultaneously a few members of Non-Brahmin caste groups sought employment in industries, commercial enterprises etc., Significant but a portion of non-Brahmin caste groups migrated from rural areas to urban pockets of the Presidency and wanted to ascertain their identity as ‘Dravidian’ and ‘Tamils’ and gradually challenged the monopoly of powers and privileges enjoyed by the Brahmins in politics, administration and society.
The word ‘Dravidian’ was used by scholars and non-Tamils to identify non-Aryan Tamil speaking people. At the same time Brahmins were identified as “Aryans” and the custodians of Sanskrit civilisation where as non-Brahmins were considered as “Dravids” and the custodians of Tamil language, culture and civilisation.

### 14.2 Emergence of Dravidian Movement

In order to protect and promote the Tamil identity, culture, socio-political and economic interest of non-Brahmins, a movement called ‘Dravidian Movement’ was started in Madras Presidency by a group of non-Brahmins.

### Dravidian and Non-Brahmin Identity

In 1801 Madras Presidency was formed by the colonial regime as a multilingual province (Tamils, Telegus, Malayalees, Kannadigas and Tulus). India’s diversity could be noticed in the political developments of the Madras Presidency. In Bengal and in the rest of North India a Sanskrit and Vedic centered Indian culture was projected, besides an Indo-Aryan or Indo-German group of languages were acknowledged. Non-Vedic, Non-Sanskrit cultures were not recognized. The deciphering of Brahmi script in 1837 by James Principe and researches on south Indian languages (*Ellis in 1816 and Caldwell in 1856*) came to establish that Indian culture was not homogeneous;

Ellis is praised by Tamil enthusiasts as lover of Tamil, Valluvar, Kural and so on, without knowing the colonial and christian background of him. In fact, he tried to forge valluvar as Jain, to promote the "thomas myth" in India

*Francis Whyte Ellis*

Born: May 7, 1814, Clady, United Kingdom
Died: August 28, 1891, Kodaikanal, India

*Robert Caldwell*

Buddhist and Dravidian traditions also existed in India. In the south, especially in the multi-lingual Madras Presidency, theories on Dravidian group of languages and Dravidian cultural heritage led to assertion of Dravidian identity among the Non-Brahmin.

Two factors (1) Brahmins claiming superiority over Non-Brahmins and (2) Brahmins monopolizing educational and employment opportunities transformed the Dravidian identity into Non-Brahmin
identity. (In Maharashtra too Mahatma Jyotiba Rao Phule launched a Non-Brahmin movement on similar lines). Dravidian also indicated the Non-Brahmins in south India.

The Non-Brahmins of the Madras Presidency had a grievance that the emerging nationalist leaders paid no heed to non-brahmin issues. In 1852 Gangalu Lakshmi Narash expressed this grievance, seceded from British Indian Association and floated his own organization named Madras Native Association. In the post-mutiny period, the non-brahmin leaders undertook social reforms rather than political reforms. After the introduction of Minto-Morley reforms in 1909 the non-brahmin leaders of Madras Presidency began to protest the inadequate representations to them in education and employment.

Sir Alexander Gordon Cardew, a member of Governor's Executive Council submitted statistical details (1913) to prove that the Brahmins who formed only three percent of the population cornered most of the opportunities.

14.3 Justice Party

The major political organization of that time, Indian National Congress was dominated by Brahmins had refused to consider the demands of non-brahmin members. Thus the non-brahmin leaders of Madras Presidency began to think of floating a non-brahmin political organization. The prospects of political reforms after the First World War, and the possibilities of representing institutions stimulated their move.

In 1916 Dr.T.M. Nair, Pitti Theagarayar and Dr.C. Natesan founded the South Indian Liberal Federation to promote and safeguard the socio-economic political interests of the non-brahmin. This South Indian Liberal Federation (SILF) came to be popularly known as the "Justice Party" named after the English journal Justice. Through their relentless efforts they secured reservation of seats for the non-brahmin in the elections to the legislative council.

The main objectives of the Justice Party (JP)

i) To create and promote the Educational, Social, Economic, Political and material progress of all communities other than Brahmins of South India.
ii) To work for Non-Brahmins upliftment through Constitutional government.
iii) To make the government truly a representative government.
iv) To create public opinion in favour of Non-Brahmins demand.

Montagu Chelmsford reforms 1919 introduced dyarchy in the presidencies by which a few departments were earmarked for Indian ministers chosen from the elected members. In the first elections under dyarchy in 1920, the Indian National Congress as a part of the Non-Co-operation Movement boycotted the elections, but many congressmen contested the elections under different banners.

The Justice Party won majority of the seats and A.Subbarayalu became the Chief Minister and after his death, Raja of Panagal became the Chief Minister of Madras in 1921.

14.4 Contributions of Justice Party

In spite of the fluctuating fortunes in the subsequent elections, the Justice party continued to hold power from 1921 to 1937. They introduced a number of reforms. Through communal Government Order they ensured adequate number of opportunities to every category of non-brahmin communities. They removed discrimination against Sudras and Panchamas in public roads, transports, restaurants and public wells. They regulated the temple affairs through the newly constituted Hindu Religious Endowment Board, earmarked plots of land for the Panchamas (Panchami’s Land) introduced new township and industrial estates. Special efforts were taken to provide education for the children of depressed classes. For the first time they experimented with “Noon Meal Scheme” in a few schools. Knowledge of Sanskrit as the basic eligibility for medical education was removed which facilitated non-brahmin students gaining entry into
medical education. On an initiative from Dr. Muthulakshmi and others, Devadasi system was abolished in Tamil Nadu and women were enfranchised. Co-operative societies were promoted. Mirasdari system was abolished, and a number of irrigation schemes were introduced in 1923. Annamalai University and Andhra University were founded during their regime. It was the Justice Party which provided the most successful government though they were assigned only a few departments.

14.5 Periyar E.V. Ramasamy:

Peiyar E.V. Ramasamy considered the decision of Rajaji’s government to impose Hindi as a compulsory subject as a move to establish ‘North Indian imperialism’ and destroying the Tamil language and culture. Periyar, further, maintained that the imposition of Hindi was a calculated effort to sub judicate the Dravidians in order to ascertain the supremacy of the Aryans.

Madras Presidency has witnessed massive anti-Hindi agitations and Periyar was imprisoned by the provincial government. It is significant to note that in fifteen years he went to jail twenty-three times and got the nickname as ‘jailbird’ (Siraiyaparai). In 1938, Periyar was imprisoned for his Anti-Hindi agitation and then he was elected as the president of Justice Party. In the same year, the Justice Party passed a resolution that Tamil Nadu should be made as a separate state loyal to British government and it should be under the direct control of the Secretary of State for India.

Periyar E.V. Ramaswamy who played a pioneering role in the Madras Presidency Congress, had tried his best to make the Tamilnadu Congress Committee adopt resolutions in favour of proportional representation for the non-brahmins in political arena. He gave an effective leadership to the Vaikom Sathyagraha and campaigned against caste-discrimination in the Cheranmadevi Gurukula, founded by congress.

When all his efforts failed to make congress adopt his programme, he left congress and launched the self-respect movement in 1925. He shunned electoral politics and instead campaigned for social reforms, especially for eradication of caste system, removal of indignities and gender based restrictions on women, and rejection of hereditary priesthood. The self-respect movement carried on a vigorous campaign against age old superstitious beliefs and practices in every sphere and questioned the role of religion in justifying and sustaining such irrational traditions and inequalities. The Self Respect Movement campaigned for rationalism, and against denial of dignity and equal status of individuals (including women) under the garb of tradition and religion.

The Self Respect Movement ordained its members to give up caste surname and
caste-religious identities; it introduced the self-respect marriages. It fought against not only untouchability but even against the caste-system and the caste based disabilities and indignities imposed on individuals.

The Self Respect Movement propagated not merely letter treatment of women, but for equal rights, equal status and equal opportunities for women. Self Respect Movement’s role in “Women Liberation” was unparalleled and for that E.V.Ramaswamy was given the title “Periyar” in a women’s conference. Periyar’s journal ‘Kudiarasu’ ‘Revolt’ and later ‘Viduthalai’ carried on the effective propaganda of self-respect ideals.

14.6 Self Respect Movement

In 1929 the first Self-Respect Conference was held in Chengalpattu. In the crucial elections of 1937 the Congress party, led by C. Rajagopalachari, won majority every seats except one. The Congress party victory was largely because of the decline of Justice Party. The Congress formed the government and Rajaji became the Chief Minister of the Madras province.

Soon after assuming power the Congress government introduced Hindi as a compulsory subject in the schools. Periyar launched anti-Hindi agitations. A large number of students have participated in the agitations organized by Periyar.

During this period, the Communist Party (formally launched in 1925) became active in campaigning for socialist programme and organized labour movements. M.Singaravelu, and their associates were impressed by the social reform programmes of the Self Respect Movement, which in turn extended support to the economic programme of the communities, and these two movements agreed to work on a common programme (Erode Plan).

