

STUDYMATERIALS

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EMERGENCE OF THE LEFT – THE LEFT WITHIN THE CONGRESS

A detailed discussion of leftism in the politics of India has been rather a neglected affair. The reason for this could be traced in a widely fragmented and distracted role of the leftist forces as well as in the marvellous operation of the Gandhian trend that over-shadowed all the forces whether a rightist or the leftist and effectively mobilised them in the direction of fighting against the common enemy – the British Imperialism. This, however, should not be considered as an effort to minimise the role played by different leftist forces that operated both inside and outside the arena of Gandhian politics.

A thorough study of leftist struggle would show their real contribution not only in sharpening the pace of freedom struggle aiming at the liquidation of the alien imperial system but also in broadening the scope of national movement so as to bring within its fold the long standing question of social and economic emancipation of the masses. The leftist forces witnessed its brilliant manifestation at the hands of Subhas Chandra Bose who said that the inner social struggle between the landlord and the peasant, the capitalist and the workers, the rich and the poor could not be postponed. He insisted that the political struggle and the social struggle will have to be conducted simultaneously. The party that will win political freedom for India will also be the party that will win social and economic freedom of the masses.

The terms ‘right’ and ‘left’ differ from each other in respect of understanding the existing socio-economic order and suggesting measures for its betterment. While the former looks at the existing system as a satisfactory arrangement that may be corrected if necessary by undertaking some reforms, the latter rejects the ‘Status-Quo’ as an inequitable arrangement requiring a major preferably total transformation so that a just and humane system comes into being. While the rightist are accused of being anti-change, status-quoist, conservative, and reactionary; the leftist are admired for being progressive and dynamic.

However, leftism in the context of our freedom must have two distinct dimensions – distinctively anti-imperialist orientation where there is no disagreement among them and strong leaning towards the welfare of the weaker and hitherto oppressed and exploited people. A difficulty with leftism is that it lacks a precise and well defined tradition. In actual practice, the boundary line between the two becomes hazy. Yet leftism has a peculiar tradition of its own that exerts a powerful influence over its adherents by representing an attitude of opposition towards the state, the existing socio-political-economic order of the day, the hold of the party in power etc. Thus the leftism may be said to have 2 aspects – in a negative sense, it desires replacement or negation of the existing order i.e. inequitable, oppressive and exploitative; in a positive sense it stands for evolution, social change in general and drastic change in property laws in particular, for planning, for nationalisation of industry and for a society in which there is an absence of exploitation of men by men and wherein the masses and the haves-not have a feeling that they are master of the situation.

Leftism in India during the course of freedom struggle represented 2 basic features –

1. The leftist forces which worked with the Indian National Congress in achieving their objective represented by Congress Socialist Party or CSP
2. The Communists who did not believe in the congress leadership and wanted to follow a separate path for achieving the objective of the independence of the country represented by the Communist Party of India (CPI)

FEMINISM – MEANING, NATURE AND TYPES

Feminism as a concept is not a coherent philosophy. It has mainly different formulations and variations within it, and to elaborate on their different stand-points would require a lengthy discussion. A feminist theory generally begins with the immediate need to end women's oppression but it is also a way of viewing the world from the perspective of women.

Feminism at large is a collection of movements aimed at defining, establishing, and defending equal political, economic, and social rights and equal opportunities for women. Its concepts overlap with those of women's rights. Feminism is mainly focused on women's issues, but because feminism seeks gender equality, some feminists argue that men's liberation is therefore a necessary part of feminism, and that men are also harmed by sexism and gender roles. Feminists are persons whose beliefs and behaviours are based on feminism.

Feminist theory exists in a variety of disciplines, emerging from these feminist movements and including general theories and theories about the origins of inequality, and, in some cases, about the social construction of sex and gender. Feminist activists have campaigned for women's rights—such as in contract, property, and voting — while also promoting women's rights to bodily integrity and autonomy and reproductive rights. They have opposed domestic violence, sexual harassment, and sexual assault. In economics, they have advocated for workplace rights, including equal pay and opportunities for careers and to start businesses.

In broad terms feminist theory is an attempt at giving rational explanation of the universality of women's oppression and its endless variety cross-culturally and throughout history of understanding women's subordination in a rational and systematic way.

Feminism is increasingly understood as a way of thinking created by, for and behalf of women, as gender specific women are its subjects. Feminism as a term would be best understood in its relation with gender relationship. It is proposal for social transformation as well as movement that strives to end the oppression of women.

Depending on time, culture and country, feminists around the world have sometimes had different causes and goals. Most western feminist historians assert that all movements that work to obtain women's rights should be considered feminist movements, even when they did not (or do not) apply the term to themselves. Other historians assert that the term should be limited to the modern feminist movement and its descendants. Those historians sometimes use the label "protofeminist" to describe earlier movements.

The history of the modern western feminist movements is divided into three "waves".

The first wave refers mainly to women's suffrage movements of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (mainly concerned with women's right to vote). The second wave refers to the ideas and actions associated with the women's liberation movement beginning in the 1960s (which

campaigns for legal and social equality for women). The third wave refers to a continuation of, and a reaction to, the perceived failures of second-wave feminism, beginning in the 1990s.

Although feminist aspirations have been expressed in societies dating back to ancient China, they were not developed into a concrete theory until the publication of Mary Wollstonecraft's "A Vindication of the Rights of Women" in 1792. It was not until the emergence of women's suffrage in the 1840's and 1850's that feminist ideas reached a wider audience in the form of so-called 'First Wave Feminism'. The achievement of the female suffrage in most countries in the early 20th century deprived women's movement of its central goal and organizing principles.

First-wave feminism was a period of activity during the nineteenth century and early twentieth century. In the U.K. and U.S., it focused on the promotion of equal contract, marriage, parenting, and property rights for women. However, by the end of the nineteenth century, activism focused primarily on gaining political power, particularly the right of women's suffrage, though some feminists were active in campaigning for women's sexual, reproductive, and economic rights at this time. The newspaper headline reads "THE FRENCHWOMAN MUST VOTE."

Second-wave feminism is a feminist movement beginning in the early 1960s and continuing to the present and it coexists with third-wave feminism. Second wave feminism is largely concerned with issues of equality other than suffrage, such as ending discrimination. Second-wave feminists see women's cultural and political inequalities as inextricably linked and encourage women to understand aspects of their personal lives as deeply politicized and as reflecting sexist power structures. The feminist activist and author Carol Hanisch coined the slogan "The Personal is Political", which became synonymous with the second wave.

The movement during this period expressed the more radical and sometimes revolutionary demands of the growing Women's Liberation Movement. Feminist doctrines are diverse but their unifying feature is a common desire to enhance through whatever means the social role of women. At least three contrasting traditions of feminism can be identified. These traditions like the one that have come after are not discreet and many feminists accept it as a milestone.

These traditions are:-

1. Liberal Feminism
2. Radical Feminism
3. Socialist Marxist Feminism

1. Liberal Feminism: Liberal Feminism is certainly a moderate or mainstream phase of feminism. For liberal feminists like John Stuart Mill, Mary Wollstonecraft individuals living in a society should have equal political and legal rights irrespective of their sexes. Thus women should have the right to vote, equal legal rights as her husband, right to education, right to be integrated into a political process by a representation and attainment of equality with men in public arena. Liberal feminists' political strategies reflect a conception of fundamentally different human nature i.e. since women are much the same as men women should be able to do what men do. Liberal feminists do not perceive the women to be at war with men. It rather emphasizes on the reforms of society where society accepts the change. In crude terms liberal feminists such as Mary Woolstonecraft and

Suzanne B. Anthony wanted women's access to opportunities associated with men. They draw inspiration from writers such as J S Mill and emphasizes on the concept of "Welfare Feminism."

2. Radical Feminism: Radical Feminism had its birth in the writings of Mary Astell who considered men as the enemy of women and asserted that women could develop only if women would live separately from men. No doubt Astell was a radical feminist but she did not develop any coherent political programme nor did she demand that the rights or male citizens be extended to women. Elizabeth Lady Stanton, an American feminist was another strong advocate of radical feminism who campaigned publicly to change conditions of family life and marriage. She argued that marriage is a form of unpaid prostitution and domestic labour because wife had no right to deny her husband's sexual access to her body and this is a root cause of women's oppression. Modern radical claimed that the 'Personal is Political' which meant that women's freedom was to be won not simply by allowing them to enter public life but by transforming their situation at home.

Modern radical feminism since 1960's characterized as 'Second Wave Feminism' which questions the public-private divide. According to them there is no distinction between political and personal relations, every area of life is the sphere of sexual politics. The notion of shared oppression is intimately connected with a strong emphasis on the sisterhood of women. In this context, Johnson comments that one of the basic tenets of radical feminism is that women have more in common with any other women regardless of class, race, age, ethnic group, nationality than any woman has with any other man. Since radical feminism recommends the idea of putting women first and making them the primary concern, this approach is at times inclined to accord "lesbianism", an honoured place as a form of mutual recognition between women.

Radical feminism as the name suggests advocates a revolutionary model of social change, but though they may pursue a revolutionary agenda, they stress on practical political strategies like the liberal feminist. However, a contrast to liberal feminist framework, radical feminism is inclined to be suspicious of government intervention perceiving the state itself as being intrinsically patriarchal. The new ideas of patriarchy were popularized in books such as Germaine Greer's "The Female Eunuch" but it is Kate Millet's "Sexual Politics" that provides the first systemic account of theory of patriarchy.

The modern radical feminists also note that even where laws are gender neutral, women remain at a disadvantaged position. In most of western liberal democracies though there are no laws that provide women from being politically active, yet, there are few women than man in the position of political power and influence. This suggests that attaining full, as distinct from formal political equality requires something more than legal changes which are gender neutral. They stress on the notion of difference which means that instead of basing public decision on "one person, one vote", some groups should be given a special say in matters of public policy. For instance, women being given the veto power with matters such as laws on abortion. Elizabeth Grosz terms this as a feminism of difference.

The radical feminist theory has been heavily criticized by other feminists because it is felt that this is based on the false idea of men as the enemy of women which leads logically to lesbian separation. Furthermore, there is a need for the feminist to rethink their attack on patriarchy and on the traditional family structure that suited women as well as men. Since, women desire for long-term

bonding and security for themselves and their offspring, patriarchal structures have provided that. Feminist also ignore the fact that women inflict harm just as men within the family. Therefore, what needs to be protested against is not male domination, but abuse of power by both men and women. The feminist also need to know that children need both parents for their development though women have made impressive strides in the field of their home. Women can continue to do both that is taking care of family as well as participating in public affairs.

The survival of feminism in this period of universalization of democracy depends on its capacity to offer something positive to all categories of women while taking into consideration specific requirements like class, level of development and societal expectation. What the feminist can do today is to plead for the acceptance of special rights for women like maternity leave, child care, education opportunities, etc. Evolving ways and means of this integration and not continuing with separateness is the challenge that women's movement faces today.

3. Socialist Marxist Feminism: Socialist Marxist Feminism held women's oppression to be a result of social and economic structures and subordinated women's question to the aims of socialist revolution. But Marxist feminist tradition slowly fading and its position of advocating the significance of Marxism and class analysis has now largely been taken over by a range of modern socialist feminism. It has been felt that both the Marxist and socialist feminist tradition more or less died towards the end of 1980's when socialism itself collapsed throughout Eastern Europe. Nevertheless, some group of Marxist feminists and modern socialist feminist continued to be practically active and are usually found within broadly based Marxist organizations or parties rather than in specifically feminist associations.

The Marxist socialist feminism can be subdivided into 3 categories.

- a. Utopian socialist feminism.
- b. Marxist feminism.
- c. Modern socialist feminism.

a. Utopian Socialist Feminism: The Utopian socialist feminist like St. Simon, Charles Fourier and Robert Owen had advocated that the goal of the movement should not only be about the equal rights within the existing society, but the achievement of equal rights within a radically transformed society in which private property is abolished in women could have economic and legal independence. Robert Owen also established some socialist communities but that could not last for more than few years. Fourier was in favour of giving women free choice of work. The ideas of Fourier and Owen has been more explicit in the writings of William Thompson who was a liberal and socialist feminist, who favoured equal rights for both men and women and asserted that the rights of women can rest only in the co-operative socialist societies where women will get full worth of their contribution.

b. Marxist Feminism: In order to understand the impact of Marxism in the feminist thought it is necessary to consider the approach taken in Marxist feminism since it was this form which became the subject of feminist interest in the 20th century. Marxist feminism generally accept some version of what is called the Base-Superstructure Model of society based on social relations including those related to sexual inequality. It is interesting to note that Marx himself had not propagated any feminist theory, but the workers on feminism applied the theory of Marx on feminine question.

Engels made it clear in his book "Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State" said that during the primitive society women were responsible for domestic work and men looked after agriculture and animal husbandry. The change in the situation occurred when the head of the family decided to give away his property to his sons and not to his wife. This system drastically changed the position of women in society. Engels believed that women of any class had to suffer and was exploited. He further pointed out that within bourgeois family women are even more exploited as the total financial strength remained with the husband.

Both Marx and Engels believed that women's question was the product of the capitalist economy because in the capitalist economy the exploitation of women is more as compared to other societies. Thus, Marxist feminist asserts that full freedom of women requires the replacement of capitalism by communism.

c. **Modern Socialist Feminist:** Debates between radical feminism and Marxist feminism in the 1960's and 70's concerning the fundamental cause of social inequality were important in the formation of new groups of modern socialist feminism. The Modern Socialist Feminist is a product of advanced society which believed in pragmatic approach and reforms instead of class struggles. For many modern socialist feminists the immediate political task was to challenge sexism within trade unions and left wing political parties and to organize the movement which are inter-connected and which can have accumulative effect upon society.

In the early 1990s in the USA, **third-wave feminism** began as a response to perceived failures of the second wave and to the backlash against initiatives and movements created by the second wave. Third-wave feminism seeks to challenge or avoid what it deems the second wave's essentialist definitions of femininity, which, they argue, over-emphasize the experiences of upper middle-class white women. Third-wave feminists often focus on "micro-politics" and challenge the second wave's paradigm as to what is, or is not, good for women, and tend to use a post-structuralist interpretation of gender and sexuality. Feminist leaders rooted in the second wave, such as Gloria Anzaldua, bell hooks, Chela Sandoval, Cherrie Moraga, Audre Lorde, Maxine Hong Kingston, and many other black feminists, sought to negotiate a space within feminist thought for consideration of race-related subjectivities.

Third-wave feminism also contains internal debates between difference feminists, who believe that there are important differences between the sexes, and those who believe that there are no inherent differences between the sexes and contend that gender roles are due to social conditioning.

Post-Feminism

The term post-feminism is used to describe a range of viewpoints reacting to feminism since the 1980s. While not being "anti-feminist", post-feminists believe that women have achieved second wave goals while being critical of third wave feminist goals. The term was first used to describe a backlash against second-wave feminism, but it is now a label for a wide range of theories that take critical approaches to previous feminist discourses and includes challenges to the second wave's ideas. Other post-feminists say that feminism is no longer relevant to today's society.

COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA (CPI)

Emergence of the CPI and its role in the Freedom Movement

The origin of the Communist Movement in India is based on tenets of Marxism which pronounces that the destruction of capitalism and the establishment of socialism in its place is inevitable. The working class in alliance with other toiling masses is alone capable of bringing about the socialist revolution. It also believes in proletarian internationalism. In this context, it is to be remembered that the CPI came into existence with the spread of Marxian Ideology and under the influence of Communist International referred to "Comintern."

It was the contacts between the various centres of Indian revolutionaries in exile and the Soviet Republic which paved the way for the spread of Marxist ideology among the national revolutionaries of that time. Slowly the Marxist views were beginning to gain support among the Indian Revolutionaries.

The intensification of the national liberation struggle began with the new actions on the part of the working class. In 1918, a series of strikes on a fairly large scale took place in Bombay, Madras, Kanpur and Ahmadabad. These strikes were of a spontaneous economic character resulting to a large extent from mass dismissals of workers after war-time production. The first Trade Union was set up in Bombay followed by setting up of other trade unions in other industrial centres including Ahmadabad.

The major thrust for the beginning of socialist ideology was provided by the suspension of the Non-cooperation Movement in 1922 after which some of the revolutionary nationalist formed a left wing inspired by Marxist ideology. The most important group among these was the Revolutionary Socialist Party which centres on became the Communist Party of India. The inspiration for the Revolutionary Socialist Party came from the Comintern's desire to spread its influence on other countries and to prepare the ground for a world-wide proletarian revolution. The main figure in the early phase of communism is that of M N Roy whose real name was Narendranath Bhattacharya. Born in 1887 in a village near Calcutta, Roy was attracted by political nationalism specially its more militant and revolutionary expression since childhood. In 1915, in an effort to secure arms for the Indian revolutionary movement, he left for Java. Unsuccessful in his attempt, he visited various centres of South East Asia and finally left for the USA. Soon he came in contact with other Indian revolutionaries in America. From here he went to Mexico and it is in Mexico that Roy was definitely converted to Marxism and he played an important role in the organisation of Communist Party of Mexico in 1919. The same year he went to Russia where he acquired an important place in the organisation of international wing of the Communist Party. In India, he was one of the important persons behind the organisation of communist party.

The first phase of the CPI which lasted from 1920-1934 was marked by an attitude of left sectarianism and refusal to participate with other groups. During 1920, the congress of the Communist Party Tashkent, Lenin proposed a series of theses. Lenin believed that the

bourgeoisie nationalist movement fighting for a political freedom in countries under colonial rule were to be seen as progressive forces in society and party of the onward development of history. Communist in these countries should remain aware of the inherent weaknesses of these efforts but they should support them. But M N Roy disagreed with this view. He saw the bourgeoisie nationalist movement as socially reactionary. Speaking about his reaction to Lenin's thesis, Roy said that the bourgeoisie even in the most advanced colonial countries like India, as a class was not economically and culturally different from the feudal social order. Therefore, the nationalist movement was ideologically reactionary in the sense that their triumph would not necessarily mean a bourgeoisie democratic revolution.

Apart from M N Roy another figure to play a prominent part in the organisation of Communist groups among the Indians in exile was Abani Mukherjee who came to the Independence Committee Berlin. Roy and Mukherjee drew up a detailed manifesto for the Ahmadabad meeting of the INC in December 1921. In this meeting, the congress was called upon to organise the workers and peasants for the future movements. After the Bardoli Revolution when there was disillusionment in the congress with the leadership of Gandhi, the left members started looking for alternatives.

Various reasons have been attributed for the growth of communist movements in general and development of CPI in particular. The important among them being –

1. The economic condition of India, rampant poverty in most part of the country.
2. The success of Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 in Russia which was a victory of the workers. This revolution inspired the workers and intelligentsia conscious about socialism and communism.
3. The dissatisfaction with the leadership of Gandhi and the domination of INC in the political scenario of India.
4. Unemployment and poverty which made the condition of the lower and middle class people worse because of which they lost faith in the ideology of liberalism.

Role of the Communist Party of Freedom Struggle

At the initial stages the CPI performed various functions in different parts of India but lacked co-ordination in its activities. In conformity with the Comintern directives M N Roy and several others try to spread the idea of socialism in the INC taking full advantage of the built in faction within the congress.

After the Non Cooperation Movement had been called off in 1922 a faction led by C R Das felt disappointed with Gandhi's leadership. M N Roy took advantage of the situation and sought to cultivate a few outspoken congressmen including C R Das and through them try to influence the thought and economic programme of the congress.

In 1922 at the Gaya Session of International Congress, S A Dange, S Chettiar – the two pioneers of the CPI proclaimed themselves as communist and boldly presented M N Roy's

programme for progressive economic reforms. But the Gaya Session clearly rejected the programme suggested by the communist because the congress believed and showed faith in Gandhi's leadership as well as in the programme of non-cooperation given by Gandhi. Thus, the first Indian Communists attempt to influence the INC failed.

Following the Kanpur Conspiracy Case of 1920-24 where prominent CPI leaders were arrested on the charge of conspiracy to overthrow the government. Thus the Indian communist realised that their activities had to be done secretly. Roy, therefore, advised his colleagues to organise two political parties –

- a. The Communist Party of India (CPI) and
- b. The Working Class and Peasant Party (WPP)

The WPP was to act as a legal body to disguise the activities of the CPI which had been banned in India after the Kanpur Conspiracy Case. The major centres of the congress of 1920 were big industrial towns and cities like Calcutta, Kanpur and Bombay. By March 1929, Bombay where another Conspiracy Case began, the WPP and CPI tried to influence the industrial working class. Here in Bombay, the CPI helped in organising a general strike to protest against Public Safety Bill which was introduced in Bombay legislature.

At the 6th Congress of the Comintern International at Moscow, the communists abandoned its former decision taken by Lenin and declared that bourgeoisie were no longer revolutionary. So the communist were advised not to support bourgeoisie revolution for national independence. The right wing of the congress in India was also criticised for their half heartedness. For three years, the Comintern pursued an uncompromising opposition towards Gandhi, Nehru and even Bose branding them as bourgeoisie and counter revolutionary. But by this time M N Roy had changed his stand especially after the Madras session of the INC. In 1927, with the rise of radical group within the congress, M N Roy felt that these radical elements should be supported against the reformist policies of the bourgeoisie congress leadership.

In the light of these developments the differences between M N Roy and Comintern International became inevitable and in 1929 Roy was expelled from the Comintern. After his expulsion from the Comintern, the Indian Communist were called upon to cultivate good relations with the leaders of the INC. The congress was no longer branded as bourgeoisie reformist but was accepted as Revolutionary Party of India. Leaders like Gandhi and Nehru were no longer regarded as reactionary but were held as popular leader of the mass movement.

At the end of 1939, the Communist Party made the first tentative move in the United Front Strategy by establishing preliminary contacts with newly formed CSP. The CSP formed in 1934 was attracted towards socialist ideology and was working as a fraction within the INC. Since its inception in 1934, the CSP believed in the idea of left unity. The CSP's foremost leader J P Narayan had been a communist during his student days in America though, he had undermined the Bolshevism. Narayan ardently aspired to unify all Marxist groups under the

banner of CSP. The CPI tried to take advantage of the situation but the CPI Politburo wanted to include in the anti-imperialistic front not only the CSP but also some organisations of Merchants and Industrialists. This combined front of CSP, CPI and WPP was formed mainly to unseat Gandhian leadership. They also had another objective in mind i.e. to remove imperialism from India. M N Roy had written to Bose in 1939 about the programme of action of the CPI. Here he mentioned that the Congress must bring in new leadership entirely free from the principle and occupation of the Gandhism which till now determined congress policies.

The opportunity for a grand alliance of all revolutionary and the leftist party was provided by the election of Bose as the President of INC. In February 1938 just prior to Haripura Session virtually every leftist group supported S C Bose as the President of the INC. Bose declared his intention of seeking re-election in 1939 and advocated that the national demand for ultimatum to the British Government to leave India within six months time. Bose also expressed himself strongly against federation. Bose's standing victory in the election against Gandhi's nominee P Sitarammaiyya was in a way victory of the left because he managed to become the President as a result of the overall leftist support.

But in spite of all these, the leftist came face to face with the contradiction which was inherent in their position i.e. whether to campaign for United Congress or campaign against Gandhi and the right wing leadership. Now it became clear that they have to make a choice between the two. The situation came when they had to take a decision specially with relating to the issue of public safety bill to which the socialist proclaimed their neutrality. Though Bose was supported by the Communist he was edged out of the Congress leadership in 1939. The congress reflection marked the end of the battle between the conservative congress leadership and left forces. The events that followed established the conservative domination in the INC and leftist challenges was also neutralised.

When the Second World War broke out in 1939, the Indian Communist on the advice of the Comintern International continued their United Front Policy against all types of imperialism. They even attacked the congress of its pro-British attitude. But when in September 1939, the congress declared war against the imperialist, the Indian Communist found them in a very false situation. In June 1941, Hitler attacked Soviet Union, the 'Father of Socialism' and the situation in India also changed dramatically. The Communist in India now took altogether a different stand and labelled the war as people's war and announced full support to allied Russian war efforts. The British Government in Indian rewarded the CPI by declaring it as a legal organisation in 1942. The sudden shift of the communist policy evoked the strong condemnation in the national circle and these events demonstrated that the CPI's policy decision was influenced by outsiders and mostly by international wire pullers.

During the period between 1942 to 1945 the importance of the CPI as a political party increased manifold since it was declared a legal organisation. The CPI during this period worked in close collaboration with the Workers and Peasants till the independence of the country.

After the formation of the Interim Government in India, the groups within the CPI emerged which fundamentally differed in their assessment of the political system of independent India with the advancement of a more militant left and CPI adopted a tactic of the United Front from below, in alliance with workers, peasants and other against congress leadership. It also embarked on a course of resolution with strikes and demonstrations.

After the independence of the country, the CPI under the leadership of B T Ranadive tried to organise violent revolution for democracy in India. Following the Russian model Ranadive emphasized the working class as the instrument of revolution and giving lot of importance to working class and peasants in future revolution in India. during 1950, Nehru and the congress were both denounced by the CPI as the reactionary and representative of capitalist class. But slowly they had changed their stand because the CPI was advised to abandon its adventurist tactics. This policy shift was welcomed by the moderates within the party line Joshi, S A Dange and Ajay Ghosh who favoured participation in the forth-coming election. In October 1957 with the election of Ajay Ghosh as General Secretary of the Party, the party moved towards constitutional communism.

In spite of all the problems within the CPI in the general elections that were held in 1962, the communists were able to capture as many as 23 seats in the Parliament and CPI came second only to the INC. In many State Assemblies, the CPI emerged as the second largest party and was leading the opposition group.

But slowly there emerged difference of opinion within the CPI and people who were not happy with the activities of the CPI and who did not agree with the principles of the CPI formed a radical branch which found its political expression in the CPI (M). Again in Bengal there emerged another group who believed in the Marxian Leninist policy but was not happy with the existing socialist party or movement in India. This group started the agrarian revolution which led to the formation of another group within the CPI known as CPI (ML)

CONSTITUTIONAL PROVISIONS FOR WOMEN IN INDIA

The constitution of India guarantees equal rights and responsibilities to both men and women in civil, political, social and economic fields. Besides, various steps have been taken by the government in order to protect the interest of women against male exploitation. Some of them being:

The constitution of India in its Part III dealing with fundamental rights mentions of various provisions where women have been given a special status. The Constitution encourages positive discrimination in favour of women in the Right to Equality (Article 15 and 16). Besides, the following are the steps taken by the Government in order to improve the conditions of women in India.

1. All round education through informal educational programs for those girls who cannot go to school. This program is mainly launched in backward and tribal areas. In many states, free education is given to all the girls up to X standard.
2. There are 700 hostels for the working women in entire country so that the women of the middle class families could have cheap and secure accommodations.
3. In order to promote the interest of the women, Dowry Abolition Act 1961 has been effectively implemented. Sati system has been abolished altogether. Presently, women have been provided with the right to divorce and a share in the property of their fathers and husbands.
4. National Women's Commission was constituted in 1992 in order to hear complaints against those who deprive women of their rights and also to take suitable action if necessary. A National Loan Fund has been established for women so that loan facilities would be provided to the poor and needy women.
5. Law Commission recently has made recommendation to the effect that the police investigation for girls below 18 years should be made before their guardian. The hearing of a rape case should be taken by a women judicial officer in a closed room, and if a pregnant woman is given capital punishment it shall be converted to life imprisonment and those sentenced to life imprisonment should not be kept in the jail beyond 14 years.
6. In order to encourage women's participation in the governmental affairs, 33% seats have been reserved for women in local government of panchayats in rural areas and municipalities in urban areas. There has also been an effort going on to make 33% reservation of seats for women in parliament and state legislatures.
7. The Supreme Court while deciding a litigation in 2000 stated – A person who mockingly adopts another religion where plurality of marriages is permitted so as to renounce the previous marriage cannot be permitted to take advantage of this situation, a religion is not a commodity to be exploited. In the like manner in yet another case in 2000, the Supreme Court stated that the child of a concubine shall have a right to the property of a father. The Supreme Court has also delivered judgments to prevent sexual harassment of women in their workplace by their employer or by their colleagues.
8. More recently in October 2006, the Domestic Violence Act was passed which empowers the women to file a case against her husband or in-laws or relatives on the ground of any verbal or physical abuse. In addition, this act covers not only married women, but also women who are live-in partners.

CONGRESS SOCIALIST PARTY [CSP]

There were many factors in the Indian National Movement that are responsible for the growth and development of socialist thinking in India and also in the development of the Congress Socialist Party also known as CSP. The withdrawal of Civil Disobedience Movement in 1931 and complete aloofness of the Communist from the national mainstream provided favourable condition for the emergence of an indigenous organised left movement inside the INC. Leading figures detained in the Nasik Prison House like Jayaprakash Narayan, Achyut Patwardhan, Ashoka Mehta and M L Dantwala, felt the need for making a modern dynamic orientation in the outlook and programme of the congress and to bring it into an organic relationship with the organisation of Peasants and Workers.

The Socialists in India were also inspired by the success of Labour Movement in England and a Scientific Socialism in the USSR. The origin of the leftist element within the INC can also be traced to the rejection of Dominion Status with the betterment of the lot of the poor and downtrodden people of the country.

The year 1934 proved to be an important time for this purpose. After leaving the Nasik Jail where it is said that the blue-print of the CSP was drawn, J P Narayan convened the First All India Conference of the Congress Socialist at Patna. The conference was presided over by Acharya Narendra Deva. In his presidential address, Narayan said, "The future of congress will much depend on the decision of this single question. The whole movement stands in danger of being deflected from its revolutionary path and if the congress is again made to travel the old barren path of constitutionalism and reform, it will turn itself into a morass from which it will not be possible for it to extricate itself."