Objectives of Self-Respect League

i) Reforming Dravidian society to make it truly rational.

ii) To teach the truth of ancient Tamil civilization to Dravidians.

iii) Save the Dravidian society from the domination of Aryan culture.

iv) Reforming the Hinduism by eliminating Brahmin influence and superstitious practices.

He wanted to restore the past glory of Dravidian culture by creating social awareness among the non-Brahmins.
in general and particularly the youth. He advocated Self-Respect marriages, a marriage which was conducted in the absence of Brahmin priesthood, discouraged the people from performing religious ceremonies and not to employ the services of the Brahmins in any of the social events.

Decline of Justice Party

By 1929, the Self-Respect Movement had become a formidable movement in the Madras Presidency. In 1930's the Justice Party began to face decline in the province. There were three major factors responsible for this decline. Firstly, the party lost its support among the Depressed sections of the society and minorities. Secondly the Self-Respect Movement, under Periyar had become more radical. Finally the elitist and pro-British outlook of Justice Party had also contributed significantly for its decline.

14.7 Anti Hindi Agitation

The decline of the Justice Party and Periyar’s refusal to enter into electoral politics together with the growing popularity of Mahatma Gandhi, enabled Indian National Congress to win elections in the Madras Presidency in 1937 and Rajagopalachari became the premier.

He introduced total prohibition (ban on liquor) and abolished the Zamindari system, and introduced legislations removing restrictions on temple entry for the depressed classes. Yet his measures leading to closure of many schools and introduction of Hindi as compulsory language in schools provoked the admirers of self respect and Tamil Nationalists like Mariamalai Adigal to organize the ‘Anti Hindi Movement’ in 1937. Thousands of agitators including E.V.Ramaswamy courted arrests, and a number of agitators died in prison.

Salem Conference, 1944

In 1944, at Salem conference under the leadership of Periyar, a historic resolution was moved to change the name of Justice Party to Dravidar Kazhagam (DK). Periyar organised ‘Dravida Nadu’ conference and demanded an independent homeland for ‘Dravidians’. Further, he pronounced his very famous slogan ‘Dravida Nadu for Dravidians’ at the conference.

Apart from separate ‘Dravida Nadu’ demand, the Dravidar Kazhagam wanted to establish casteless society, condemned religious rituals, traditions and superstitious in Dravidian society. The Dravidar Kazhagam became very popular in many rural and urban masses, especially among the students. Many non-Brahmin leaders and students have changed their name reflecting Tamil Identity.

Anti-Hindi Agitation 1965

Mariamalai Adigal to organize the ‘Anti Hindi Movement’ in 1937. Thousands of agitators including E.V.Ramaswamy courted arrests, and a number of agitators died in prison.

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.NO.</th>
<th>PREMIER CHIEF MINISTER</th>
<th>YEAR</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>A. Subbarayalu Reddiar</td>
<td>1920 – 1921</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Raja of Panagal</td>
<td>1921-1926</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>P. Subbarayan</td>
<td>1926 1930</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>P. Munusamy Naidu</td>
<td>1930 1932</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>Poppili Raja</td>
<td>1932 –1937</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>P.T. Rajan</td>
<td>1936</td>
</tr>
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<td>7</td>
<td>K.V. Reddy Naidu</td>
<td>1937</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>C. Rajaji</td>
<td>1937 - 1939</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Note: Tamil Nadu was under Governor’s rule from 29th October 1939 to 30th April 1946)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>T. Prakasam</td>
<td>1946 -1947</td>
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<td>10</td>
<td>O.P. Ramasamy Reddiyar</td>
<td>1947 – 1949</td>
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<td>CHIEF MINISTER</td>
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<td>11</td>
<td>P.S. Kumarasamy Raja</td>
<td>1949-1952</td>
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<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>C. Rajaji</td>
<td>1952 - 1954</td>
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<td>13</td>
<td>K. Kamaraj</td>
<td>1954-1957</td>
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<td>14</td>
<td>K. Kamaraj</td>
<td>1957-1962</td>
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<td>15</td>
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<td>16</td>
<td>M. Bakthavatsalam</td>
<td>1963-1967</td>
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<td>17</td>
<td>C.N. Annadurai</td>
<td>1967-1969</td>
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<td>18</td>
<td>M. Karunanidhi</td>
<td>1969-1971</td>
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<td>21</td>
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<td>1980-1984</td>
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<td>22</td>
<td>M.G. Ramachandran</td>
<td>1985-1987</td>
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<td>23</td>
<td>Janaki Ramachandran</td>
<td>1988</td>
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<td>24</td>
<td>M.Karunanidhi</td>
<td>1989-1991</td>
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<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>M.Karunanidhi</td>
<td>1996-2001</td>
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<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>J. Jayalalitha</td>
<td>2001</td>
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<td>28</td>
<td>O. Panneerselvam</td>
<td>2001-2002</td>
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<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>J. Jayalalitha</td>
<td>2002 - 2006</td>
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<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>M. Karunanidhi</td>
<td>2006 - 2011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>J. Jayalalitha</td>
<td>2011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>O. Panneerselvam</td>
<td>2012 (Interim)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>J. Jayalalitha</td>
<td>May 16, 2016 – Dec. 5 2016</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>O. Panneerselvam</td>
<td>Dec 2016 – Feb 2017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>K. Palanisamy</td>
<td>Feb 2017 - till date</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In accordance with the provisions of Article 313 of the Indian Constitution Hindi was made as the official language of the Indian Union on January 26, 1965. In order to protest the decision of the Union Government the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam decided to observe 26th January, 1965 as a ‘Day of Mourning’. Many leaders of the party and its cadres were arrested. Tamil Nadu had witnessed a large scale of Anti-Hindi agitations. Because of the agitations the cause secured considerable amount of support among the student community. On the other hand the Congress party lost its base and support in the state of Tamil Nadu. Meanwhile, the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam had withdrawn the demand for ‘Dravida Nadu’ and continue to actively participate in the electoral politics of Tamilnadu and became a ruling party in the state.

14.8 Dravidian Movement during second World War and after:

In 1939, the congress protested the government’s declaration involving India in the Second World War which led to the resignation of congress ministry. In Madras Presidency Rajaji’s ministry had resigned but Periyar raised the demand of Dravida Nadu on the ground that independence prior to socio-cultural equality would be injurious to Tamil interests. In 1949, Dravidar Kazhagam split and Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam was formed.

In 1951, the Supreme Court struck down communal reservations in higher education. Immediately Periyar launched a major agitation for the restoration of communal reservation.

Consequently, the first constitutional amendment Act was passed in the Parliament in favour of reservations for socially and educationally backward classes.

14.9 Rajaji Regime (1952-54)

The politics of Madras State in India witnessed the continuation of struggle between status quoists and reformists. C. Rajagopalachari (Rajaji) who led the first elected ministry in the Madras, under the Republican Constitution, again reduced the number of schools, attempted to impose Hindi in schools and Modified Scheme of Elementary Education which provided for part time learning of hereditary occupations popularly known as kulakalvi.
Dravidian leaders launched a statewide protest against movement. Even a section of congress leaders resented Rajaji’s proposals which led to change in Chief ministership.

14.10 Kamaraj Era (1954-1963)

Kamaraj abolished the Modified Scheme of Elementary Education, increased manifold the number of schools, built a number of dams for improving irrigation, provided more industrial estates and ensured astonishing industrial growth in the state. He made education more accessible to poor and rural children.

In 1963, Kamaraj resigned (Kamaraj Plan) his chief ministership to become the President of Indian National Congress and M. Bhaktavatchalam took over the reins of the government. The Food shortage and anti-hindi agitation caused the unpopularity of his ministry.

Dravidian Parties Rule

In the general elections of 1967, the congress party was defeated. The Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam formed the government.

Kamaraj also introduced the noon-meal scheme for school children.
The provision of affordable universal housing for poor, precursor to food security (Rice scheme) and establishment of Slum Clearance Board have substantially improved and received support among the urban poor people also. Significantly, the government renamed the State from Madras to Tamil Nadu in the year 1969. The other major achievements of the party were:

A. Nationalisation of Bus routes larger than 75 miles.

B. Waiver of Tuition fee for poor students of all castes in pre-University and pre-technical courses.

C. Second World Tamil Conference was organised.

D. Supply of subsidised rice for people of Tamil Nadu.

14.11 Dravidian Rule in Post-Independence Tamilnadu

For the past 62 years Dravidian parties have been ruling Tamilnadu. Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam decided to enter electoral politics in 1957 and gave up its “Dravida Nadu” demand consequent to Chinese aggression of Indian territories and to overcome newly amended electoral laws. It won a majority in 1967 elections. Annadurai ruled for a brief period (1967-69), yet he renamed Madras state as Tamilnadu, passed civil marriages act, rejected three language policies of central government and enforced a two languages (English & Tamil) policy in Tamilnadu.