The conference passed a resolution saying whereas the Preamble of the Fundamental Rights resolution of the Karachi Congress proclaims that in order to end the exploitation of the masses, political freedom must include real economic freedom of the starving millions and in order to widen the basis of this struggle for independence and ensure that even after Swaraj comes, the masses do not remain victims of economic exploitation. It is necessary that the congress should adopt a programme which is socialist in action and objective. They wanted the congress to declare as its objective a socialistic state and after the capture of power to convene a Constituent Assembly.

It was obvious that such a development would not be appreciated by the rightist element within the congress who accused their fellow socialist of making a call for revolution, class struggle, socialism and the like. The Congress Working Committee at its meeting on 17th June 1934 passed a resolution hitting at the socialistic philosophy of the congressmen. The socialists were criticised by the rightist element in the congress. Mahatma Gandhi objected to the socialist programme of the CSP but he advised them to follow, strictly the path of non-violence for the implementation of their programme.

Despite this, the First Congress of All India Congress Socialist Party was held on Bombay on 21st and 22nd October 1934 under the President ship of Dr Sampurnanad. It was attended by 137 members though the absence of Nehru was differently interpreted. It adopted A Constitution of its own specifying its membership to those who were the members of INC and of the provincial CSP's, provided they were not members of any communal organisation or of any other organisation whose objects were inconsistent with its own. It embodied its objective in a document titled "Platform" specifying these important points –

- a. Achievement of complete independence in the sense of separation from the British Empire
- b. Establishment of a socialist society

However, a detailed enumeration of its programme became available in its plan of action specifying the following:

1. Transfer of all power to the producing masses.
2. Development of the economic life of the country under the state planning.
3. Socialisation of key industries.
4. State monopoly of foreign trade.
5. Organisation of co-operative societies for production, distribution and credit in the un-socialised sector of economic life.
6. Elimination of princes and landlords and other exploiters without compensation.
7. Redistribution of land to the peasantry.
8. Encouragement of collective and co-operative farming by the state.
9. Liquidation of debts owned by peasants and workers.
10. Re-alignment of right to work and maintenance by the state.
11. Distribution of economic goods on the basis of everyone according to his needs
12. Adult franchise on a functional basis
13. Secular policy of the state.
14. No discrimination on the ground of sex.
15. Repudiation of public debts of the country

In not much time, the leaders of the CSP would highlight their socio-economic objectives in quite clear terms and along with it they also clarified its intention to work within the Indian National Congress. In September 1935, the Bengal unit of CSP hold its meeting at Calcutta where in his Presidential address J P Narayan said, "Our work within the congress is

governed by the policy of developing it into a true anti-imperialist body. It is not our purpose, as sometimes it has been understood to be, to convert the whole of congress into a full-fledged socialist party. All we seek to do is to change the content and policy of that organisation so that it comes truly to represent the masses, showing the objective of emancipating them both from the foreign power and the native system of exploitation.

Thus what distinguished the Congress Socialist from the remainders of the congressmen at this time was that they endeavoured to make it the basis of an independent party based on socialist. Their purpose was not at all to break the congress party from within though they were mistakenly accused of creating inner dissensions. To avoid such confusion and fear, Minoo Masani in his presidential address at the Sind Unit of the CSP in 1936 said that the issue on which the country and the congress were divided today was not the issue of socialism but the issue of independence and the ways and means of achieving it. If there was division in the congress today, it was not between the socialist and the nationalist but within the groups of nationalists. Even at the Fizapur Congress of 1936 the CSP leaders reiterated their aim of working inside the congress and at the same time, broadening its ways son as to take it very close to the masses.

However, a striking development at this change occurred in the form of their open attack at the dominant leadership which they referred as “Bourgeois Leadership.” In this view, the bourgeois leadership was unable to develop the struggle of the masses to a higher level. For this reason, the CSP leaders denounced the Government of India Act, 1935 as ‘the model of slavish constitution’ and opposed the idea of implementing it.

At the Lahore Meeting in 1937, the CSP leaders resolved few important decisions –

1. To organise resistance to the federation by exposing the limitation imposed on the provincial ministries.
2. To utilise the control of provincial administration and to neutralise the bureaucratic resistance.
3. To develop the congress and other political movements in a non-congress provinces.
4. To organise and support every struggle of the people of Indian states for democratic rights and against the inhumane economic and social conditions in which they have to live.
5. To emphasize on all propaganda literature for demand of a Constituent Assembly.
6. In the event of any attempt to impose the Federation, to prepare the country for a nationwide mass struggle including a no tax and no-rent campaign.

The CSP opposed the course of accepting ministerial offices of the provincial government in 1937. Naturally, they held the resignation of Congress Government in October 1939. When the World War broke out in September 1939 they dubbed it as an imperialistic combat and

desired that full advantage should be taken of the available opportunity. It gave a slogan: “Na ek pai, na ek bhai” (neither a single penny nor single countrymen for British war efforts). The National Executive formulated a 3 point charter highlighting these tasks –

1. To carry out a vigorous anti-war propaganda
2. To activist Congress Working Committee for anti-work
3. To push the enrolment of volunteers.

Such a stand taken by the CSP leaders naturally pleased the Communist. But what put the CSP leaders in a state of difficulty was the statement of Mahatma Gandhi that was ratified by the AICC at Poona in July in 1940. It referred to his pledge to support British war efforts if His Majesty’s Government gave a promise of granting independence after the war with the establishment of a provincial government. It showed that at this stage the CSP leaders seemed to have been caught up in a situation where while the heart was with Gandhi, the head was with Marx and though Gandhism was gradually having the upper hand, the ghost of Marx refused to disappear.

For this reason the Congress Socialist took an active part in the Quit India Movement of 1942-43 and denounced the role of the Royist and the Communist in supporting Britain’s efforts in a war against fascism. After the war they opposed any negotiation on the question of India’s freedom. On 26th January 1947 J P Narayan said – the only way is to renew the demand for Quit India and to utilise the people in a final challenge with the foreign power. They criticised the path of pure constitutionalism and insisted on new course of revolution.

Committed to the stand of transferring power to the toiling masses, the CSP leaders rejected any scheme of negotiated settlement relating to the transfer of power. They rejected the Cabinet Mission Plan of 1946 suggesting the re-grouping of the Indian Provinces along the composition of the Constituent Assembly that was not at all of the type they had been envisaging. They also criticised the formation of the Interim Government in September 1946 with Nehru as its Vice-President.

The Kanpur Meet of the CSP held in March 1947 passed a resolution saying – every care must now be taken that power passes not merely into Indian hands but into the hands of toiling masses. It has become the urgent duty of the socialist now to create adequate sanction so that the authority that takes power from the British power is not other than the government of the toiling people of the country. After a couple of months the national executive of the CSP disapproved the Mountbatten Plan of country’s partition. It passed a resolution saying each act of surrender perhaps not of much import by itself but of great effort as a link in the chain and refusal of the congress leadership to prepare a position and to hold on to it have brought class to this fateful situation.

A critical study of the role of the CSP shows that it could not achieve much and merely created some ripples in the waters of national movement. The reason for this should be discovered in their conglomerate alliance that included socialist of all colours from Minoo Masani to Narendra Deva heading leftist figures like Bose and Nehru never joined the CSP

and Sampurnaanand left it in 1937 after feeling disillusioned on certain important counts. Rejected of the path of constitutionalism as pursued by most of the congressmen was the strongest binding force though some place should be assigned to their appreciation of the achievements of the new USSR under Stalin and Lenin and the inferences they could draw from their failure in the capitalist system in Italy and Germany that had led to the emergence of fascism. Apart from this they could not rope in Nehru and they took into consideration his critical emphasis on narrow nationalism of the dominant congress leadership as a reflection of an isolationist policy by keeping the organisation away from the impact of world events.

The story of the CSP looks like the record of a leftist pressure group operating within the broad framework of the INC. Its success is measured in giving a somewhat positive turn towards the left on the basis of which Nehru could cash capital in time to come. The inner dissensions within the ranks of the CSP continued with the result that they could not reap the fruits of their labour and had to work out of the INC shortly after the advent of independence. The CSP as a political group was too heterogeneous. Behind the heterogeneity of the people of the CSP was the heterogeneity of the people who went to constitute it. In fact what was called the CSP was not at all a homogeneous group. It was a mixture of all sorts of people \often poles apart in ideology and outlook. Fabian Socialists, Marxists, Leninists, Stalinists, Trotskyists, Rosa Luxemburgist Gandhites and Vedantists constituted the Congress Socialist Party. What united them as common platform was their uncompromising adherence to nationalism and the goal of national freedom no less than their opposition to the programme of nationalism advocated by the INC and their further claim that they subscribe to socialism no matter varied their conception of socialism might be. It was the situation rather than any homogeneity of outlook that helped to bring them on a common platform.

ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENT

The term environment refers to all the aggregate of all external condition and influences affecting the life and development of all living organisms including human beings. Environmental degradation has occurred from man's irresponsible assertion that he is the master of the earth. Man has been destroying the environment.

In the recent years, there has been a growing awareness about the close relationship between environmental degradation and socio-economic progress of a country. The major elements of ecological infrastructure of society like water, soil, flora and fauna etc, have their impact on different aspects of society. This awareness became evident at the Earth Summit (Brazil, 1992) when a global action plan known as Agenda 21 was launched to maintain a balance between developmental programmes and environmental imperatives. The spirit of Agenda 21 has been reflected in various laws, policies and programmes of the government of India concerning protection of environment and conservation of natural resources.

Environmental problem in India developed mainly during the colonial period and after independence as well. Some of these problems relate to air, water and noise pollution, degradation of land, threat to biological diversity, increasing deforestation, solid waste disposal and sanitation. Attempts to deal with these problems have been made at different levels – constitutional, legislative, administrative and social level. Finally at the level of people's participation, several environmental movements have taken place. According to Harsh Sethi, there are FIVE types of environmental movements like –

1. Forest based Struggles
2. Land based Struggles
3. Struggles against big dams which have caused destruction of forest and other environmental imbalance.
4. Movements against pollution caused by industrialisation
5. Protest against too much exploitation of marine resources.

A few notable movements related to environment are as follow:

1. The Chipko Movement

The word "Chipko" literally means "clinging to" or "hugging". The movement gets its name from the agitators embracing trees in an effort to prevent them from cutting according to official strategy.

Some provisions of the First Forest Act in India (1927) were against the interest of the tribals and common people living in the forest. Several protests were made against the act in the pre-independence period. These gradually developed into a strong movement in the 1970's. The movement which developed in the Garhwal region of

the Himalayas was initially not based on ecological ground. The issue arose which centred around a dispute over forest resources between the local people and the contractors who bought the forest on auction. In May 1968, many tribal men and women resisted the contractors when they resorted to plunder the forests.

In April 1973 when attempts were made to cut the trees on a dark night, the tribal women protested by embracing the trees and spending several nights in guarding the trees. Further in March 1974, when there were attempts to fell the trees, several tribal women, under the leadership of Gauri Devi guarded the trees for several nights. Gauri Devi ultimately became an embodiment of women power in the movement. Some other active agitators were Sarala Behn, Sundar Lal Bahugana and Chandika Prasad Bhatt.

In Feb 1978, when the contractors together with a few contingents of armed police came to take possession of the forest, each tree was guarded by a set of women who embraced the trees like their children. The intensity of the movement compelled the government to change its official strategy and Mrs Indira Gandhi as the Prime Minister had to announce that not a single tree in the Himalayan ranges in UP should be touched for the next 15 years. The message of the movement had impact on other forest movements in Karnataka and environmental movements like Narmada Bachao Andolan.

2. Narmada Bachao Andolan

Perhaps no other river projects have been ever exploited for such a long time and subject to so many controversies as the Narmada. In 1961, Prime Minister Nehru laid the foundation stone of a 162 ft high dam on the river Narmada near Bharuel district of Gujarat. But it was considered totally inadequate to deal with rivers rich potential. The two widely affected states – Gujarat and Madhya Pradesh then concluded an agreement in 1963 to build a 425 ft high Sardar Sarovar Dam in Gujarat and Narmada Sagar Dam in Madhya Pradesh. The Khosla Committee which was appointed to review the project recommended a 500 ft high dam which would be more technically correct. The committee also suggested a few multi-purpose projects to yield hydel power. While Gujarat favourably responded to the Khosla Committee Report, Madhya Pradesh found it unacceptable. The then Prime Minister Mrs Gandhi intervened and the dispute was referred to the Narmada Waters Dispute Tribunal in 1969. The tribunal reduced the maximum height to 455 ft and apportioned the respective share of power and water among Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra.

Meanwhile, a protest movement known as Narmada Bachao Andolan was launched under the leadership of Baba Amte and Medha Patkar. The protestors not only spoke against the construction of dams on ecological, ethnic and other grounds but raised a few basic issues.

Firstly, how the total cost of such an expensive project would be financed. Secondly, the dams would submerge almost 3.5 lacs hectare of forest land, in addition to

destruction of several thousand of hectares of fertile agricultural lands. Thirdly, more than 1 million people would be homeless. Fourthly, the big dams would result in accumulation of silt and the normal flow of the river would be disturbed leading to great natural (man-made) calamities. Finally, the relief package was to be inadequate. The construction of high reservoir could not be followed by compensatory afforestation.

Thus, the movement attracted world –wide attention and many people expressed their concern over the ecological and rehabilitation aspects of the project. The intensity of this movement resulted in withdrawal of sanctioned loan from World Bank for the proposed project. In 1995, the Supreme Court put a stay order on the construction work and issued instructions to complete the rehabilitation process first and then proceed with the work. In a recent judgement, the Court agreed to the resumption of work as it was satisfied with the relief and rehabilitation arrangements. Thus the Andolan contributed to the creation of a high level of awareness about the environment and humanitarian aspects of the whole project concerning Narmada.

3. Silent Valley Movement

The Silent Valley is situated in the Talghet district of North Kerala. The Kanthipura River flows across the valley. The Kerala Government decided to build a dam in this river in 1963. In 1973, the project received a green signal from the Planning Commission and the project work started with the cutting of trees in the area. Initially, there was no protest from anyone. But in 1976, some environmentalists took interest in the project and a protest movement was planned and launched. At this point, the National Commission of Environment Planning and Coordination (NCEPC) took initiative to get the project investigated by a task force. The report of the task force went against the project. Meanwhile, the issue received the attention of Kerala Shashtra Sahitya Parishad, a popular science organisation in Kerala which was active in meeting ecological consciousness in Kerala. This Parishad pleaded for giving up of the project. Thus, a difference of opinion became clear between the Kerala Government and the environmentalists. The International Union for the Promotion of Nature and Natural Resources also recommended abandoning the project. At last in December 1980, the Kerala government changed its policy and the project was withdrawn. Thus, the movement against the project did generate some amount of consciousness about the problem of development versus environment.