For the first time, he introduced a subsidized rice (one measure one rupee) scheme. His successor M.Karunanidhi continued his legacy. In 1972, M.G.Ramachandran founded his own Dravidian Party (All Indian Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam – AIADMK). He captured power in 1977 and retained the same till his death in 1987. Thereafter, Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam under M.Karunanidhi and Selvi J. Jayalalitha of All Indian Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam led ministries in alternative elections. Besides, these two, there are a few other Dravidian parties like Marumalarchi Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam.
More than six decades of Dravidian rule contributed remarkably to the development of Tamil. They steadfastly protected the interest of Tamil language, Tamil people and Tamilnadu. A number of welfare schemes were introduced to alleviate the suffering of common people. They ensured food security through subsidized and later free rice schemes, nutritious meal scheme, free education until under graduate level, free electricity for farming, abolition of cycle rickshaws and manual scavenging, cradle baby scheme for the abandoned children, and welfare boards for various unorganized workers, and even for transgender. As a remedy to ruinous caste conflicts, ‘Samathuvapuram’ and ‘Uzhavarsanthai’ were created.

Free electricity was provided to huts, slum clearance board met the housing requirements of slum dwellers. The phenomenal increase in industrial activity increased the opportunities for youth; as a result of these developments Tamilnadu registered a high ranking in HDI (Human Development Index). Today, Tamilnadu is in prominent position in promoting automobile industries, electronics, and in pharmaceutical industries. its new economic zones are attracting huge investments. Tamilnadu’s achievements in infrastructural development are acclaimed by all. Roads, harbours, electrification and availability of skilled labour facilitate industrial development.

There has been a manifold increase in the number of schools of different categories. There is a manifold increase in the number of universities. Tamilnadu has exclusive universities for women, engineering and technology, law, medicine, siddha medicine, sports etc. Promotion of Tamil language, through tamil university, ulaga tamil araichi niruvanam, world tamil conference and ulaga tamil semmozhi conference, and script reforms, led to all-round advancement of tamil language.

The Dravidian parties since the days of Annadurai have been championing the cause of secularism and autonomy of the states. The Dravidian parties have also been contributing substantially to national politics. Dravidian political stream continues to be formidable in Tamilnadu.

**Glossary**

**Coalition** – A temporary alliance formed by political parties especially at the time of Elections.

**Communism** - a system of social organization in which all property is owned by the community. Further, each
person contributes and receives according to their ability and needs.

**Dravidian** – The terminology denotes a family of languages spoken in southern parts of India, especially Tamil Nadu, Karnataka, Kerala, Andhra Pradesh etc., and Sri Lanka.

**E-Governance** – Electronic Governance is the application of information and communication and technology (ICT) for delivery of public services to people.

**Federalism** – It is a system of government in which powers are distributed among various units of the government.

**Political Alliance** – Political alliances are formed by political parties in order to prevent particular political parties to capture power.

**Populism** - Political activities intended to draw the support of the general public by giving them with welfare measures.

**Radicalism** – People who advocate their policies and programme through aggressive means.

**Regionalism** – It is a political ideology that focuses mainly on the interest of the region or a particular state rather than the nation.

**Reservation** – It is also called a policy of affirmative action mainly to empower the marginalized communities in socio-economic and political arenas.

**Social Justice** – It is a political concept which holds that all people should have equal access to wealth, health, well-being, justice and opportunity.

**Social Welfare** - Services that are provided by the government to help poor, needy and marginalized people.

**Socialism** – It is a theory which mainly advocates that the means of production should be controlled by the state and not by the private.

**State Autonomy** – It is a theory which stands for complete autonomy for state government in political and economic arenas.

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**Evaluation**

1. In which year the Madras State was renamed as Tamilnadu?
   a) 1969   b) 1975
   c) 1950   d) 1965

2. The Madras Native Association was established in the year.
   a) 1947   b) 1849
   c) 1862   d) 1860
3. Who introduced the kulakalvi scheme in Tamilnadu?
   a) Rajaji  
   b) Ramsamy  
   c) Kamaraj  
   d) Karunanithi  

4. In which year, University of Madras was established?
   a) 1885  
   b) 1947  
   c) 1857  
   d) 1965  

5. In terms of population, Tamil Nadu is the _______ largest state in India.
   a) 5  
   b) 7  
   c) 3  
   d) 4  

6. The First Premier of the Justice Party was
   a) Subbarayalu Reddiar  
   b) Sir Theagaraya  
   c) P.T. Rajan  
   d) Bobbili Raja  

7. The leader who was called Vaikom Hero.
   a) K. Kamaraj  
   b) Rajaji  
   c) Varadarajulu Naidu  
   d) Periyar E.V.R.  

8. Founder of the Self-Respect Movement in Tamil Nadu is
   a) Rajaji  
   b) Thiru-Vi-Ka  
   c) Kamaraj  
   d) Periyar E.V.R.  

9. Matching items
   A  
   a) Anti- Hindi Agitation  
   b) Birth of D.M.K  
   c) States Reorganization Act  
   d) Dyarchy  
   B  
   - 1949  
   - 1937  
   - 1919  
   - 1956  

10. The Non-Brahmin Manifesto was issued by
    a) C.Natesan  
    b) Pitty Theyagarayar  
    c) T.M.Nair  
    d) Raja of Panagal  

11. The South Indian Liberal Federation was later known as
    a) Justice Party  
    b) Dravida Kazhagam  
    c) Tamil Kazhagam  
    d) Dravidian Party
12. **Assertion:** Karunanidhi entered the Tamil Nadu assembly by winning the Kulithalai seat in the 1957 election.  
**Reason:** Karunanidhi became the Chief Minister of the State.  
Directions: Given below are two statements labelled as Assertion (A) and Reason (R) in the context of the two statements, which of the following is correct?  
(a) Both A and R are true and R is the correct explanation of A.  
(b) Both A and R are true but R is not the correct explanation of A.  
(c) A is true but R is false.  
(d) A is false but R is true.

13. **Assertion:** E.V. Ramasamy started the Self-Respect Movement.  
**Reason:** The Self-Respect Movement is a movement with the aim of achieving a society where Non-Brahmin castes have equal human rights.  
Directions: Given below are two statements labelled as Assertion (A) and Reason (R) in the context of the two statements, which of the following is correct?  
(a) Both A and R are true and R is the correct explanation of A.  
(b) Both A and R are true but R is not the correct explanation of A.  
(c) A is true but R is false.  
(d) A is false but R is true.

**II. Answer the following questions very shortly**

14. Define the term “Dravidian”
15. What were the objectives of South Indian Liberal Federation?
17. Bring out the significance of ‘Dravida Nadu’ demand.
18. Define the concept of State Autonomy.
19. Write a short note on welfare measures for Transgenders.

**III Answer the following questions shortly**

22. Examine the importance of ‘Non-Brahmin Manifesto’.
23. Discuss the outcomes of the Salem Conference (1944).
24. What do you mean by Triangular Agitations?
25. Describe the social welfare policies of All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam under M.G.R.
26. Write a note on Rajamannar Committee.

27. Explain the populist policies of the All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam government during 1991 to 1996.

**IV Answer the following questions in detail**

28. Find out the reasons for the emergence of Non-Brahmin Movement in Madras Presidency.

29. Write an essay on anti-Hindi agitations.

30. Describe the circumstances that led to the formation of All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam.


32. Estimate the emergence of regional political parties and its impact on Tamil Nadu politics.

**Reference Books**


Let us know the election results in Tamil Nadu.

**Government and Politics of Tamil Nadu**

**Steps**

1. Click the URL or scan the QR code to launch the “Tamilnadu maps elections” page.
2. “Scroll the cursor” on the constituency map to know the representatives of that constituency.
3. On the left window, click “Assembly Constituencies of Tamil Nadu” to know the boundary of any legislative assembly constituency.
4. On the left window of the homepage, Click “Chief Ministers of Tamilnadu” to know CM Time period.

**Download Link**

*Pictures are indicative only.

*If browser requires, allow Flash Player or Java Script to load the page.

https://www.mapsofindia.com/assemblypolls/tamil-nadu/election-results.html
15.1 Historical Background

The 'Classical Tamil homeland (Tamizhagam) is called as Tamil Nadu besides some parts of kerala, Andhra and Karnata; Strabo (63 BC(BCE) to c. AD(CE) 24), a famous Greek geographer and historian observed the early diplomatic history of ancient Tamil Kingdom of Pandiyas. Naval expeditions of Cheras, Cholas, Pandiyas and Pallavas inform early maritime power and influence of Tamils. Ports in the coast of Tamil Nadu were important centres of trade between India and the Mediterranean, and India and southeast Asia, in the period. 200 BC(BCE) to 300 AD(CE). The ancient ports of Korkai, Poompuhar, Vasavasamudram, Perimula, Arikamedu, Alagankulam, Mamallapuram reveal the active trade, commerce and cultural exchanges with the Southeast Asian countries, Sri Lanka, China, Egypt, Greece and Rome. An established tradition of shipbuilding combined with rich maritime heritage of ancient Tamils are definite indicators of the foundations of influential polity, society, culture, trade and commercial ties with the outside world.