4. Ganga Action Plan

As a result of protest by the people and several NGO's against the pollution of the river Ganga, a survey was carried out by the Central Pollution Control Board and Ganga Action Plan was launched in 1985 to improve the river quality by reducing the pollution load and by establishing self-sustaining sewage system. It also aimed to make the river safe for the holy pilgrimage. The project area includes Uttar Pradesh,

Bihar and West Bengal. While on the one hand, demands for speedy completion of the project has been made, the progress has suffered over the years due to poor power supply and lack of sincerity and eagerness on the part of the government to implement the project.

Conclusion

An evaluation of the environmental movements of India shows that in most of the cases the toil of the people to earn their livelihood and access to forest and others form of natural resources have taken the shape of movements. Basically, all these movements were guided by economic motives. Though situation have changed over the years, yet a genuine concern over maintaining ecological balance has been very rare in India. Environmental thinking at the official level in India has not been systematic and constructive. Caught in the visions of growth oriented economy and ecological degradation, the government has not been able to decide successfully it priorities.

INDIAN FEDERALISM – NATURE AND FEATURES

NATURE OF THE INDIAN FEDERALISM

Article 1 of the constitution of India says, “India, that is Bharat, shall be a union of states.” However the system of government introduced by the constitution is federal. While submitting the Draft Constitution Dr B. R. Ambedkar, the chairman of the Drafting Committee stated that the committee had used the term ‘Union’ because of certain advantages. These advantages were to indicate two things namely – a) that the Indian federation is not the result of an agreement by the units, and b) that the component unit have no right to secede from it.

The Indian federation is not the result of a compact among pre-existing states like the American federation. The federation of India came into being after the formation of the nation state. The founding fathers of our constitution inherited from the British Raj a highly centralised bureaucratic state but adopted a federal system of government as the most suitable for ethnically diverse Indian society. Their approach to federation has been that ‘Unity and Diversity’ could co-exist.

There are various features in the Indian constitution which gives upper hand to the centre government. For instance the Centre appoints the Governors of the States and may take over the administration of the State on the recommendations of the Governor or otherwise. In other words, Governor is the agent of the Centre in the States. The working of Indian federal system clearly reveals that the Governor has acted more as centre’s representative than as the head of the State. This enables the Union government to exercise control over the State administration.

The equality of units in a federation is best guaranteed by their equal representation in the Upper House of the federal legislature (Parliament). However, this is not applicable in case of Indian States. They have unequal representation in the Rajya Sabha. In a true federation such as that of United State of America every State irrespective of their size in terms of area or population it sends two representatives in the upper House i.e. Senate.

In addition to all this, all important appointments such as the Chief Election Commissioner, the Comptroller and Auditor General are made by the Union Government. Besides, there is single citizenship. There is no provision for separate Constitutions for the states. The States cannot propose amendments to, the Constitution. As such amendments can only be made by the Union Parliament.

In order to ensure uniformity of the administrative system and to maintain minimum common administrative standards without impairing the federal system All India Services such as IAS and IPS have been created which are kept under the control of the Union. In financial matters too, the States depend upon the Union to a great extent. The States do not possess adequate financial resources to meet their requirements. During Financial Emergency, the Centre exercises full control over the State’s finances. In case of disturbances in any State or part thereof, the Union Government is empowered to depute Central Force in the State or to the disturbed part of the State. Also, the Parliament, by law may increase or decrease the area of any State and may alter its name and boundaries. The federal principle envisages a dual system of Courts. But, in India we have unified judiciary with the Supreme Court at the apex. The Constitution of India

establishes a strong Centre by assigning all-important subjects to the Centre as per the Union List. The State Governments have very limited powers. Financially the States are dependent on the Centre.

The founding fathers introduced a federal system with a strong centre. The creation of a strong centre gave rise to heated controversy among eminent jurists and political scientists regarding the true nature of the Indian federation. Paul H Appleby has dubbed Indian federation as 'extremely federal'. But K P Mukherjee has characterised it as 'Unfederal'. Between these two extremes there is Prof K C Wheare who calls it 'Quasi-federal.'

FEATURES OF INDIAN POLITY

Essential features of a federal polity

A typical federation ought to satisfy the following conditions:

1. **Division of powers:** It is a union of 18 States and 10 Union Territories. The latter are administered by the Centre. The federal character extends to all the States. Distribution of the subjects of administration between the Centre and the Federating Units is an essential requisite of a federation. The Indian Constitution clearly makes this division of subjects. Three different lists have been drawn up, viz: The Union List, The State List and The Concurrent List. Both the Union Government and the State Governments are autonomous and independent within the spheres of powers allotted to them by the Constitution. In the Union List, only the Parliament can make laws. In the Concurrent List, both the Parliament and the State Legislatures make laws but in case of conflict, the Union Law prevails. In the State List, normally, the State legislatures make laws.
2. **Supremacy of the Constitution:** The Constitution is supreme law of the land. Both the Union Government and the State Government derive their authority directly from the Constitution and no authority in India can go against the Constitution.
3. **Written Constitution:** India possesses a written Constitution which is another essential of a federation. Indian constitution is the longest written constitution - 447 articles, 26 parts, 12 schedules.
4. **Rigidity of the Constitution:** Every federation has more or less a rigid Constitution. The Constitution of the Indian Republic to some extent satisfies this condition as well. The Constitution provides for a special procedure with regard to its amendment. The Union Legislature of the State Legislature cannot amend it in an ordinary legislative procedure. Those provisions which deal with the federal features of the Constitution can be amended only after ratification by at least half of the State Legislature.
5. **Independent Judiciary:** India possesses a Supreme Court which acts as a guardian and interpreter of the Constitution. The existence of a Federal Court or a Supreme Court with special powers is always essential for a federation. The Indian Constitution satisfies this condition, too. It gives powers to the Judiciary to declare laws ultra-vires if they are unconstitutional.
6. **Dual polity:** The Indian constitution establishes a dual polity with a double set of governments, i.e. Central Government and State Governments. The sphere of authority of each part is clearly defined in the Constitution.

Peculiar features of Indian polity

However, there are certain provisions that affect its federal character.

1. **Appointment of the Governor of a State:** Art 155 and 156 provide that the Governor, who is the constitutional head of a State, is to be appointed by the President and stays only until the pleasure of the President. Further, that the Governor can send the laws made by the state for assent from the President, who can veto the law. It should be noted that Governor is only a ceremonial held and he works on the advice of council of ministers. In past 50 yrs, there has been only one case (Kerala Education Bill), where amendments to a state law were asked by the centre too after the opinion of the Supreme Court. Thus, it does not tarnish the federal character and states are quite free from outside control.
2. **Power of the parliament to make laws on subjects in the State list:** Under art 249, centre is empowered to make laws on subjects in the state list. On the face of it, it looks a direct assault on the power of the states. However, this power is not unlimited. It is exercised only on the matters of national importance and that too if the Raja Sabah agrees with 2/3 majority. It should be noted that Raja Sabah is nothing but the representative of the states. So an approval by Rajya Sabha means that States themselves are giving the power to the centre to make lawn that subject.
3. **Power to form new states and to change existing boundaries:** Under Art 3, centre can change the boundaries of existing states and can carve out new states. This should be seen in the perspective of the historical situation at the time of independence. At that time there were no independent states. There were only provinces that were formed by the British based on administrative convenience. At that time States were artificially created and a provision to alter the boundaries and to create new states was kept so that appropriate changes could be made as per requirement. It should be noted that British India did not have states similar to the States in the USA.
4. **Emergency Provisions:** Centre has the power to take complete control of the State in the following 3 situations:
 1. An act of foreign aggression or internal armed rebellion (Art 352)
 2. Failure of constitutional machinery in a state (art 356)
 3. Financial Emergency (art 360)

In all the above cases, an elected state government can lose control of the state and a central rule can be established. In the first case, it is very clear that such a provision is not only justified but necessary to protect the existence of a state. A state cannot be left alone to defend itself from outside aggression. In the third case also, it is justified because a financial emergency could cause severe stress among the population, plunge the country into chaos and jeopardize the existence of the whole country. Such provisions exist even in USA. The second provision is most controversial. It gives the centre the power to take over the control of a state. However, such an action can be taken only upon the advice of the governor and such an advice is not beyond the preview of the Supreme Court. In a recent case, Supreme Court ruled that the imposition of Presidential rule in the state of Bihar was unconstitutional. Thus, it can be safely said that Indian Constitution is primarily federal in nature even though it has unique features that enable it to assume unitary features upon the time of need.

TRADE UNION WORKING CLASS MOVEMENT

According to Sydney and Webb, “A Labour Union is a stable organization of labour, earning people, with the aim to keep up the living conditions.” In a specific country, labour movement relies upon a special blend of character role of intellectuals, opposition of character, role of labour consciousness and opposition to capitalism.

The beginning of the second half of the 19th century heralded the entry of modern industry into India. The thousands of herds employed in construction of railways were harbingers (announcing the approach of something) of the modern Indian working class. Further industrialization came with the development of ancillary industries along with the railways. The coal industry developed fast and employed a large working force. Then came the jute and cotton industries.

The Indian working class suffered from the same kind of exploitation witnessed during the industrialization of Europe and the rest of the west, such as low wages, long working hours, unhygienic and hazardous working condition, and employment of child labour and the absence of basic amenities. In the Census Report of 1931, it was found that the housing conditions in the city of Bombay, the most industrialised centre in India, was in disgrace to any civilised community. According to D H Buchanan in his “The Development of Capitalist Enterprise in India” (1934), states that the prices arose markedly and wages followed, though with a lag. Thus up to the end of the war of 1914-1918 there was no improvement in the level of real wages, but if anything, deterioration. Most of the industrial workers received wages which was not sufficient to sustain themselves.

The presence of colonialism in India gives a distinctive touch to the Indian working class movement. The working had to face two basic antagonistic forces – a) an imperialist political rule and b) economic exploitation at the hands of both foreign and native capitalist classes. All these factors led to the rise of labour movements which became inter-wined with the political struggle for national emancipation.

However, the early nationalist especially the moderates were indifferent to labour’s cause as they did not want a division in the movement on the basis of classes. Thus, the earlier effort to improve the economic condition of the workers were in the nature of the philanthropic efforts which were isolated, sporadic and aimed at specific local grievance. In 1872 P C Majumdar, a teacher by profession eight night schools for the workers. In 1870 Sasipada Banerjee started a school for jute workers, a Workingmen’s Club and newspaper Bharat Shramjeevi. In 1878 Sorabjee Shapoorji tried to get a bill, providing better condition of work for labour, passed in the Bombay Legislative Council. Kalian Meghaji Lokhandry, who himself was once a mill labour called a meeting of cloth mill workers in Bombay and made a memorandum in order to develop the working condition of workers to be displayed before the President of Mill Commission. As to V B Karnik it is right to call it as the beginning of labour movement in India. In 1890 Mr Lokhandey made the first labour organisation known

as ‘Bombay Mill hands Association.’ India and Burma railway workers made their organisation in 1897 which later on came to be termed as National Union of Railway men.

Trade Union Movement during the World Wars

It was the conditions created by the world war, the sequel of the Russian Revolution and the world revolutionary wave that brought the Indian Working Class into a full-fledged activity and opened the modern labour movement in India. Economic and political conditions alike contributed to the new awakening. Prices of essential commodities had doubled during the war, there had been no corresponding increase in wages, huge profits were being amassed by the employers. As a result in the first half of 1920 more than 200 strikes occurred in which more than 15 lacs of workers participated.

The “Madras Labour Union” formed by B P Wadia in 1919 was the first organisation which was similar to the Labour union of the modern times. Their significant demands were fair working settings and fair attitude of European supervisors towards the workers. Under the leadership of Lala Lajpat Rai, “All-India Trade Union Congress” (AITUC) was set up. Its declared aim was to co-ordinate the activities of all organisations in all the provinces of India and generally to further the interests of Indian Labour in matters economic, political and social.

The leadership of AITUC was for a decade in the hands of the liberal nationalists. After 1927 left wing leadership developed within the Trade Union Movement, mainly composed of the left nationalists, socialists and communists which steadily began to displace earlier leadership. The tussle for leadership led to several splits but in 1938. The unity among the splintered groups was achieved through the re-emergence of a strong “All-India Union Congress” in the country. In 1944, the congress party formed the Indian National Trade Union Congress as the AITUC began to be dominated by the communists. Subsequently the organised labour fragmented into different trade union organisations.

Trade Union Movements in Post-Independent India

In the post independent India the Indian Working Class is divided into several all India organisations – AITUC mainly dominated by the CPI, the Centre of Indian Trade Union (CITU) controlled mainly by the CPI(M), the Hind Mazdoor Sabha(HMS) of the Socialists, the United Trade Union Congress of the Non-Communitis left in West Bengal, the Hind Mazdoor Parishad of the BJP besides the INTUC.

All the trade unions are autonomous but not independent. All are closely linked to particular political parties and more often thannot acts as agents of the political parties to which they are attached. On problems of workers and economic interest, they do influence their respective parties, but on longer political issues they are guided by their practices. For example – the congress sponsored INTUC have tended to support the congress governments at the centre

and the states on major issues, including the need for industrial peace and general political stability, which they think is conducive to economic development and welfare of the working class. The trade unions controlled by the opposition parties particularly the left have been encouraged to paralyse the congress administration through strikes to defeat its anti-working class policies. In other words the Trade Union policies, depending on party affiliation, vary from military to conditional support, to moderation and accommodation. Trade union often fails to act as pressure group in their own right.

A major drawback of the Trade Union Movement in India is the dominance of outside leadership which has largely contributed to its fragmentation. Inter-Union rivalries have been a major factor in a number of labour unrest. Wages are the central issue in most labour disputes. Another recent issue is retrenchment as a result of modernisation.

Nevertheless, the Trade Union have been able to influence the government and private management to provide for improvement of workers living condition, adoption of social welfare benefits like employees insurance, medical and housing facilities, periodic revision of wage structure to compensate the continuous price rise in the market, bonus in heavy industries and public service sectors, the recognition of the right to strike etc.

Further, the adoption of new economic policy of liberalisation in India has made the economy at a tough competition with the world market. Foreign investment has begun coming but it has its drawback too in the labour market. The new economy shall require qualified labour as per the international standard. It increases the fear of workers retrenchment. In such a situation, the labour unions will have to rebuild the effective consolidated role in protecting their interests in this competitive world.