Sangam literature dated approximately 300 BC(BCE) to 300 AD(CE) is another valuable literary source(s) that reflects society, economy, culture and politics. The classification of Sangam poetry into akam (on love) and puram (on war, good and bad)

Learning Objectives

The students will be able to
- Learn about ancient political ideas in Tamil Nadu.
- State clearly the political ideas of Thiruvalluvar.
- Understand about Nationalism through Bharathiyar
- Learn about communist ideas that existed in Tamilnadu through Singaravelar’s writings on communism.
- Learn and understand Dravidian Ideology and its impact on the society, polity and economy in Tamil Nadu through the contributions of E.V.R.Periyar on social justice, equality and liberation from oppression of higher caste.
- Describe clearly the core meaning of Tamil Movement and Dravidian movement and its political discourse.
evil, community, justice and kingdom) is a revelation of the Tamil polity. The Sangam literary works have been grouped into eight anthologies (Ettuthogaig): (1) Natrinai, (2) Kuruntogai, (3) Aingurunooru, (4) Padiiruppattu, (5) Paripadal, (6) Kalittogai, (7) Agananooru, and (8) Purananooru; and there is a ninth group of poems called the Paththupattu (Ten Idylls). The early part of the first two books of Tholkappiyam, a work on Tamil grammar, belongs to the same period.

The famous post-Sangam literature which was collected later as an anthology is known as the Kilkkanakku. There are 18 works as part of this collection and the most famous is Silappadikaram, Manimekalai and Eighteen Minor Works (Pathinen kilkkanakku, which includes the Thirukkural) were written during this period. Prabandha literature consists of poetry of various forms: kovai, in which the verses are arranged according to a particular theme (usually about love), and kalambakam, in which the end of one stanza/line formed the beginning of the next (usually about kings and bravery) and parani. The best illustrations of this tradition are the Pantikkovai, Nandikkalambakam, and Kalingattup-parani.

The ancient Tamil literature of Sangam age, Thirukkural, Silapathikaram, Manimegalai etc provide deep insights into the nature of polity, society and culture. Tamil language formed the core and essence of Tamil identity, culture, customs and traditions. Despite the diversity of land, geography, rulers and chieftains spread across the Tamil speaking areas the idea of Tamil country and confederation of Tamil speaking areas did exist. This literary finding(s) is also substantiated by a stone inscription of Kalinga King Kharavela (BC(BCE) 165), who claims to have destroyed a 'Tamil federation' which existed for 132 years. Similarly such a Tamil federation of kings to fight foreign invasion is also mentioned in 'Agananoori', a sangam literature. Hence the idea and prevalence of Tamil nationalism is not simply a consequence of colonialism. The roots of Tamil nationalism are linked to the historical role and significance of Tamil language and culture in defining politics that could be traced even in the Sangam age.

The concept of State and the idea king coincided with the territorial emphasis of polity as the Greek city-state. The classical Tamil country known as Tamizhagam covered areas south of Tirupati hills up to the tip of the Cape Comorin (Kanyakumari). The land was traditionally classified according to its nature into five geographical regions (tainai): the mountainous region (kurinji), the forest areas(mullai), fertile plains (marudam), coastal region (neidhal) and arid region (palai).

Tamil speaking areas were divided between the principalities of the Cholas (its capital at Uraiyur), the Pandyas (Madurai as capital), the Cheras in most of present Kongunadu (and Kerala) and the Pallavas (Kanchipuram as capital). Tamil country included several kingdoms ruled by kings (vendhar), major and minor chieftains (vel/velar) who was less powerful than the crowned kings. The Sangam poets sang songs of praise about the velirs, especially the Seven Patrons, for their generosity towards the poets. Kapilar and Avvaiyar mention chieftains like, Aay, Pari, Ori, Malayan, Elini, Pegan and Nalli..

The virtues of king did include the ideals of Just Ruler with qualities of kindness towards the subjects and bravery in the battlefield.
In praise of Citizen Kannagi

Eric Miller

Kannagi proved that even a non-native with no money and no family in sight can fight City Hall and win her case that is inspiring.

I write in praise of Kannagi, global symbol of justice, and of the dignity of the individual!

This is her story the Silappathikaram, the Epic of the Anklet as I know it: Kannagi and Kovalan married in Poompuhar, on the east coast. After some time, Kovalan went off with a dancer named Madhavi. A year later, he returned home. He and Kannagi walked to Madurai, a distance of about 250 km, to start a new life. There Kovalan was unjustly put to death by the local ruler, the Pandian king: Kovalan had been falsely accused of stealing the queen's anklet. Kannagi came to the court and proved that her husband had been innocent of this crime. The king punished himself for the injustice he had done, by simply laying himself down and dying. Kannagi walked around the city three times, tore off her left breast and threw it against the city wall, and called for the city to burn but for good people and animals to be unharmed. Agni, the god of Fire, accomplished this.

Kannagi wandered to the western mountains, where some people worshipped her.

Eric Miller did his Ph.D. in Folklore, University of Pennsylvania, USA. His dissertation is on Tamil children's songs and games, and language learning. To conduct research on the Silappathikaram, he walked in the footsteps of Kannagi from Poompuhar, to Madurai, to the western mountains. Quotes are from R. Parthasarathy's translation from the original sen-Tamil: The Silappatikaram: The Tale of an Anklet, by IlankoAtikal, Columbia University Press, 1993.)

Back on the Pedestal:
The Kannagi statue on the Marina in Chennai.

Extended Learning

Refer The Hindu website and read the article by Eric Miller. Share your views in the classroom.

 Courtesy : The Hindu, 16.6.2006, article by Eric Miller.
against enemies. The *sabhai* or *mandram* was the highest court of justice presided by the king himself. Every village had its own *mandram* which met at a common public place and was involved in organizing village and community activities. Warriors were respected, and a man who died in battle would have memorial stones erected in his honour and be worshipped in death. Even if a warrior dies in battle field with a wound in his back, it is considered derogatory in ‘Sangam’ traditions.

Lots of good practices of war find its mention in sangam literature. *Purananooru*, a sangam literature, hails the Pandyan king who announces all the women, children, sick and elderly people, cattles, to move to safety zone before invading a country. The idea of *justice* formed the conscience of State and king. Justice is an essential element in a king's rule. A good king should never sacrifice justice. Just rule and good deeds always will bring everlasting fame to the king. An important political principle that prevailed was that

(Despite the nature of political system being monarchy) the legitimacy of the king rests with the consent of the people as long as he enjoys people's support and he loses legitimacy if he loses their support. Sangam literature (*Pattinappaalai*) speaks about different types of taxations like customs duty, income tax, toll tax etc as specific source of revenue to the State. Tamil kings and chieftains ruled the land with simple administrative structure of council of ministers, subordinates and administrative officers. There were officers to deal with foreign trade and customs revenue which was an important part of the budget. Pandya inscriptions mention about officers for pearl fisheries (*kalatika*) and the chief scribes (*kanatikan*). In flags and coins, the Cholas were represented by the tiger, the Cheras by the bow and arrow the Pandyas by the fish and the Pallavas by the lion.

The institution of ‘spy’ was considered as a necessary institution and the maintenance of peace and stability in the kingdom depended on the effectiveness of this institution. Though slavery as a form of institution was absent yet capturing of slaves after invasions, and slave trade or exchange for gifts did remain as practice among the rulers to undertake construction and building works.

The practice of caste system or *jati* was unknown among ancient Tamils. The idea and concept of class with differences in status based on professional distinctions did prevail. The caste system was alien and unknown to Sangam society. The division of society based on class has been revealed by the Sangam poets who mention about social categories (*kudi*): *tudiyan*, *panan*, and *kadamban*; or *arasar* (rulers), *vaishyar* (traders), and *velalar* (farmers). Differences in status were accepted as inevitable, yet *varna* in the form of caste or *jati* seems to be little known to Sangam society.

Though social stratification did prevail yet legitimization of *Manusmiriti* or *Aryan-Brahminical* interpretation of caste as divine arrangement was not integral to the cultural universe or worldview of the ancient Tamils. The beginnings and early inroads of the Aryan-Brahminical account of caste could be traced to later period of Sangam era. The ancient religion of Tamils was based on folk traditions. The worship of nature and natural elements were more common. The worship of Murugan among the tribes of Tamil Nadu and the cult worship of Murugan as the warrior God was based on folk culture. An earthly composition
of God is rooted in the Tamil – Dravidian traditions. It was only after the sixth century AD(CE), inscriptions were written in Tamil as well as Sanskrit. Sanskritisation gradually spread to public space with the evoking of the doctrines of benevolence to Brahmin(s) and divine blessings to the king.

The seeking of blessings from the Brahmin soon became a source of legitimacy for the Tamil king after this period. Along with the Sanskritisation, Vedic rituals, worship and orientation to social (caste) system as advocated in Manusmiriti found their passage to transform the professionally stratified class structure of Dravidian society into a hierarchically classified social (caste) system with Vedic divine sanctions.

The State and king were being seen as one and the same. The hereditary principle and evoking of divine rights with earthly symbols were prevalent among the Tamil kings. The idea of territorial State provided inherent reconciliation to the changing dynasties and geographical changes as boundaries of principalities were drawn and redrawn. The governing principles of power and location of monarchy also moved from culture specific to power centric based on authority. Thus in later period, during the post-Sangam era, the king gradually became the sole source of authority.