TRIBAL MOVEMENTS IN INDIA

In the multi-ethnic society in India, tribes constitute distinct collective identities and their place in society and the part they play in politics of the country is of no less importance than other groups or collective identities. The relationship between tribes and the Indian state, the conflict between tribal and non-tribal people and inter-tribal rivalries have been the recurrent themes in Indian political discourse. The country's huge tribal population live mainly in states like Assam, Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, West Bengal, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Jharkhand, Orissa, Maharashtra, Nagaland, Manipur, Tripura and Tamil Nadu. Bihar itself has different varieties of tribes mainly residing in Chhota Nagpur and Santhal Pargana. As per the census record of 1991, their aggregate population was 8.8% of total Indian population. Tribals in India have a long history of conflict and which can broadly be classified into 3 parts:

1. Tribal Movement Up to 1857

The main idea behind most of the tribal movements in India till 1857 was to take some concessions from the English East India Company. Their persistent complaint was that the company administrators and landlords had used them and exploited them. Major tribal movements during this period occurred in 1778, 1794, 1807 and 1833. Most of the tribal movements during this period were caused due to an encroachment of tribal land or deprivation. The 'Tamar Rebellion' which repeated 7 times from 1789 – 1832, occurred due to the long deprivation which the tribals suffered for a very long time.

2. Movements During 1857-1947

As the British government consolidated its hold over India, anti-British feelings among the tribal people increased. The tribals became violent against the land tenure system and civil and criminal laws made by the British Government under the notion that their traditional society was disrupted. From 19th century onwards collective mobilisation of several tribal groups have occurred to alter, restore and protect their social, cultural, economic and political conditions. In 1885, violence broke out in the areas inhabited by the Santhals as against economic exploitation and Christian Missionaries' effort at religious transformation. Birsa Munda raised the banner of revolt against the conspiracy of the British rulers, landlords and money lenders. He was soon arrested and sentenced with two and half years of imprisonment. Around the same time several famines spread in Munda tribal region (1899). Conspiracy of religious transformation through the supply medicine and food was hatched. Birsa Munda again took the initiative and organised the tribal youth and attacked police stations. He was arrested again and he later died in the jail due to cholera.

During the Indian freedom struggle many tribals of Chhota Nagpur and other regions participated in the 'Non-Cooperation Movement' launched by Gandhi in 1919. Likewise tribals from Nagaland actively participated in the struggle against the British by spreading the message of independence of tribes, collecting funds for armed struggle, mobilising the tribal people, writing songs of inspiration etc. Tribal youths

from the region also launched many revolutionary activities. Similarly many tribals of South India had much to account for the national freedom struggle.

3. Movements after 1947

In the new legal and political order ushered in after independence, there is now not only a definite tribal identity for the tribals enjoying a legal sanction, but also a political interest in maintaining and strengthening that identity. The constitutional recognition of Scheduled Tribe (ST) as a separate category with specific claims and entitlements have in certain respects sealed the boundaries between the tribal and non-tribal people such as reservation of seats in the legislatures, educational institutions and reservation of jobs in the administrative services and a provision for educational scholarships etc. Paradoxically along with increasing modernisation the number of communities deemed to be tribals has increased and there has been a growing assertion of tribal identities. Moreover tribal mobilisations have taken place in various forms. Cultural and political revivalism has been the key element of tribal movement in the north-east regions. Political autonomy, control over land and forest, socio-religious and cultural and linguistic considerations are other factors of tribal movements in the north-east. Some tribal groups were compelled to demand separate states because they were pushed to the wall by the majority rule and betrayed by large nationalities. Such tribal communities demanded a territory where they would be in a majority.

Tribal Movements in the North-East

In the tribal regions of North East, the government has faced periodic armed insurgencies from the time of independence mainly in the north-east province consisting of Assam and Manipur and Tripura (erstwhile Union Territories). In the post independence India, tribals of north-east province raised a demand for a separation from Assam since Assamese became official language of the region. In addition the Assamese government refused in violation of the argument with the Naga National Council to recognise it as the principal political and administrative force in the Naga Hill district and proceeded to extend its administration to the Naga areas. As the Nagaland movement led by Lepo Phizo turned into a violent revolt, the central government under Prime Minister Nehru employed armed forces to suppress it and negotiated with the moderate non-secessionist Naga leaders and accordingly created a separate state of Nagaland in 1963.

Likewise when the Mizo tribals under the Mizo National Front led by Laldenga asserted independence, armed troops were employed to suppress it. Then as a conciliatory step, the Union Territory of Mizoram was formed in 1971. Insurgent activities, however, persisted which paved the way for the creation of a separate state of Mizoram in 1986 under Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi. Separatist movements among the other regionally based tribal group gradually led to the formation of the states of Meghalaya in 1970 and Arunachal Pradesh in 1987.

Despite formation of several tribal states insurgence by various underground organisations like **Nationalistic Socialist Council of Nagaland** and **People's Liberation Army of Manipur** have not been brought under complete control. Assam still has 20 different tribal communities residing in the hills and the plains. The Bodoland Movement in the plains which came into prominence in 1970's for regional autonomy was led by the Bodo tribes due to issues like the alienation of their lands by immigrants, rising unemployment, economic backwardness, and above all the feeling that they were treated as second class citizens which led to the massacre of more than 1000 Bengali Muslims in 1983. In 1994, the **Bodo Autonomous Council** was created to pacify them but it could hardly function because its powers were crippled by the Assamese Government. This has helped the militant elements to establish their hold on the Bodo Movement in Assam. The central government despite taking stern steps against the separatist has resumed talks with the extremists Bodo Liberation Tiger in 2000 in order to make a peaceful environment. But they know not the language of peace and their spree of murders persisted unabated even in 2002 and even now. It is thus, essential for the government to suppress the Bodo Liberation Tiger, redress their grievances so that they join the primary stream of national existence.

Similar is the case of Tripura. Tripura, a tribal ruled state at the time of independence, was reduced to a total tribal minority by 1971 due to immigration. Efforts by the government to protect tribal lands and culture have not been successful as the slaughter of 350 Bengalis in 1983 bears a tragic witness. Despite the creation of the separate state of Tripura in 1972, the periodic killings of non-tribal people including MLAs by tribal insurgent groups continues as they feel to be threatened economically, politically and culturally.

Tribal Movements in Jharkhand

Even outside the north-east, the Indian State has to confront repeatedly with tribal movements widely dispersed in the country. Among these, the most famous is the Jharkhand Movement in the Chhota Nagpur region of South Bihar in which the central demand was the creation of a tribal state of Jharkhand (meaning Land of Forest) comprising parts of Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa and West Bengal. The Jharkhand Movement traces its origin to the formation of All India Adivasi Mahasabha in 1930 under Jaya Pal Singh for the purpose of resisting non-tribal encroachments in tribal lands. In 1949, the Mahasabha was replaced by Jharkhand Party with its goal of achieving a separate state of Jharkhand. In the election 1957 as well as in the consequent general elections the party could not make an impact. So the demand for a separate state did not materialise. With time, divisions in the Jharkhand Party occurred and in 1964 elections the party under the leadership of Jaya Pal Singh merged with the congress. The remnants suffered from factionalism. The exploitation and land alienation of the tribals continued. It could probably because of this region a new political outfit called **Jharkhand Mukti Morcha (JMM)** was formed in 1970 with the

goal to form a separate state of Jharkhand. Since then, periodical bandhs and economic blockade was organised by the JMM. Finally despite suffering splits in the Morcha, the NDA government kept its election manifesto promise by providing Jharkhand the status of independent state in 2000.

The two other tribal movements which were brutally suppressed by the armed might of the Indian state which deserve mention are:

- a. The Bastar Rebellion in Madhya Pradesh (1966) against non-tribal people and the government
- b. A Tribal revolt in Andhra Pradesh in the 1960's.

Thus, tribes in India are heterogeneous groups of people who differ in terms of their historical background, socio-economic and cultural problems and levels of advancement, in general, with an exception of few, all tribes are still a fearless section of the Indian society. The Indian Constitution gives numerous systems of measure for the development of tribes and continues to do so. For instance, in 1992 a National Scheduled Caste and Tribes Commission was appointed. Its function was to entirely revive the measure given for the security of tribes and to recommend such other measure for the enhancement and development of the tribal community. Besides, Tribal Advisory Council is given to all states having Scheduled tribes in order to give advice in relation to their welfare. Several tribal research institutes are constituted in Assam, Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, West Bengal, Jharkhand, Nagaland, Manipur and others. These institutes publish their literature and codify the customs and laws of these tribals. Tribal Co-operative Marketing Development Federation of India has been set up in order to facilitate marketing of their products like honey, jute and other products. Despite this measure, most of the tribal areas are still backward. All detailed planning and allocation for the development of the tribes have in practice remained largely on paper. There have been various reasons for the present situation that the tribal population are in, these include, social attitude towards tribal people, obstructions by vested interest who have traditionally been benefitted from the exploitation of tribes, concept of slack administration and above all the belief of politicians and officials alike in the ultimate disappearance of tribes which is seen as inevitable and even desirable in the interest of national integration which is the manifestation of arrogance of the dominant group in the majority community of an internal colonialism. All these factors have combined to keep insurgency alive in the north-east state of India and such other form of tribal movements in other parts of India.

UNITED NATION ORGANISATION

The United Nations (UN), established on 24 October 1945 by 51 countries, was a result of initiatives taken by the coalition of states that had led the Second World War. All de jure states—with the single exception of the Vatican—today are members of the UN, each having agreed to accept the obligations of the UN Charter.

According to the Charter, the UN has four objectives: • To maintain international peace and security • To develop friendly relations among nations • To cooperate in solving international problems and in promoting respect for human rights • To be a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations

The UN family of organizations is made up of a group of international institutions, which include its six principal organs, the specialized agencies such as the World Health Organization (WHO), the International Labour Organization (ILO), and the programmes and funds, such as the United Nations Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF) and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). The Secretary General manages this sprawling system by means of the Chief Executive Board (CEB) for coordination—a body comprising of the heads of UN bodies and agencies which meet twice a year under the Secretary General's supervision to discuss common issues. Membership of the UN is open to all peace-loving nations that accept the obligations of the Charter and, in the judgement of the organization, are able and willing to carry out these obligations. Admission to UN is by a two-third majority vote by the General Assembly upon the recommendations of the Security Council.

There are six principal organs of the UN: the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council, the Trusteeship Council, the International Court of Justice and the Secretariat.

General Assembly

The General Assembly, perhaps the closest approximation of a world parliament, is the main deliberative and legislative body. It is designed to utilize the timehonoured technique of resolving problems by free and frank discussions and as per the provisions of the customary international law. It is to function as the world's permanent forum and a meeting place. It is created on the assumption that "war of words" is better than war fought with bombs and weapons. All the UN Members are represented in it; and each has one vote on the basis of sovereign

equality. Decisions on ordinary matters are taken by simple majority. Important questions require two third of the votes. The Assembly has the right to discuss and make recommendations on all matters within the scope of the UN Charter. Its decisions are not binding on member States, but they carry the weight of law, ethics and world public opinion. Thus, it does not legislate like national parliament. But in the meeting rooms and corridors of the UN, representatives of almost all countries of the world – large and small, rich and poor, from diverse political and social systems – have a voice and vote in shaping the policies of the international community

Security Council

The Security Council is the organ to which the Charter gives primary responsibility for maintaining international peace and security. It can be convened at any time, even at midnight when peace is threatened. Member States are obligated to carry out its decisions. It has 15 members. Five of these – China, France, the Russian Federation, the UK, and the US – are permanent members, known as P5; they are also the nuclear weapons states. The other 10 are elected by the Assembly for a two year term. A decision cannot be taken if there is “no” or negative vote by a permanent member (known as “veto”) on substantive questions. In common parlance, veto is known in the UN Charter as “Great Power unanimity” rule. When a threat to peace is brought before the Council, it usually first asks the parties to reach agreement by peaceful means. The Council may undertake mediation or set forth principles for settlement. It may request the Secretary General to investigate and report on a situation. If fighting breaks out, the Council tries to secure a ceasefire. It may send peace-keeping units (observers or troops) to troubled areas, with the consent of the parties involved, to reduce tension and keep opposing forces apart. Unlike the General Assembly resolutions, its decisions are binding and it has the power to enforce its decisions by imposing economic sanctions and by ordering military action under the principle of “collective security”.

Economic and Social Council

Absence or prevention of war does not automatically ensure a peaceful international system. To diminish the underlying causes of future conflicts that might lead to such threats to the peace or breach of peace, the founding fathers of the UN also provided mechanisms for economic and social progress and development and to promote higher standards of living. This job has been

assigned to the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) - third main organ of UN. The ECOSOC has 54 members. It usually holds two-month long session each year. It coordinates the economic and social work of the UN and other specialized agencies and institutions – together known as the UN Family or simply as the UN System. It recommends and directs activities aimed at, among others, promoting economic growth of developing countries, administering development and humanitarian assistance projects, promoting the observance of human rights, ending discrimination against minorities, spreading the benefits of science and technology, and fostering world cooperation in areas such as better housing, family planning and crime prevention.

The Trusteeship Council:

The Trusteeship Council was created to supervise the administration of 11 Trust Territories and to ensure that Governments responsible for their administration take adequate steps to prepare them for self-government and independence. It is gratifying to note that all these territories had attained independence by the end of 1994 and now this body has little work.

The International Court of Justice:

The International Court of Justice consists of 15 judges who are elected concurrently by the General Assembly and the Security Council. It resolves legal issues and interprets international treaties.

The Secretariat

The Secretariat is the sixth main organ of the UN. It consists of a Secretary-General and other staff and personnel who run the UN administration and carry out day-to-day work of the UN. Staff members are drawn from 193 members of UN. As international civil servants, they work for the UN as a whole, and pledge not to take or seek instructions from any government or outside authority. Calling upon some 41,000 staff members worldwide, the Secretariat services the other principal organs of the UN and administers the programmes and policies established by them. At its head is the Secretary-General, who is appointed by the General Assembly on the recommendation of the Security Council.

Achievements

For over 60 years, the UN, despite all its shortcomings, has been an indispensable institution, a ‘happening concern’, which has left a permanent imprint on nearly every major political, economic, social and humanitarian problems of our age in its efforts to find solutions to them. The post-1945 era in global politics has been one of unprecedented transition in every part of the globe—an era of decolonization and emergence of a host of newly independent nations on the world scene, Cold War between the superpowers, continuing nuclear arms race, struggle for modernization and development in the Third World, recurring regional conflicts and most importantly, several technological changes which have created proximity and more extensive contacts among the peoples of the world than was ever possible in any previous global era. The UN has played a role in each of these developments on the world scene, developments, which have accelerated multinational cooperation. Let us now examine some of the major achievements of the UN before we turn to some of the limits to UN action. It is true that the UN has not been able to prevent wars, which is evident from the fact that there have been more than 500 regional conflicts since 1945, and the nation states have not yet come to a stage of evolution where they can renounce war as an instrument of national policy. Though it is true that nuclear weapons have not been used since 1945, thus averting a major world catastrophe, conventional weapons have frequently been employed in regional conflicts and the race for conventional as well as nuclear arms is still on. However, despite all this, the UN as an organization has made some modest contributions to reduce or contain conflicts in various regions of the world. The outbreak of hostilities anywhere brings a UN response, generally as a moderator or pacifier. Peacekeeping has been one of the most significant innovations under the UN Charter, which had originally provided for the device of collective security—this has been used only twice, since the inception of the UN. Collective security however became unworkable and the UN resorted to ‘peacekeeping’ to defuse tension in various conflict regions of the world. Classical peacekeeping gave way to innovative methods of peacekeeping in the post–Cold War period. It is this dynamism and innovative character of the UN which has helped it to survive in a world that has changed so rapidly since 1945.

Through its trusteeship and non-self-governing provisions, the UN has provided the basic instrument needed for one of the biggest revolutions of our time: decolonization. It is debatable whether this process could have taken place in a relatively peaceful manner had it not been for the efforts of the UN. Through its

principle of trusteeship, it has been able to maintain the international accountability needed for the transformation of the colonial states into independent ones. It has provided them with a forum where they can stand on an equal footing with their colonial masters, thus breaking down the barriers of the past centuries without recrimination.

It is, however, in the field of functional cooperation that the UN record has been most impressive. The work of UN agencies in such areas as health, transportation, communication, food, science and education has made the world body an indispensable organ of multinational cooperation. 'Development' and 'security' has been prefixed with a 'human' connotation—thanks largely to the efforts of the UN. Human development and human security are both global concerns today. Through multilateral programmes in specific functional areas, the UN has given international protection and material assistance to millions of refugees and has aided children and other target groups to meet their special needs. Rights of women and children are now clearly codified in UN conventions as are the rights of minorities and the 'differently abled'. The UN system has also helped in a substantial flow of technical assistance and development capital to needy countries. Although the wide gap between the rich and the poor has not been bridged, the UN has made a significant contribution to the growth of the idea that development is an international responsibility.

The UN role in promoting human rights has been limited largely to rule-making. Violations of UN standards in this regard have been innumerable. Nevertheless, through discussions, declaration, reports and international covenants sponsored by the UN, the organization seems to have promoted the cause of human rights as never before in the past

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

New Public Administration

New Public Administration (NPA) can be defined as a new and qualitatively different phase in the growth of public administration, infused with political values like equity, social justice, change and commitment. This new phase is often equated with the 'crisis of identity' of public administration as a separate discipline. NPA can be regarded as the first serious attempt on the part of the practitioners of public administration to give it a stable identity by re-emphasizing its core commitments towards the society.

The origin of NPA can be traced back to a path-breaking conference in 1968 at the Minnbrook conference I held at Syracuse University. It was attended by a host of young intellectuals drawn from different branches of social sciences. This conference was truly a wake-up call for all theorists and practitioners, to make the discipline socially relevant and accountable. It was held in the backdrop of a turbulent time which was marked by a series of social upheavals in the form of ethnic clashes, campus clashes, Vietnam war and its repercussions in American society and the like. The New Public Administration was the result of the above developments and a deep sense of dissatisfaction with the existing state of affairs. This new "counter-culture", as Mohit Bhattacharya puts, has called for the 'primacy' of 'politics' in administration.

The Minnbrook conference site at Syracuse university has a unique distinction of hosting three consecutive conferences pertaining to the development of public administration. In an exact interval of twenty years (1968, 1988 and 2008) the centre has organized three conferences respectively known as Minnbrook conference I, II and III. The first conference was famous for bringing about a new era in public administration informed with relevance, equity, change and social justice. Public interest formed the core of the deliberations. Social equity has been added to efficiency and economy as the rationale or justification for policy positions. Ethics, honesty and responsibility in governance have returned again to public administration. Change, not growth has come to be understood as the more article theoretical issue. Effective public administration has come to be defined in the context of an active and participative citizenry.

In addition to advancing these themes, the participants were influential in the primary professional association, the American Society for Public Administration (ASPA). It has now open elections, sections for minorities and women, and a

record of women and minorities in the leadership positions. It has developed a code of ethics and takes position on the significant public policy issues of the day.

NPA is not free from criticisms. It is often held responsible for the propagation of an illusion of “paradigm shift or paradigm revolution within the field”. The argument goes that NPA instead of contributing to a paradigm shift, has fostered intellectual confusion, methodological issues and institutionalization of undisciplined mediocrity in the field with a definite political intention of re-enforcing statuesque. However, NPA is a kind of soul-searching exercise, which sought to bring back relevance in public administration by integrating theory and practice in a coherent whole.

Goals of New Public Administration

The scholars have pointed out the five goals for the NEW Public administration. They are relevance, values, social equity, change and client orientation.

1. Relevance: Traditionally efficiency and economy have been the key concerns of public administration. The Minnbrook conference felt, the discipline need to be relevant to the contemporary issues and problems. The scholars desired radical changes in the curriculum of the discipline to make it more relevant to the realities of public life

2. Values: The conference made a plea for a greater concern with values, issues of justice, equity and human ethics. It was held that the commitment to values would enable the discipline to promote the cause of the disadvantaged sections in society.

3. Social Equity: The then prevailing social unrest in the society, strengthen the belief that social equity needs to be the primary aspect of administration. The conference made a plea for distributive justice and equity to be the basic concerns of public administration

4. Change: The conference attempted to make this discipline more relevant through change. Administrator was considered an agent of change

5. Client Orientation: It was the first Minnbrook conference that have taken the lead in identifying client or people orientation a key goal of public administration.

Dwight Waldo identified three features of new public administration namely; 1. Client -oriented bureaucracy 2. Representative bureaucracy 3. People’s participation in administration

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

New Public Management

The impact of Globalization on public administration has been significant, emphasising change, reinventing public administration with a managing orientation. From the early 1980's serious have been posed to administration to reduce reliance on bureaucracy. Today New Public Management has become a prescription for the ailing public sector across the globe. The origin of NPM can be traces back to administrative reform measures in the west, to be more specific I the organization for economic cooperation and development group of countries from late 1970's.

Cristopher Hood has shown the emergence of NPM was coincided with four administrative mega trends. They are:

1. Attempts to slowdown or reverse government growth in terms of overt public spending and staffing;
2. the shift towards privatization and quasi-privatization and away from core government institutions with renewed emphasis on subsidy in service provision;
3. the development of automation, particularly in IT and in the production and distribution of public services; and
4. the development of amore international agenda, increasingly focused on general issues of public management, policy design, decision styles, and intergovernmental cooperation, on top of the older tradition of individual country specialisms in public administration

The core characteristics of NPM perspectives include:

1. Productivity: gaining more services from lesser revenues
2. Marketization: replacing traditional bureaucratic structures, mechanisms and processes with market strategies
3. Service orientation; keeping the needs of customers as a priority
4. Decentralisation: transferring service delivery responsibilities to lower levels.
5. Policy-administration dichotomy: making a distinction between policy and execution.

POLITICAL THEORY CONCEPTS AND DEBATES

LIBERTY- POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE

The term liberty means freedom. Freedom can be understood in different ways i.e. freedom of speech, freedom to move, freedom to practice profession of one choice, freedom to practice and propagate religion of one's choice. In short freedom means absence of any kind of restrictions, where a person can do whatever he/she wishes to without any hindrance.

In order to understand freedom in a better way we can take some other examples like desire of bird in a cage to fly in the open air, desire of the prisoner to set himself free from the prison and lead a free life, desire of patient to go home who is admitted long time in a hospital for treatment. Freedom also implies non-interference in one's life in any form word or action. So we can say liberty has different meanings to different people. The term liberty is derived from the Latin word *liber*, which means "absence of restraints". In other words, liberty implies freedom to act without being subject to any restraint. Liberty signifies "a power or capacity of doing or enjoying something worth doing or enjoying."

According to Hobbes, 'By liberty is understood...absence of external impediments, which impediments may oft take part of man's power to do what he would do'. According to Hegel liberty consists of obedience of law. Rousseau said that liberty consists in the obedience of General will. J.S. Mill describes, 'The only freedom which deserves the name is that of pursuing our own good in our own way so long as we do not deprive others of theirs or impede their efforts to obtain it.'

Laski explains liberty as "Absence of restraints upon the existence of those social conditions which in modern civilization are a necessary guarantee of individual happiness".

Positive Liberty

- i) Liberty is not the absence of restraints, rather it is the presence of those socio economic and political conditions without which it cannot be realized.
- ii) The object of liberty is the development of man as a social being.
- iii) Without proper opportunities and social conditions liberty cannot be realized.
- iv) Rights are necessary for liberty and it is related to justice, morality and equality.
- v) The liberties of an individual must correspond with social welfare.

- vi) The duty of the State is to create positive conditions for the realization of liberty and for this the State can limit the liberties of some individuals. However, the government must be a responsible government. The State is not viewed as an enemy of personal liberty.
- vii) Liberty is social requirement of social man and it is not given to an asocial or anti-social beings.
- viii) Only in a welfare State can positive liberty exist.

Negative Liberty

- i) Liberty is a negative thing- the absence of restraints.
- ii) An individual is rational and only he/she knows what is his/her interest. For the development of his/her personality he/she needs certain liberties. They has a personal sphere of their own, distinct from that of the society.
- iii) Each individual should be given personal liberty with regard to their personal affairs and the society or the State must not interfere with it. Among these personal liberties, the liberties of thought and discussion, of association and assembly are the most important.
- iv) There is no conflict between the personal interest and social interest and by serving his own interests an individual also serves the social interest. Personal liberty is a precondition of social progress.
- v) Leaving a man free in his personal affairs will lead to personal and social development. Personal development is in harmony with social development.
- vi) Those actions of individual which influence the society can be controlled by the State through the laws. But this interference of the State should be minimal.
- vii) The laws of the State cannot take away personal liberty, but can only regulate it for overall social welfare.
- viii) Democratic government is not a sufficient guarantee of personal liberty as it may lead to tyranny of the majority or a collective mediocrity and may crush minorities.
- ix) There is a difference between liberty and necessary socio-economic conditions for the realization of liberty. Liberty may be against justice and equality and in a dictatorship of man may have more liberty than in a democracy.

Safeguards to Liberty:

Few measures to safeguard the rights and liberties of the people: -

- i) **Democratic Form of Government:** Dictatorship is characterized by ‘Command’ and ‘Coercion’. Democracy, on the other hand bestows upon each citizen the right to participate in decision-making processes, through their elected representatives.
- ii) **Safeguards afforded by a written constitution:** One of the objectives of the Constitution is to safeguard the rights of the citizens. Several rights have been guaranteed to citizens by the American and Indian Constitutions. Some Constitutions not only lay down the rights, but also provide the means to enforce them.
- iii) **Decentralization of powers:** The powers of the government have to be subjected to limitations. One method to preserve the liberty of people is to divide the legislative, executive and judicial powers among separate bodies or organs of the government. This is known as ‘Separation of Powers’. The powers have further to be divided between the Central Government and the State Governments. Such an arrangement is found in a federal government. At the same time, local-self government institutions need to be strengthened.
- iv) **Free and Impartial Judiciary:** Free and impartial judiciary is essential if we want to protect rights and liberties of our people. Moreover, judicial procedures need to be speedy and inexpensive. Indian Constitution provides Free Legal Aid under Article 39-A, Article 14 provides Equality before Law.
- v) **Rule of Law:** Rule of Law denotes the absence of arbitrary powers. It means the rule of law and not of men”. Law of the Land is Supreme and nobody is above the law, be it ruler or the subject both are under the law, nobody is above the law. According to Ivor Jennings, Rule of law implies a Constitutional Government as distinct from Dictatorship” or a Police State.
- vi) **Autonomy of Groups and Associations:** There are various groups and associations operating in the fields of education, business, trade, art, religion and science. The associations keep the government in touch with the trend of public opinion, so that it may shape its policies accordingly.
- vii) **Role of the Opposition:** The opposition keeps the government on its toes. It is as much the duty of the Opposition to criticize as it is of a

government to government to govern. No government can totally ignore the opposition's viewpoint. The parties provide a link between the people and the government.

- viii) **Independent Mass media:** The government should not have absolute control over the mass media, i.e. radio, television and the newspapers. Independence of the mass media strengthens freedoms of the masses.
- ix) **Egalitarianism:** It suggests that "all people are equal and deserve equal rights, opportunities and privileges". Thus, regardless of one's race, religion, caste, or sex, all should have equal opportunities to develop their talents.
- x) **Enlightened Public Opinion:** An enlightened public opinion is the best guarantee of freedom and growth. There are various agencies which formulate the public opinion. Newspapers, literary works, parties' associations, voluntary organizations and the educational institutions are the most prominent among such agencies. Curbs on the freedom of press or intentional distortion of facts and news by the mass media act as a hindrance in the way of sound public opinion. Therefore, the citizens have to keep their eyes open.

POLITICAL THEORY-CONCEPTS AND DEBATES-

RIGHTS

Rights are rightly called social claims which help individuals attain their best selves and help them develop their personalities. If democracy is to be government of the people, it has to exist for them. Such a democratic government can best serve the people if it maintains a system of rights for its people. States never give rights, they only recognise them; governments never grant rights, they only protect them. Rights emanate from society, from peculiar social conditions, and, therefore, they are always social. Rights are individuals' rights; they belong to the individuals; they exist for the individuals; they are exercised by them so as to enable them to attain the full development of their personalities.

Nature of Rights

It is rather easy to identify as to what lies at the roots of rights on the basis of what has been hitherto discussed. The nature of rights is hidden in the very meaning of rights.

Rights are not only claims, they are in the nature of claims. Rights are claims but all claims are not rights. Rights are those claims which are recognised as such by the society. Without such recognition, rights are empty claims. Society is organised in character and an individual obviously cannot have any right apart from what the society concedes.

Rights are social; they are social in the sense that they emanate from society at any given point of time; they are social because they are never, and in fact, can never be, anti-social; they are social because they had not existed before the emergence of society; and they are social because they can not be exercised against the common good perceived by the society.

Rights, as social claims, create conditions necessary for the development of human personality. These conditions are created; they are made and they are provided. The state, distinct from society, creates and provides and makes these conditions. The state, by creating conditions, makes rights possible. It, therefore, lays down a ground where rights can be enjoyed. It is not the originator of rights, but is only the protector and defender of rights. It is not within the jurisdiction of the state to 'take' away the rights of the individual. If the state fails to maintain rights in the sense of conditions necessary for individuals' development, it forfeits its claim to their allegiance.

Rights are responses to the society where they exist. The contents of rights are very largely dependent upon the custom and ethos of society at a particular time and place. As the society and its conditions change, so change the contents of rights. It is in this sense, that we say that rights are dynamic. No list of rights which are universally applicable for all times to come can ever be formulated.

Rights are responses to what we do. They are in the nature of 'returns' or 'rewards'. They are given to us after we have given something to the society, to others. It is after 'owing' that we 'own'. Rights are not only the returns of our duties, but also they correspond to what we perform. Rights are the rewards given to us by others in response to the performance of our duties towards others.