The Pallavas maintained that as they were the descendants of Brahma, the kingship was of divine origin and was hereditary. The Pallava period witnessed the penetration of the Aryan culture of North India into the South as well as the assimilation of some of the patterns, ideas and institutions and rejection or modification of certain other aspects. Tamil devotional culture was one of the results of this interaction as revealed by the themes and dedication of deity at temples.

Women were highly respected and performed a variety of jobs and duties including as bodyguards to the kings, yet power and authority rested with men. Women participated in public assemblies but rulers and administrators were mostly men. Women formed significant part of social rituals and functioned as pivots of the family despite the inheritance rights and formal authority remained with men.

In narrating the role and status of women in Tamil society we need to mention about the tradition of Avvaiyar (meaning respectable women). More than a name, this was a title, literary canon, given to distinguished women who made contributions to Tamil literature. There were as many as four to six women who held this Tamil literary canon title at different times based on different sources.

Avvaiyars of Sangam age and Cholas age are best known for their extraordinary influence upon literature, culture, moral universe, nature of polity, war, peace and the art of diplomacy. Sangam age Avvaiyar lived during the 1st and 2nd century AD(CE). King Athiyaman Neduman Anchi of the Velir Dynasty was her chief patron and considered as contemporary of literary legends Thiruvalluvar and Kabilar with notable contribution of verses in Natrinai, Kuruntogai, Akananooru and Purananooru. She is also credited as the most gracious and scholarly diplomat who undertook diplomatic missions for King Adhiyaman Neduman Anchi. Avvaiyar, a poetess and friend of King Adhiyaman, ruler of Tagadur, is supposed to have helped in avoiding war between two kingdom states.
King Thondaiman, ruler of Kanchipuram, had sent him a note declaring his intention to attack Thagadur Avvaiyar spoke “Oh Thondiaman, how different indeed are your clean and shiny weapons from those of Adiyaman, always stained with blood and under repair.” Thondaiman had far less experience in war and was unlikely to win — she was making this clear under the guise of praise. Another famous Avvaiyar was from the Cholas age, around 10th Century AD(CE), who wrote moral universe for children and advocated ethical principles for all. Whilst her works Aathichoodi and Konraiventhan were written for young children, Mooturai and Nalvazhi were written for older children.

**Thirukkural**

All these classical works not only reveal the cultural and literary traditions of the ancient Tamils. They also serve as historical testimony to the nature of Tamil society, socio-cultural and religious beliefs, livelihood, vocations, professions, role and status of women, marriage, gender, class structure, origins of caste system, kinship, polity, governance, ideas of justice, wars, peace, diplomacy, naval warfare, maritime traditions, trade, commerce, shipbuilding and seafaring skills, economy, land, water systems, agriculture, art, dance, poetry, music, architecture and relationship with the neighbouring countries and far away places.

**Introduction**

Politics intends to create change-oriented awareness in the society. It is not necessary to adopt and follow the existing social system which the present politics do. This awareness can be initiated by ideas and ideologies of society-laden thinkers.

With the advancement of civilization to the next stage through socio-economic and technocratic developments, emerging new ideas got stumbled by the existing belief system and functions followed until now. Albeit of these stumbling blocks, the constructive impact made by the thinkers and thinking is ever-lasting on the basis of mind-capturing of the people. Ideas are dangerous than the technocratic revolution, positively. Quite apart, pen is more powerful than sword.
The definite part of thinkers is as follows:

- Being the basis for the social changes and subsequent events including the change in the public minds;
- Having taken political decisions which had an impact on social turning points;
- Serving as best brains behind the major political decisions which has benefitted the diversified communities;
- To convert social ideas into common which assisted people’s advancement belonging to various communities.

New political ideas are supported by the activities of the political thinkers which kindles interest and rational thinking of the common people. The interaction of those thinkers with the contemporary society makes a new framework for the entire system. New political decisions which intend to create great changes for the emerging generations were undertaken. The day-to-day life of common people may be engulfed with many changes by the political decision of the thinkers. At world level these kind of thinkers made changes in the socio-political systems. Such great thinkers made their extra-ordinary presence throughout the past centuries in India in general and Tamilnadu in particular.

National political thinkers, Tamil political thinkers, Socialist thinkers, Thinkers of social justice are the different parts of modern categorization. In this part we can discuss about different political thinkers of Tamilnadu who made out-standing contribution for the social changes.

Political ideologies in Tamilnadu is rich with ideas, beliefs, opinions and attitudes towards society, polity and economy. This is evident from the ancient political ideas of Thiruvalluvar, where as Bharathiyar is a nationalist and Singaravelar is a communist. According to periyar, Dravidian ideology focuses on social justice. The political ideologies in Tamil Nadu are a combination of all three left, Right and centre ideologies.

15.2 Ancient Political Ideas

Thiruvalluvar

In Arathupal of Thirukkural, Valluvar was a great enunciator of morals; In Inbathupal, he has become a poet and in Porutpal, he is known to be a political philosopher. The political philosophy of Thiruvalluvar is applicable across times even today.

Seven Parts in Porutpal

Porutpal consists of 7 parts, further it has 70 verses / couplets. They are Politics-25, Ministry-10, Defence-2, Wealth-1, Army-2, Friendship-17, and citizens-13 respectively.

" கத்ரு குடி கூழ்கறாளச்சு நட்்ரண் ஆறும் உறைொன அரெருள் ஏறு" (குைள்: 381)

"An army, people, wealth, a minister, friends, fort; six things Who owns them all, a lion lives amid the kings"

(Kural: 381)

Thus, in porutpal, at the first verse itself valluvar differentiated the six categories essential for a state. Thus, different parts
of government are ministry, army, wealth, people, friendship and citizens, which determines the rule of a king. Moreover, these components are categorized for king in a separate way, thus contributing a lot of ideas regarding administration of a state and assets for a king.

**Nature of a king – 25 Chapters**

In porutpal, Valluvar mentioned about nature of a king in detailed manner in 25 chapters starting from Qualities of ruler (Iraimatchi – chapter 39) to idukkan azhaiyaamai (Unfazed in the face of trouble – chapter 63) in 25 chapters, in the name of “Arasar”, “Vender”, “Nilan Aandavar” “Mannavar” he has indicated 46 times about the king.

The King must possess the leadership qualities such as, Education (40), Listening Ability (42), Wisdom (43), Fending off Faults (44), Seeking the company of great men (45), Avoiding mean–minded (46) Rationality (47), Priority for time for action (51), Assessing and Assigning tasks (52), Embracing the Kin (53), Doing duty without forgetting (54), Justice (55), Knowing the right place (50), Refraining from Terrifying Deeds (57), Compassion (58), Espionage (59), Spirit (60), To avoid laziness (61), Perseverance (62) and Determination (63) which should be the requisites of a king. These above-mentioned qualities may also be possessed by good people.

**Ideas on Democracy**

Valluvar lived in the period of monarchy. However, his ideas and ideals are also applicable for the present leaders of democracy. He also indicated the nature of state and government in the king’s rule. The words of Valluvar regarding government and state is applicable and suitable to all over the period as well as every organization in the world.

**Welfare state and King**

To put it in simple words, Valluvar’s political system is based on welfare state. For instance, in Iraimatchi (Qualities of a ruler), he says

Who guards the realm and justice strict maintains,  
That king as god over subject people reigns.  
(Kural: 388)

If a king delivered justice by doing the duties honestly, he may be regarded as a God. Ideal path and welfare – arrived kings can be respected and kept on par with divine. This kind of view is not only applicable to monarchical period but it also applicable to present democratic period.

**Features of State**

The characteristics of a state is to maintain ethics, the eradication of wrong doing activity, mandating impartiality of justice and protection of honour.

Kingship, in virtue failing not, all vice restrains,  
In courage failing not, it honour’s grace maintains.  
(Kural: 384)

King’s path is the peoples’ path, king should act as a guide for his subjects, if he does harm or evil activities, it may influence all. It is because of his position as a leader, his discipline and private life will spread
to all in the kingdom. Moral and ethical life is quite essential for the ruling kings. Indicating “Respect” in a broad manner relating it with nation, Valluvar gave priority for great honour which may be equated with the courage. He stressed that king must be loyal to the nation, it is the honour of nation.

Ideal State and Welfare of people

In the monarchical rule, the integrity and ideal governance for all periods were advocated by Valluvar. People of all regions expect rain for their growth; likewise, citizens of a nation expect integrity and ideal rule of the king.

All earth looks up to heaven where raindrops fall; All subjects look to king that ruleth all.

(Kural: 542)

In this couplet Valluvar indicates “Kol” as ideal rule which not only applies for monarchy but also for democracy.

Whose heart embraces subjects all, lord over mighty land Who rules, the world his feet embracing stands.

(Kural: 544)

This means that for a King, who protects his citizens with love and affection, his feet will be embraced by his subjects with love. This is an everlasting phrase propounded by Valluvar related to good governance.

Against Tyranny

In the chapter “Kodungonmai”, (Cruel Scepter) Valluvar explained it in negative words. The suppressive and exploitative rule of evil king may kindle unknown and indefinite agonies among the people. Those tears are most powerful and may annihilate the entire kingdom.

His people's tears of sorrow past endurance, are not they Sharp instrument to wear the marches wealth away.

(Kural: 555)

Sad tears of suffering citizens may dethrone and destroy the entire government, says Thiruvalluvar. Tears were equated with army, thus Valluvar’s visualization stands unique among others.

Autocrats and Dictators like Hitler, Mussolini and Czar were the negative players for whom, Thirukkural served as a funeral sound.

Government’s Budget

A king should be an able handed administrator in increasing the income of government. Further he should be an expert in handling the budget.

In Iraimatchi, he said,

A king is be who treasure gains, stores up, defends, And duly for his kingdom’s weal expends.

(Kural: 385)

At first point, a king should search for the different sources of income. For this, he calls it as “Iyatral”. Then, the second point is that, all such resources should be put together, which is called as “Ettal”. Third, the resources thus collected must be protected with all precautionary measures which is called as “Kaathal”
Fourth one, is most important (i.e) allotting the resources to various sectors for the welfare of the people, this he called it as “Vagutthal”. Thus iyatral, etall, kaathal and vaguthal are the four ways of utilizing the income to be expertise by the king of nation. It is a primary duty of the king.

These innovative and practical ideas were accepted by political and as well as economic exponents as the basic idea of socialistic society.

Relevance of Thiruvalluvar

The Educational qualities that are indicated by Valluvar for a king may also apply to the citizens. Thus, he used the words “Idukkan Ariyamai”, “Kalvi” for “Vazhum Uyirku”, “Maandharkku” which is for all the people.

The political ideas advocated by Valluvar in porutpal highly circumvent around morals and noble principles. “People’s-welfare” is the basic foundation of his contribution.

To put it in a different way, Valluvar’s contribution to politics is applicable to the present democratic governance for the welfare of all the people.

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The political ideas advocated by Valluvar in porutpal highly circumvent around morals and noble principles. “People’s-welfare” is the basic foundation of his contribution.

To put it in a different way Valluvar’s contribution to politics is majorly applicable to the present democratic governance for the great welfare of all the people.

Thirukkural – A truly secular book

The very first observation about the Kural is the fact that it is a secular book. During the days of Valluvar many religion existed in India. There were Buddhists, Jains, Sikhs, Hindus as well as agnostics and atheists. But secularism as a concept was unknown. Valluvar himself was a believer and he has devoted one chapter to praise of God. He must have observed a particular religion. But in his book he advocates no religion, he does not even refer to any religion.

The ancient Indian law-giver Manu and the ancient Greek philosophers Plato and Aristotle maintained with absolute certainty that human beings were not born equal. This popular view is accepted in all civilizations over centuries. Valluvar, the philosopher poet, held a radically different view. He says:

“All human beings are equal by birth; but differ as regards characteristics because of the different qualities of their actions.” (Kural 972)
15.3 Nationalism

Subramania Bharathiyar (1882 – 1921)

We shall not look at caste or religion, All human beings in this land, whether they be those who preach the vedas or who belong to other castes are one.

-Subramania Bharati

C. Subramania Bharathiyar was a poet, freedom fighter and social reformer from Tamil Nadu. He was known as Mahakavi Bharathiyar and the laudatory epithet Mahakavi means a great poet. He is considered as one of India's greatest poets. His songs on nationalism and freedom of India helped to rally the masses to support the Indian Independence Movement in Tamil Nadu.

Bharathi: A poet and a Nationalist

"We may have thousand of sects; that, however, does not justify a foreign invasion."

Significantly, a new age in Tamil literature began with Subramania Bharathi. Most part of his compositions are classifiable as short lyrical outpourings on patriotic, devotional and mystic themes. Bharathi was essentially a lyrical poet. "Kannan Pattu" “Nilavum Vannum Katrum” “Panchali Sabatam” “Kuyil Pattu” are examples of Bharathi's great poetic output.

Bharathi is considered as a national poet due to his number of poems of the patriotic flavour through which he exhorted the people to join the independence struggle and work vigorously for the liberation of the country. Instead of merely being proud of his country he also outlined his vision for a free India. He published the sensational “Sudesa Geethangal” in 1908.

Bharathi as a Journalist

Many years of Bharathi's life were spent in the field of journalism, Bharathi, as a young man began his career as a journalist and as a sub-editor in “Swadesamitran” in November 1904. “India” saw the light of the day in May, 1906. It declared as its motto the three slogans of the French Revolution, Liberty, Equality and Fraternity. It blazed a new trail in Tamil Journalism. In order
to proclaim its revolutionary ardour, Bharathi had the weekly printed in red paper. “India” was the first paper in Tamil Nadu to publish political cartoons. He also edited and published ‘Vijaya’, a Tamil daily “Bala Bharatha” an English monthly, and ‘Suryothayam’ a local weekly of Pondicherry.

It is not surprising therefore that soon a warrant was waiting at the door of the “India” office for the arrest of the editor of the magazine. It was because of this worsening situation in 1908 that Bharathi decided to go away to Pondicherry, a French territory at that time, and continue to publish the “India” magazine. Bharathi resided in Pondicherry for sometime to escape the wrath of the British imperialists.

In Madras, in 1908, he organised a mammoth public meeting to celebrate ‘Swaraj Day’. His poems ‘Vanthe Matharam’, ‘Enthayum Thayum’, ‘Jaya Bharath’ were printed and distributed free to the Tamil People.

Subramaniya Bharathiyar was born on 11th December 1882, in a village called Ettayapuram in Tirunelveli District in Tamil Nadu and his childhood name was Subbiah. His father was Chinnaswamy and his mother was Lakshmi Ammal.

At the age of seven, he started writing poems in Tamil. When he was eleven, he wrote in such a way that even learned men praised him for his great knowledge and skill. In the eleventh year, Subbiah felt that he had to establish his credentials. He threw a challenge to the eminent men in the assembly of scholars that they should have a contest with him in a debate on any subject without any previous notice or preparation. The contest was held at a special sitting of the Ettayapuram Durbar at which the Rajah (the ruler) himself was present. The subject chosen was “Education”. Subbiah efficiently won the debate. This was a memorable moment in Subbiah’s life. The boy who was till then referred to as “Ettayapuram Subbiah” came henceforth to be known as “Bharathi”, and later he was respectfully referred to as “Bharathiar” by nationalists and by millions of Tamil lovers all over the globe.

In June 1897, Bharathi was hardly fifteen when his marriage took place, and his bride was Chellammal. Bharathi left for Benaras which was also known as Kashi and Varanasi. He spent there the next two years with his aunt Kuppammal and her husband Krishna Sivan. Speedily gaining a fair knowledge of Sanskrit, Hindi and English, he duly passed with credit the Entrance Examination of the Allahabad University. The Banaras stay brought about a tremendous change in Bharathi’s personality. Outwardly, he sported a moustache and a Sikh turban and acquired a bold swing in his walk.
During his exile, Bharathi had the opportunity to mingle with many leaders of the militant wing of the independence movement such as Aurobindo, Lajpat Rai and V.V.Subramaniam who had also sought asylum in the French ruled Pondicherry. The most profitable years of Bharathi’s life were the ten years he spent in Pondicherry. From Pondicherry, he guided the Tamil youth of Madras to tread in the path of nationalism. This increased the anger of the British towards Bharathi’s writings as they felt that it was his writings that induce and influence the patriotic spirit of the Tamil youth. Bharathi met Mahatma Gandhi in 1919 in Rajaji’s home at Madras. Bharathi entered British India near Cuddalore in November 1918 and was promptly arrested. Even in prison, he spent his time in writing poems on freedom, nationalism and country’s welfare.

In his early days of youth he had good relations with Nationalist Tamil Leaders like V.O.Chidambaram, Subramanya Siva, Mandayam Thirumalachariar and Srinivasachari. Along with these leaders he used to discuss the problems facing the country due to British rule. Bharathi used to attend the Annual sessions of Indian National Congress and discuss national issues with extremist Indian National Leaders like Bipin Chandra Pal, B.G. Tilak and V.V.Subramaniam. His participation and activities in Benaras Session (1905) and Surat Session (1907) of the Indian National Congress impressed many national leaders about his patriotic fervour. Bharathi had maintained good relations with some of the national leaders and shared his thoughts and views on the nation and offered his suggestions to strengthen the nationalist movement. Undoubtedly, his wise suggestions and steadfast support to the cause of nationalism rejuvenated many national leaders. Thus Bharathi played a pivotal role in the freedom of India.

**Bharathiyar as a social reformer**

Bharathi was also against caste system. He declared that there were only two castes—men and women and nothing more than that. Above all, he himself had removed his sacred thread. He had also adorned many scheduled caste people with sacred thread. He used to take tea sold in shops run by Muslims. He along with his family members attended church on all festival occasions. He advocated temple entry of Dalits. For all his reforms, he had to face opposition from his neighbours. But Bharathi was very clear that unless Indians unite as children of Mother India, they could not achieve freedom. He believed in women’s rights, gender equality and women emancipation. He opposed child marriage, dowry system and supported widow remarriage.
Bharathiyar passed away on 11th September 1921. It was a travesty that only 14 people attended his funeral, fearing repercussion from the British and caste ostracisation.