Rights are not absolute in character. The welfare of the individuals as members of society lies in a compromise between their rights as individuals and the interest of the society to which they belong. A list of rights must acknowledge the fact that there cannot be such a thing as absolute as uncontrolled, for that would lead to anarchy and chaos in society.

THEORY OF RIGHTS

Theory of Natural Rights

The theory of natural rights has been advocated mainly by Thomas Hobbes (*Leviathan*, 1651), John Locke (*Two Treatises on Government*, 1690) and J.J. Rousseau (*The Social Contract*, 1762). These contractualists, after having provided the social contract theory, hold the view that there were natural rights possessed by men in the state of nature and that these rights were attributed to individuals as if they were the essential properties of men as men. The contractualists, therefore, declared that the rights are inalienable, imprescriptible and infeasible.

The theory of natural rights is criticised on many grounds. Rights cannot be natural simply because they were the possessions of men in the state of nature. There can never be rights before the emergence of society: the notion of pre-society rights is a contradiction in terms. If at all there was anything in the state of nature, they were mere physical energies, and not rights. Rights presuppose the existence of some authority to protect them. In the state of nature where no state existed, how can one imagine rights in the absence of a state: who would defend people's rights in the state of nature? The contractualists have no answer. To say that natural rights existed in the state of nature is to make them absolute or beyond the control of society. For Bentham, the doctrine of natural rights was 'a rhetorical non-sense upon stilts.' Laski also rejects the whole idea of natural rights. Rights,

as natural rights, are based on false assumptions that we can have rights and duties independently of society. Burke had pointed out, rather eloquently, when he said that we cannot enjoy the rights of civil and uncivil state at the same time: the more perfect the natural rights are in the abstract, the more difficult it is to recognise them in practice.

Rights are natural, and not that there are natural rights, in the sense that they are the conditions which human beings need to realise themselves. Laski realises the significance of rights when he says that rights 'are not natural in the sense that a permanent and unchanging catalogue of them can be compiled, rather they are natural in the sense that under the limitations of a civilised life, facts demand their recognition.'

Theory of Legal Rights

The theory of legal rights or the legal theory of rights connotes the same sense. The idealist theory of rights which seeks to place rights as the product of the state can be, more or less, seen as another name of the theory of legal rights. Among the advocates of such theories, the names of Bentham, Hegel and Austin can be mentioned. According to them, rights are granted by the state, regarding rights as a claim which the force of the state grants to the people. The essential features of these theories, then, are: (i) the state defines and lays down the bill of rights: rights are neither prior nor anterior to the state because it is the state which is the source of rights; (ii) the state lays down a legal framework which guarantees rights and that it is the state which enforces the enjoyment of rights; (iii) as the law creates and sustains rights, so when the content of law changes, the substance of rights also changes.

The theories which point out rights having originated from the state are criticised in numerous ways. The state, indeed, defends and protects our rights; it does not create them as the advocates of these theories make us believe. If we admit that the rights are the creation of the state, we will have to accept the view that if the state can give us rights, it can take them away as well. Obviously, such an opinion would make the state absolute. In that case, we would have only those rights which the state would like to give us.

BRITISH POLITICAL SYSTEM

Great Britain has the unique distinction of having a very long and continuously developing history of evolution of democratic institution of England .It had its birth in times very ancient .

THE MAGNA CARTA, JUNE 15,1215

Magna carta came to be the first historic character which placed some limitations upon the exercise of powers by the king.It laid the foundation for the emergence of a limited monarchy in England .Magna carta,which still continues to constitute a historic and strong pillar of the British Constitutional System .Its main significant provision can be described as under-

1. The king cannot buy tax without common consent.
2. The king cannot deny or delay the grant of justice to his people.
3. The king cannot sell justice .
4. The king was also bound by certain rules.

The provision were designed to limit the power of the king and it was held that even the king was under some laws.

1.OLDEST PARLIAMENT

British Parliament is the oldest parliament in the world .It has also been described by many as the `Mother Parliament `because it has been a source of big influence on the organization and working of parliament in several countries of the world.

2.UNWRITTEN AND FLEXIBLE CONSTITUTION

The British political system is working on the basis of a unique constitution .It is an unwritten ,evolved and most flexible constitution which provides for the continuance of the constitutional monarchy within a fully developed liberal democratic political system .

However, the unwritten character of the British constitution does not mean that it is totally unwritten .Some of its very important parts, like the Magna Carta ,the petition of

Rights, the Bill of Rights and many other status of the British Parliament which relate to the Constitutional System ,are available in written form.

3. UNITARY CONSTITUTION

Britain is a unitary state. All powers are in the hands of the single Central Government . The laws made by the British Parliament apply to all the people and places. There are several well organized local governments which exercise civic powers in the local areas. The local governments however , derive their powers from the central government and are under it.

4.HEREDITARY AND CONSTITUTIONAL MONARCHY

Monarchy continues to survive in England .It has got transformed into a limited and constitutional monarchy and in this form had made itself a part of the liberal democratic political system of Britain. The king/queen continues to be the head of the state in Britain .Succession to the throne passes from a father to the eldest son, if he has no son, to his eldest daughter .

British Monarchy has however , lost almost all its powers. The monarch is now only a ceremonial head of the state, who reign but does not rule. The real powers are in the hands of the Prime Minister and the Cabinet .

5.PARLIAMENTARY GOVERNMENT (POPULARLY KNOWN AS WESTMINISTER MODEL OF GOVERNMENT)

Parliamentary form of government had its origin and development in Britain

- There is a close relationship between the executive and the Parliament as the Ministers are essentially members of the Parliament . No one can remain a minister becoming a member of either the House of Commons or the House of Lords
- The Ministers are individually responsible before the Parliament for the working of their respective departments.
- For all its policies the ministry is collectively responsible before the Parliament .

- The Ministry remains in office only so long as it enjoys the confidence of the majority in the House of Commons.
- The House of Commons can remove the ministry by passing a vote of no confidence or by rejecting any of its policies .
- The Prime Minister of England is the real and effective Centre of power in the British Constitution .

6.SOVEREIGNTY OF THE BRITISH PARLIAMENT

Another salient feature of the British Constitution is that the British Parliament is a Sovereign Parliament .It has the power to make any law on any subject for all the people and places of Britain laws passed by the Parliament cannot be rejected or set aside by the King or the Courts. The king veto has become obsolete and the courts have no power to determine the validity of Parliamentary statutes. The laws made by the British Parliament (statutes) can be changed or terminated only by the Parliament itself. British Constitution can be amended only by the British Parliament and that too by a simple majority . It is both a legislature and a constituent assembly rolled into one. It has the final power to make laws and to change the British Constitution at will. Legally, there are no limitations upon the Parliament's law-making and constituent powers.

British Parliament has the unique distinction of being a sovereign legislature .

7.BICAMERAL PARLIAMENT

Bicameralism had its origin in England . The division of the British Parliament into two houses, the House of Lords and the House of Commons took place in the 14th Century.

The House of Lords is the upper house. It has a hereditary , nominated , permanent , and class character . It has now the membership of 756 sitting members . It is a permanent house which has never been, and which can never be dissolved . In respect of powers, it is

almost a powerless house -a house, which performs mostly revising functions .Now even its power to act as the highest court of appeal in British now stands eliminated .

The House of Commons is the lower, democratic , representative , national and powerful house. It has 650 members who represent the people of England ,Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland . It is a directly elected house of the people of Great Britain . It has the tenure of 5 years. It enjoys vast legislative , financial and executive powers. It is the custodian of the national purse and the controller of the executive . The ministers are individually and the Cabinet is collectively responsible to it. It can remove the ministry by passing a vote of no-confidence . The Prime Minister always belongs to this House. There is no exaggeration in observing that the House of Commons is virtually the British Parliament .

Introduction To Comparative Government and Politics

Comparative Government and Politics is an important sub-field of the discipline of political science. What distinguishes this sub-field from others such as political theory or international relations is its emphasis on comparison .

Scholars who specialize in comparative studies insist that comparison is fundamental to human thought and that it is very difficult to describe or explain anything without comparison . The tentacles of comparison are difficult to escape comparison with other similar political actors , structures , institutions ,ideas etc. , or even with their past .

Comparative politics? **First it is the focus on the systematic comparison of countries ,with the intention of identifying , and eventually explaining, the differences or similarities between them with respect to the particular phenomenon which is being analysed . **Secondly** as Peter Mair point out , comparative politics is focused on the method of research . It is “**concerned with developing rules and standards about how comparative research should be carried out, including the levels of analysis at which the comparative analysis operates, and the limits and possibilities of comparison itself .****

1. Comparison is the oldest and the most widely used method of acquiring scientific knowledge about any phenomena. We frequently use it in our everyday lives . For example , when we say that China is economically stronger than India or that U.S President is stronger than the Indian President or that Pakistan is less , democratic and secular than India , we are using the comparative method . Similarly , when we highlights the contrast between the Unitary and Federal forms of government or parliamentary system and the presidential system , we are using the comparative method . Since the mid – 20th , comparative method has acquired great rigor time, newer and newer ways and more refined technique of comparing political systems have emerged.
2. The use of comparative method in comparative politics has broadly speaking three important components which are closely related to each other (i) What do we compare ? (ii) Why do we compare ? (iii) Why do we compare? The first will give some idea about the nature , scope and significance of comparative politics . The second question (how do we compare) deals with various approaches . The third question in comparative method is: Why do we compare? It will give us some idea about how each approach enriches our understanding . It also enables us to evaluate of each approach as well as it’s limitations.
3. Comparative study of politics is about comparing political phenomena . It’s primary goal is to encompass the major similarities and differences between countries around the world. The emphasis is on how different societies cope with various problems by making comparisons with others.
4. As we saw, the comparative method is commonly used in other disciplines as well and that what distinguishes comparative politics from other disciplines which also use comparative methods is its specific subject matter , language and perspectives. In that case, one may well asked the question , is there at all a distinct field of comparative political analysis or is it a sub discipline subsumed within the larger discipline of political system . The three aspects of subject matter , language , vocabulary and perspectives , we must remember , are inadequate in establishing the distinctiveness , of comparative politics within the broad discipline of political science , largely because comparative politics shares the subject matter and concerns of political science

i.e., democracy , constitution , political parties , social movements etc. Within the discipline of political science this the specificity of comparative political analysis is marked out by its conscious use of the comparative method to answer questions which might be of general interest to political scientists.

5. The distinctiveness of comparative politics most comparatists would argue lies in a conscious and systematic use of comparisons to study two or more countries with the purpose of identifying , and eventually explaining difference or similarities , between them with respect to the particular phenomena being analyzed . Comparative political analysis is , however, not simply about identifying similarities and differences . The purpose of using comparisons , it is felt by several scholars, is to ultimately study political phenomena in a large frame work of relationships. This , it is felt, would have deepen our understanding and broaden the levels of answering and explaining political phenomena .
6. Unlike Comparative Government whose field is limited to comparative study of political activity, governmental as well as non governmental . The field of comparative politics has an “all encompassing” nature and comparative politics specialist tend to view it as the study of everything political .
7. It may , however be pointed out that for long comparative politics concerned itself with the study of governance and regine types and confined itself to studying western countries . The process of decolonisation especially in the wake of the second world war , generated interest in the study of “new nationals” . The increase in numbers and diversity of units / cases that could be broad into the gamut of comparison was accompanied also by the urge to formulate abstract universal models , which could explain political phenomena and diversification of cases to be studied , there was also an expansion in the sphere of politics so as to allow the examination of political as the total system, including not merely the state and its institutes but also individuals, social groupings , political parties , interest group , social movements , etc.
8. The presence of divergent ideological poles in world politics (Western capitalism and Soviet socialism) , the rejection of western imperialism by the newly liberated countries the concern of these countries with maintaining their distinct identify (very well reflected in the rise of the non-aligned movement) and the sympathy among most countries with a socialist path of development, gradually led to the irrelevance of most modernization models for purpose of globe/large level comparisons. Whereas the fifties and sixties were the period attempts to explain political reality were made through the construction of large scale models, the seventies saw the assertion of Third World – ism and the rolling back of these models . Then in the eighties was saw constriction in the level of the comparison to narrow or smaller units . With globalisation however, the imperatives for large comparisons increased and the fields of comparisons has diversified with the proliferation increased and the field of comparison has diversified with the proliferations of non-state ,non-governmental actors and the increase inter connections, between nations with economic linkages and information technology revolution.

9. Comparative politics: A historical overview

The nature and scope of comparative politics has varied according to be changes which have occurred historically in its subject matter. The subject matter of comparative politics has been determined both by the geographical space (i.e. countries regions) which has constituted it’s field as well as the cominant ideas concerning social reality and change which shaped the approaches to

comparative studies (capitalist , socialist, mixed and indigenous). Likewise , at different historical junctures , the thrust of the primary concern of the studies kept changing.

10. The Origins of Comparative Study of Politics

Comparative politics has a long intellectual pedigree , going back to Aristotle and continued by thinkers like Niccolo Machiavelli , John Locke , Max Weter etc. . The Greek philosopher Aristotle studied the constitution of 150 states and classified regimes and political system in terms types e.g., democracy, aristocracy , monarchy etc. , but also distinguished them on the basis of certain norms of good monarchy etc., but also distinguished them on the basis of certain norms of good governance. On the basis of this comparison, he divided regimes into good and bad – ideal and perverted. These Aristotelian categories were acknowledged and taken up by Romans such as Polybius (201-120 BC) and Cicero (106-43BC) who considered them in formal and legalistic term. Concern with comparative study of regime types reappeared in the 15th century with Machiavelli (1469- 1527) who compared different types of principalities (hereditary , new , mixed and ecclesiastic ones) and republics to arrives the most successful ways to govern them.

11. The late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries

This was a period when liberalism was the reigning ideology and European countries enjoyed overwhelming dominance in world politics. The rest of the world of Asia , Africa and Latin America were either European colonies or under their sphere of influences as ex-colonies . Comparative studies taken up during this period, for instance, James Bryee's , Modern Democracies (1921), Herman Finer's Theory of and practice of Modern Governments (1932) Carl J. Friedrich's constitutional government and democracy (1937) , Roberto Michels', Political Parties (1915) and Maurice Diverger's political parties (1950) were largely concerned with a comparative study of institutions, the distribution of power, and the relationship between the different layers of government. These studies were 'Euro – centric ' i.e. , confined to the study of institution, governments and regime types in European countries like Britian , France and Germany. It may thus be said that these studies were in fact not genuinely comparative in the sense that they excluded from their analysis a large number of countries. Any generalisation derived from a study confined to a few countries could not legitimately claim having validity for the rest of the world

12 .The Second World War and After

The Bolshevik Revolution in Russia in 1917, brought into world , Socialism, as a critical alternative to Western liberalism and capitalism. With the end of the second world war , a number of significant developments had taken place, including the declining of European (British) hegemony, the emergence and entrenchment of United States of America as the 'new hegemon' in world politics and economy, and the bifurcation of the world into two ideological camps viz (western) , capitalism and (eastern) socialism. The majority of the 'rest of the world ' had, by the time the Second World War ended liberated itself form European imperialism. For a period after decolonisation the nations of development, modernization, nation- building, state-buildings etc., evinced a degree of legitimacy and even popularity as 'national slogan' among the political elite of the 'new nation'. Ideologically, however , *these ' new nations' , were no longer compelled to few the western capitalist path of development. While socialism had its share of sympathies among the new independent countries made a conscious decision to distance themselves from both the power blocks , remaining non- aligned to either . They evolved their*

own specific path of development akin to the socialist as in the case of Ujjama in Tanzania and the mixed – economy model in India which was a blend of capitalism and socialism .