His meeting with Sister Nivedita, Swami Vivekananda’s disciple, added women’s rights to his already wide repertoire of social issues from caste to Independence to spiritualism. He took up the symbolism of Shakti as the image of modern women: powerful, strong, independent and equal partners to men.

“World will prosper in knowledge and intellect, if both men and woman are deemed equal.”
- Subramaniya Bharathiyar

Bharathiyar – A Visionary

Bharathi as a poet, journalist, freedom fighter and social reformer had made a great impact not only on the Tamil society but also on the entire human society. He followed what all he preached and it is here that his greatness is manifested. His prophecy during the colonial period about the independence of India came true after two and half decades after his demise. His vision about a glorious India has been taking a shape in the post-Independence era. Bharathi did not live for himself but for the people and nation. That is why he is respectfully called as Bharathiyar. Even today, after many decades, Subramaniya Bharathiyar stands as an undying symbol of Indian freedom and vibrant Tamil nationalism.

15.4 Communism

Singara Velar (1860-1946)

The emergence of Swadeshi and Home rule movement in India in the initial part of 20th century aroused the thirst for freedom. Reforms were made in Hindu religion in accordance with the existing society. These movements played a key role in creating the feeling of Indianness and Nationalism in the political Scenario.

But these movements are religious in nature. Moreover, those who participated in these movements are from upper social class. Freedom sought by these people are political in nature neglecting the interests and economic upliftment of farmers and labourers. This affected the majority Indians who are poor and belong to farmers community. Further, caste discrimination existed within Congress Party. Particularly, in Tamilnadu there existed a clear difference between brahmins and non-brahmins.
In this context, Singaravelar played a pivotal role in spreading rational ideas and scientific perception in to politics. He also played a key role in connecting welfare of farmers and workers in to freedom struggle and spreading socialist thinking in to politics.

**Impact of Singaravelar’s Ideas on Congress Party**

The British empire which exported the raw materials in the initial stages started industries later in India as the demand increased. This worsened common people's life standards. They are ready to work even for meagre wages. Hence, those who are employed were treated as slaves. Even a minor protests by the employees were suppressed with iron hands. More labour organizations emerged to protect the rights of working class. These organizations were headed by Thiru.V.Kalyanasundaranar and D.Varadharajalu in the Madras presidency. It was Singaravelar who took major efforts in the emergence of labour organizations in Madras presidency.

Singaravelar wanted to sensitize the workers on politics and wanted to engage them in the freedom struggle. But Congress Party did not accept this idea of Singaravelar. Singaravelar critised it vehemently and send telegraphs to Congress high command, following this, he wrote a letter to Mahatma Gandhi. Further, he also wrote about this issue on the popular dailies Swadesamitran, The Hindu, and magazines like Navasakthi. He also propagated this among congress workers. In this juncture, he participated in the Congress Committee (1922) meeting as a representative of Tamilnadu, there also he explained the following demands and sought support from Congress members.

- Indian freedom includes economic freedom of workers and farmers.
- The welfare of farmers and labourers should also be the motto of Congress party.
- Farmers and labourers must be included in the Indian national movement.
- Congress leaders should help to raise masses from different organization.

In consequent with this, in 1922, Indian National Congress, passed a resolution to raise people from various organizations. A six member committee was constituted, in which M. Singaravelar was appointed as a member. In addition to this, he also fought for the protection of labour rights. He emphasized this demand by writing in all popular dailies. As an outcome, labour protective law was passed in 1926, in India. Moreover, he advised for speaking in vernacular languages. Only then, he believed that the ideas will reach all the people. So, that leaders and people can maintain good relations. He is also determined to speak in Tamil, when speaking about the issues of Tamilnadu people.

In 1918, a resolution regarding this was passed during Chennai Presidency Association Conference. Singaravelar and Periyar were the dignitaries in this conference.

**Singaravelar’s Impact on Self-Respect and Communist Movements:**

When Periyar resigned from Congress Party citing the existence of Brahmin and Non-Brahmin divide and discrimination in the party, Singaravelar supported the
action of Periyar. After visiting USSR, Periyar was influenced by the Communist ideals. He changed the name of self-respect movement to Self-Respect Social Justice Party. Singaravelar made his contribution in framing the policies and principles of the movement. He also wrote extensively in Periyar's Republic magazine against superstitious beliefs. These writings were simple and can be understood easily.

Singaravelar has a deep faith in the philosophy of Communism. He urged the Congress party to support labour organizations. In the name of Madras Socialists, he telegraphed Congress High Command. In all the Congress Committee meetings he argued as a Communist representative.

In 1923, it was he, who organized the first May Day celebrations in Chennai. In the same day, he announced the formation of labour-farmer political party. The demands of his new political party are

- Eight hours work
- Right to form union
- Right to strike as a last resort to pressure labour demands.
- Three level committees for reviewing the demands.
- Minimum wages
- Shelter with basic amenities
- Medical and life Insurance
- Provident fund facility
- Earned leave
- Free Medical assistance
- Maternity leave
- Put an end to contract basis

**For Farmers**

- Free water for agriculture
- Abolition of Zamindari system

**For People**

- Voting rights for all
- Right to contest in elections for poor, labour and farmer communities.

First socialist conference was headed by Singaravelar in 1925, in Kanpur. He spoke about socialism without violence. Also, he resolved for adopting Communism according to Indian circumstances. A socialist should play a role by being in the member of Congress Party, he advised. Eventually, Socialist block was formed inside the Congress Party.

**Life and Services**

Since his childhood Singaravelar did not believe in the Varna System and superstitious belief. As a result of this, he established Buddhist Association and propagated against Varna System and superstitious beliefs during 1880 itself.

Born in a rich family and well versed with law, he served as a member in Chennai Municipality and also in health sector. Due to the endemic diseases in the down-trodden areas, he gave priority to health and education. He also fought for rights of labourers. Based on this, he played active role in Congress Party. Later, he joined in Periyar's Self – Respect movement.

Though he entered into politics after he crossed the age of 50, he actively propagated and wrote about communist ideas for more than thirty years. He was fondly remembered and called as the first communist of south India.
15.5 Dravidian Ideology

Periyar (1879-1973)

Introduction

Periyar E.V. Ramasamy is regarded as the best political thinker in Tamilnadu. This is because he is the foremost reformist in our state. Let us see about him in detail in this lesson.

Periyar was attracted towards Gandhi’s entry into politics and hence joined congress and became actively participating in freedom movement and social reforms. During that period in 1920’s Congress was dominated by upper class people. But Periyar took Congress to the down trodden and successfully organized temple entry movements as a true Congress man. Periyar was very much disgruntled by the practice of Varnashrama in Congress party and left it. He joined Justice party and formed the self respect movement later. After this, the contributions and activities of Periyar became inseparable from the politics of India and Tamilnadu in particular.

In the name of nation, if a group of people exploit other groups that is not the real freedom which a nation fought for, said Periyar alias E.V. Ramasamy. Periyar vociferously criticized against Nation, Race and Nationalism at various levels. All Nation, nationality and nationalism are similarly related concepts. All these differentiations indicate the “Self Respect” of the entire population of a country. If anybody speaks about nationalism in Tamilnadu, I wonder, that will they think about “welfare or botheration about people” questioned Periyar.

Nationalism as exploitation

There are people who may not bother about Indians, Tamilians and the self-respect of the people. They deceive people to believe in nation and nationalism for their own welfare and betterment. If self-respect is submerged in the name of nation and nationalism that will be the crime against India, stated Periyar.
Nationalism is an unreal feeling. Since National feeling is nothing but a conspiracy framed by rich and power-centered, people who deceive the other people by controlling the negative emotions. It is a false assumption, propagated by these upper rich communities in order to curtail the rights of the poor community.

Nationalism has become a buzz word of addictiveness and emotionalist for the people, he exclaimed.

Global Nationalism – A Denial

Periyar in his speech in Sri-Lanka, opposed strongly against Nation and Nationalism when others used ‘Indian Nationalism” as a weapon, Periyar spoke against these factors. He has also shown about other nations, nationalistic feeling apart from Indian Nationalism.

It is to treat people as scapegoat, Capitalist Class along with other similar people, Patriotic feeling was misused, said Periyar.

For instance, if rich communities in U.K have any clash with USA or vice-versa they may give clarion call as “Oh ! Britons, Patriots, our nation is under threat”. Such kind of false words is only for their economic advancement and not for the poor communities.

Erstwhile, Russia has many races and cultural groups, but there is no discrimination in that nation. He also supported communist revolution. These nations which are free of nationalism, religion and God may not be affected with luxurious life styles, poverty and exploitation by rich community. Those people may not stick upon with national and godly attachments. Equality and egalitarian society is the only priority of that place. There will not be any discrimination

His work and his legacy

For the average Tamil, Periyar today is an ideology. He stands for a politics that foregrounded social equality, self-respect, and linguistic pride. As a social reformer, he focused on social, cultural and gender inequalities, and his reform agenda questioned matters of faith, gender and tradition. He asked people to be rational in their life choices. He argued that women needed to be independent, not mere child-bearers, and insisted that they be allowed a equal share in employment. The Self Respect Movement he led promoted weddings without rituals, and sanctioned property as well as divorce rights for women. He appealed to people to give up the caste suffix in their names, and do not mention caste. He instituted inter-dining with food cooked by Dalits in public conferences in the 1930s.

Over the years, Periyar has transcended the political divide as well as the faultlines of religion and caste, and come to be revered as Thanthai Periyar, the father figure of modern Tamil Nadu.

like rich-poor, owner-worker, powerful-powerless in that region. Those people of high value and egalitarian-longing are not equal to the nation which gives priority for God and Nationalism.

By showing other nations as evidences, Periyar also criticized Indian nationalistic feelings and patriotism. Because these feelings are exploited as weapons by certain dominant groups.

**India – A Land of Diversities**

Whether “Nation” as a concept is suitable for India? Periyar raised a pertinent question and answer as well.

“Madras is not a separate nation and cannot function separately,” says some of our friends. Once ‘Madras’ was a nation. Also now, “Dravidam” it is. The culture and other practices are different from Bengal and Mumbai. English language is the main base for the familiarly among these different nations in India. If British Empire and its language is relieved from India, Hindi may become the national language. Instead of calling India as a nation, Dravida Nadu, Andhra, Bengal can be separately called as nations respectively. For instance, Dravidian nation had its culture, language, civilization and rule for thousands of years on accordance with historical facts. Undoubtedly it is known to all the people.

“Dravidian Nationalism” proposed by Periyar was to a large extent against religious dominations.

**On Language**

Each and everyone have their own rights to protect their languages. These rights can be protected and provided under Dravida, Socialist Republic Rule. No language can be enforced.

Language should not be misused as weapon for separatism. If people are dependent upon Central rule for all kinds of amenities, there is no outcome in it. If languages are officialised at Central level, will the poor people relieve out of hunger?

To put it in clear way, are Tamil labourers exploited only by the Tamil speaking owner class?

**Casteless Society**

Periyar’s protests and speeches always centre around, “Tamilnadu for Tamils and Dravidian nation for Dravidians.” His ideologies include Common plan, common work plan, Islamic conversion, separate Dravidian nation for which he fought against the dominant communities.

His argument was that the dominant communities misused Tamil, Tamil nationalism, Tamil race for sustaining the power in Tamilnadu. It is with the help of Tamil leaders, they injected Tamil nationalism in the minds of the people for holding the power for a long time he said. Consequently, Periyar put an end to the demand of separate Tamilnadu and upheld the ideal of casteless society.

Thus, casteless society has become the top most priority for Periyar. Other ideals like separate Dravidian nation, abounding dominant communities, distortion of capitalist class became secondary priorities for Periyar.

This may be the only ambition and goals for Dravida Kazhagam, claimed Periyar. “The caste feeling, thus divided the Dravidian race and Dravidians became slaves for Aryans” stated Periyar in his writings published in the 1950’s in Tamilnadu.
Political Ideology: It is a certain set of ethical ideals, principles, doctrines, myths or symbols of a social movement, institution, class or large group that explains how society should work and offers some political and cultural blueprint for a certain social order.

Political Movement: It is a social group that operates together to obtain a political goal.

Social Movement: It is a type of group action. Social movements can be defined as organizational structures and strategies that may empower oppressed populations to mount effective challenges and resist the more powerful and advantaged elites.

Dravidian Movement: Dravidian movement developed in Madras Presidency which comprises the four major ethno-linguistic groups in South India.

Self-Respect Movement: The Self-Respect Movement is a movement with the aim of achieving a society where backward castes have equal human rights.

Labour Movement: A movement organized for the betterment of labourers.

Justice Party: Communal division between Brahmins and non-Brahmins began in the presidency during the late-19th and early-20th century, mainly due to caste prejudices and disproportionate Brahminical representation in government jobs.

Casteless Society: Of a society, an egalitarian society without caste structure.

Pure Tamil Movement: Pure-Tamil Movement, a movement aimed at freeing the Tamil language from alien language words, particularly Sanskrit.

Social Freedom: The concept of interpersonal or social freedom refers to relationships of interaction between persons or groups, namely, that one actor leaves another actor, who is free to act in certain ways.

Home Rule Movement: Between the years 1916 and 1918, the Indian independence movement was spearheaded by Dr. Besant's home rule league.

Politics: The activities associated with the governance of a country or area, especially the debate between parties having power.

Discrimination: The unjust or prejudicial treatment of different categories of people, especially on the grounds of race, age, or sex.

Violence: Behaviour involving physical force intended to hurt, damage, or kill someone or something.

Peace: It is the concept of harmony and the absence of hostility. In a behavioral sense, peace is a lack of conflict and freedom from fear of violence between individuals and heterogeneous social groups.

National Movement: A national movement is a social and political movement for obtaining and maintaining national identity and autonomy among a group of people that some of its members consider a nation.

Ideal State: It would be a nation state that only exists in the realm of ideas and does
Welfare state: a system whereby the state undertakes to protect the health and well-being of its citizens.

I Choose the Correct Answer:

1. In Arathupal of Thirukkural, Valluvar says about?
   a) Ideals and morals   b) poet
   c) political philosopher   d) Welfare state

2. How many Parts are in Porutpal?
   (a) 5    (b) 4    (c) 7    (d) 6

3. Bharathiyar was the editor of
   (a) India  (b) Young India
   (c) Kesari  (d) Dravidan

4. Who wrote 'Panchali Sabatham'?
   (a) Bharathiyar  (b) Thiru. V. Ka
   (c) Kambar  (d) Bharathidasan.

5. Who is regarded as the best political thinker in Tamil Nadu?
   (a) J.C.Kumarappa  (b) Periyar
   (c) Thiruvalluvar  (d) Maraimalai Adigal

6. E.V. Ramasamy was born in the year
   (a) 1879  (b) 1877  (c) 1878  (d) 1876

7. Who wrote “The caste feeling, thus divided the Dravidian race and Dravidians became slaves for Aryans”
   (a) C.N. Annadurai  (b) E.V. Periyar
   (c) Singaravelar  (d) Maraimalai Adigal

8. In 1923, First Indian ‘May Day’ meeting was arranged in Chennai by
   (a) Ilangovadigal  (b) E.V.R. Periyar
   (c) Singaravelar  (d) Maraimalai Adigal

9. Periyar passed away in the year
   (a) 1971  (b) 1972  (c) 1973  (d) 1974
10. Bharathiyar was born in
   (a) Ettayapuram  (b) Trichy  (c) Tirunelveli  (d) Chennai

11. Who started the self respect movement in Tamil Nadu?
   (a) Annadurai  (b) E.V.R. Periyar
   (c) Maraimalai Adigal  (d) Singaravelar

12. Who said that “Tamilnadu for Tamils and Dravida nation for Dravidians.”?
   (a) Ilangovadigal  (b) E.V.R. Periyar
   (c) Singaravelar  (d) Maraimalai Adigal

13. In which year a labour protective law was passed in British India?
   (a) 1914  (b) 1924  (c) 1926  (d) 1928

14. Why did Periyar leave Indian National Congress?
   a) Ahimsa  b) Varnashrama Dharma
   c) Personal differences  d) None of them

15. Assertion: Bharathiyar went to Pondicherry and hide himself.
    Reason: Bharathiyar was the editor of ‘India’ a Tamil daily spreading Nationalism.
    Directions: Given below are two statements labelled as Assertion (A) and Reason (R) in the context of the two statements, which of the following is correct?
    (a) Both A and R are true and R is the correct explanation of A.
    (b) Both A and R are true but R is not the correct explanation of A.
    (c) A is true but R is false.
    (d) A is false but R is true.

II Match the following:
16. Cholas - Madurai
17. Cheras - Kongunadu
18. Pandyas - Kanchipuram
19. Pallavas - Uraiyur

III Answer the following questions very shortly
20. What is thirukkural?
21. How many Parts are in Porutpal?
22. Who is the writer of Kuyil Pattu?
23. Explain Bharathiyar’s ideas on women empowerment.
24. Discuss Bharathiyar as a Journalist.
25. Describe the views of Periyar on God.
26. Write a short note on Singaravelar’s role in Labour Movement
27. What is Singaravelar's ideas on Politics?
28. Describe Singaravelar's Life and Services to Tamil Society.

IV Answer the following questions shortly

29. What is Thiruvalluvar's ideas on Welfare state and King?
30. Explain Valluvar's views on Tyranny
31. Describe Bharathiyar's views on British rule.
32. Explain Bharathiyar's views on Nationalism.
33. Examine the ideas of Singaravelar on Congress Party.
34. List out the demands submitted by Singaravelar in 1922.
35. Enumerate the ideas of Periyar on Dravidanadu
36. Write a note on the Social reforms of Periyar.

V Answer the following questions in detail

37. Write a short note on the Thiruvalluvar's ideas in the society.
38. Discuss Singaravelar as a labour leader in Tamil Nadu.
39. Elaborate the Socio-Political contributions of Bharathiyar to Tamil Nadu.
40. Explain the life history and contribution of Periyar.
41. Trace the background of Political thought in Tamil Nadu.

Reference
7. Puranannoru….. See 'Purananooru, moolamum thelivum', Manimegalai prasuram, pg 82

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