13. *It may be worth remembering that the comparative study of government till the 1940s was predominantly the study of institutions, the legal- constitutional principles regulating them and the manner in which they functioned in western (European) liberal – democracies . In the context of the above stated developments, a powerful critique of the institutional approach emerged in the middle of 1950s. The critique had its roots in behaviouralism which had emerged as a new movement in the discipline of politics aiming to provide scientific rigor to the discipline and develop a science of politics. Known as the 'behavioural movement' , it was concerned with developing an enquiry which was quantitative ,based on survey techniques involving the examination of empirical facts separated from values, to provide value neutral , non- prescriptive , objective of servations and explanation . The behaviorists attempted to study social reality by seeking answers to questions like 'why people behave political processes and systems functions as they do'. It is these 'why' questions regarding difference in people's behaviors and their implications for political process and political systems, which changed the focus of comparative study from the legal forms aspects of institutions.*

14. *Rejecting the then traditional and almost exclusive on the western world and the conceptual language which had been developed with such limited comparisons in mind Gabriel Almond and his colleagues of the American Social Science Research Council's Committee on Comparative Politics (founded in 1954) sought to develop a theory and a methodology which could encompass and compare political system of all kinds – primitive or advanced, democratic or non- democratic, western or non- western .*

15. *The notion of politics was broadened by the emphasis on 'realism' or politics 'in practice' as distinguished structured agencies , behaviors and process example political parties, interest groups, elections, voting behaviors , attitudes etc..*

With the deflection of attention from studies of formal institutions, there was simultaneously a decline in the centrality of the notion of the state itself. This notion of the 'system' replaced the notion of the state and enabled scholars to take into account the 'extra- legal' , 'social' and ' cultural' institutions which were critical to the understanding of non – western politics and had the added advantage of including in its scope 'pre- state'/' non- state' societies as well as roles and offices which were not seen as overtly connected with the state.

16. Structural Functionalism

With the change of emphasis to actual practices and functions of institutions the problems of research came to be defined not in terms of what legal powers these institutions had but what they actually did. This led to the emergence of structural Functionalism approach , in which certain functions were described as being necessary to all societies ,and the execution and performance of these functions were then compared across , a variety of different formal and informal structures.

The period saw the mushrooming of universalistic models like David Easton's political system. Karl Deutsch a social mobilisation and Edward Shill's center and periphery. The theories of modernization by Apter ,Rokkan, Eisenstaedt and Ward and the theory of political developments by Almond, Coleman, Pye

and Verba also claimed universal relevance . These theories were claimed to be applicable across cultural and ideological boundaries and to explain political process everywhere. 'Developmentalism' was perhaps the dominant conceptual paradigm of this time . To a considerable extent , the interest in developmentalism emanated from US foreign policy interests in 'developing' countries , to counter to appeals of Marxism – Leninism and steer them towards a non communist way to development.

17. Post – Behaviouralism

Advocates of behavioral revolution who wanted to bring scientific rigor in political science were disappointed that the discipline could not anticipate or study the social and political turmoil of the times .

David Easton's Presidential Address to the American Political Studies Associations in 1969 best captures this movement . Easton outlined the 'credo of relevance' with following seven key points which became the hallmark of post – behavioural movement.

- Substance must dominate over techniques . What is studied matters more than how it is studied.
- To claim simply to study empirically politics as it exists lends itself to a conservative outlook as it tends to focus on what is rather than what might be .
- Too much sophistication in method obscures the brutal reality of much of politics and prevents political science from addressing pressing human needs .
- Science cannot be neutral ; what you choose to study is driven by value judgement , and how that works is used should be steered by values.
- The role of intellectuals is to promote the 'humane' values of civilization.

18. The 1970s and Challenges to Developmentalism

Towards the 1970s, developmentalism came to be criticised for favoring abstract models which flattened out differences among specific political/ social/ cultural systems, in order to study them within a single universalistic framework . These criticism emphasized the 'ethnocentrism' of these models and focused on the Third World in order to work out a theory of underdevelopment . They stressed the need to concentrate on solutions to the backwardness of developing countries. Two main challenges to Developmentalism which arose in the early 1970s and gained widespread attention were (a) dependency and (b) corporatism. Dependency theory criticized the dominant method of developmentalism for ignoring domestic class factors and international markets and power factor in development.

Contract to what was held true in developmentalism that of the developing once could not go together. Instead , dependency theory argued that the development of the West had come on the shoulders and at the cost of the non- west . The idea that the diffusion of capitalism promote underdevelopment , and not development in many parts of the world was embodied in Andre Gunda Frank's Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America (1967) Walter Rodney's How Europe Underdeveloped Africa (1972) and Malcolm Caldwell's The wealth of some Nations (1979).

19. The 1980s: the Return of the State

During the late 1970s and early 1980s still reflecting the backlash against developmentalism , a number of theories and subject matter emerged into the field of comparative politics. These included bureaucratic – authoritarianism , indigenous concepts of change , transitions to democracy the politics of structural adjustment , neoliberalism and privatization . The state however, received it's share of

attention in the sixties and seventies in the world on bureaucratic Guillermo O'Donnell e.g. economic, modernization and bureaucratic authoritarianism (1973) . Ralph Miliband's *The State in Capitalist Society* (1969) had also kept the interest alive . Attempts to restore the focus on the state began in the late 1970s with the publication of *State, Power, Socialism* (1978) by Nicos Poulantzas and bringing the state back in (1985) by political sociologists Peter Evans, Theda Skocpol and others.

20. **The Late Twentieth Century: Globalisation and Emerging Trends**

Scaling down of system: With the 1980s, relevance of context . In part , this tendency reflect the renewed influence of historical inquiry in the social sciences and especially the emergence of the 'historical sociology' which tries to understand phenomena in the very broad of 'holistic' context within which they occur. There has been a shying away from models to a more in – depth understanding of particular counties and cases which account can be taken of specific institutional circumstances or particular political cultures. Hence, we see a new emphasis on more culturally specific studies. The stress on specific contexts and cultures have meant that the scale of comparisons was brought down .

21. **Civil Society and Democratisation Approach (es).**

*The disintegration of Soviet Union brought the notion of the 'end of history' (1989) which was developed later into the book *The End of History and The Last Man* (1992) ,Francis Fukuyama argued that the history of idea had ended with the recognition and triumph of liberal democracy as the 'final form of human government' .*

22. In the early nineties , the idea of the 'end of history' was coupled with another phenomenon of the eighties 'globalisation' . Globalisation refers to a set of conditions, scientific , technological , economic and political , which have linked together the world are bound to affect or be affected by what is happening in another part . It may be pointed out that in this global world the focal point or the center around which events move world wide is still western capitalism . In the context of so called triumph of capitalism, the approaches to the study of civil society and Democratisation that have gained currency give importance to civil society defined in terms of protection of individual rights to enter the modern capitalist world .

Right to indigenous culture , movement of tribes , Dalit's , lower castes and the women's movement and the environment movement. This movement reveal a terrain of contestation where the interest of capital are in conflict with people's right and represent the language of change and liberation in an era of global capital . Thus concerns with issues of identify , environment , ethnicity , gender, race etc., have provided a new dimension to comparative Political analysis .

23. **Comparative Study of Politics: Utility**

The question of utility of comparative politics is concerned with its usefulness and relevance for enhancing or understanding of political reality . First and foremost , we must bearer in mind that political behavior is common to all human beings and manifest itself in diverse way and under social diverse and institutional set ups all over the world.

- *Comparing for theoretical formulation :*
While comparison from and implicit part of all our reasoning and thinking must comparatists would argue that a comparative study of Politics seeks to make comparisons consciously to

arrived at conclusion which can be generalized i.e. held true for a number of cases. To be able to make generalizations with the degree of confidence , it is not sufficient to just collect information about countries. The stress in comparative Political analysis is on theory- building and theory -testing with the countries acting as units or cases. The broader the observed universe, the greater is the confidence in statement about relationship and sounder the theories .

- *Comparison for Scientific Rigor:*

The comparative method gives these theories scientific, bases and rigor. Social scientist who emphasis scientific precision , validity and reliability , see comparison as indispensable in the social sciences because they offer the unique opportunity of 'control' in the study of social phenomena.

- *Comparison Leading To Explanation In Relationship :*

Comparative political analysis is however , not simply about identifying similarities and differences . The purpose of using comparisons, it is felt by several scholars , is going beyond 'identifying similarities and differences ' or the 'compare and contrast approach ' as it is called, to ultimately study political phenomena in a larger framework of relationship. This, it is felt, would help deepen our understanding and broaden the levels of answering and explaining political phenomena.

Gandhigiri: Perceptions in Popular Culture

Introduction

Visual narratives have a cascading impact on the masses who are exposed to its ideas. Gandhi as a subject has been represented by the art of film making since long back. Gandhi is perhaps the only personality in India, next to the fictional romantic hero Devdas, created by Sarat Chandra Chattopadhyay on whom several films were produced in different languages. The work of reconstructing and reinterpreting some already accredited ideas or personalities within the scope of contemporary visual narrative mode, helps to re-contextualise the said ideas or personalities in a given socio-political and socio-cultural context. Apart from films Gandhi has been showcased in various contemporary popular culture forms like musicals, theatre, poetry, punk rock band, television shows, graphic novels and even rap battles. This contemporary popular culture has represented Gandhi, not only for approving Gandhi and Gandhism but also for reproving his socio-political and personal principles. The story of Gandhi's personal and political journey since the Pietermaritzburg railway station incident in South Africa in 1893 to his return to India in 1915 and becoming a mass leader as well as the torch bearer of non-violence movement against the British rulers have been portrayed by the film makers in the genre of subjective exercises. The multiplicity of themes have uncovered Gandhi in different roles such as a father, a husband, a mass communicator and above all a man with morale who eventually became the Mahatma. Harish Trivedi in his essay "Literary and Visual Portrayals of Gandhi" published in *The Cambridge Companion to Gandhi* (2011), remarks on the representation of Gandhi in the literary works of art as, "Gandhi has permeated Indian literature and the arts; he is found to be everywhere, from office walls to public spaces to collective memory either personal or transmitted. He has been represented to enduring effect by a variety of foreign writers and artists as well, from points of view that serve to illuminate him differently and often with a striking supplementary"

As one of the highest film producing countries in the world, Indian cinema has provided a considerable space to the leadership stories of Indian freedom movement. However, many eminent Indian film makers and producers have shied away from making a film on Gandhi immediately after India's independence or his assassination, inspite of Gandhi's popularity

and recognition as mass leader with multi-faceted personality. Most of the initial screen presence of Gandhi was in the category of docudramas rather than films having commercial value. Gandhi was first seen in a 1922 newsreel, where a lean and agile Gandhi can be seen addressing a gathering. Another newsreel titled 'Gandhi fast brings new Indian crisis during his anti-untouchability protests' was shot in 1932. A.K. Chettiar, a newsreel cameraperson, edited the first full-length documentary on Gandhi in 1944. The documentary was titled *Mahatma Gandhi: 20th Century Prophet*. The first commercially released 1939 Hollywood film that caricatured Gandhi by depicting the protagonist as a murderous cult leader wearing almost the same attire as Gandhi was titled *Gunga Din*. The first serious attempt to portray Gandhi in a feature film was done in the 1963 Hollywood release *Nine Hours to Rama*. The film was based on a novel by Stanley Wolpert and tried to capture nine hours in the life of Nathuram Godse who assassinated Gandhi. Though the film was impressive in its tone, but only a few scenes of the sole Indian actor JS Casshyap playing Gandhi and the absence of Indians in the key roles, moreover the dialogue delivery of American actors in Indian accent, made the film look an unsatisfactory attempt.

Dwyer (2011) in his article titled *The Case of the Missing Mahatma: Gandhi and the Hindi Cinema*, wrote 'the 1950s are often referred to as the Nehruvian period in Hindi cinema, but the films are mostly quiet about Gandhi and are concerned instead with issues of modernity and the new nation'. The then prime minister Jawahar Lal Nehru in a speech told the Rajya Sabha in December 1963 that 'the production of a film on the life of Gandhi was too difficult a proposition for a Government department to take up. The Government was not fit to do this and they had not got competent people to do it' (Roy, 2010).

It was much after the success of Hollywood director Richard Attenborough's film titled 'Gandhi' in 1982 that Indian producers and directors started producing their works involving Gandhi as a lead character or as a character of significant value. During the time period between 1982-2018 there were about ten to twelve films that portrayed Gandhi as a central character or a character of significant value in the entire script of the film. Films like Ketan Mehta directed *Sardar* (1993), Shyam Benegal directed *The Making of the Mahatma* (1996), Jamil Dehlavi directed *Jinnah* (1998), and Tirok Malik directed *Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar*

(2000), were presented within the realm docudramas with limited commercial elements.

Whereas films Hey Ram (2000), The Legend of Bhagat Singh (2002), Mane Gandhi Ko Nahin Mara (2005), Lage Raho Munna Bhai (2006), Gandhi, My Father (2007), Papilio Buddha (2014) received commercial treatments with songs and dance sequences as nondiegetic content appealing to the masses.

But the two films on Gandhi that was able to create the biggest popular impact and won many honours is Richard Attenborough's 1982 release Gandhi, primarily made in English and also released in a Hindi dubbed version in India, and the Raj Kumar Hirani directed Hindi film Lage Raho Munna Bhai released in 2006. Both the films are set in a completely different backdrop with the entire plot portraying many facets of the life and teachings of Gandhi. While Attenborough's Gandhi won eight Academy awards, Lage Raho Munna Bhai won four National film awards in India. What is more, unlike any of the other films that have mentioned, both these films witnessed a great box-office collection, making them commerciality a hit. Hence an academic discourse is viable proposition to assess the depiction of the reconstruction of Gandhian philosophy in visual narratives.

Attenborough's Gandhi

The first film on Gandhi that achieved an unprecedented success was Richard Attenborough directed 1982 release titled Gandhi. This is an epic film in itself, with a run time of nearly 191 minutes, accompanied by a 240 page book and about twenty years of research. Attenborough's film showed Gandhi in entirety. The ideology, leadership skills, humanitarian aspect, personal life, inner conflicts, political life of Gandhi was crafted with immense care. The inception of Attenborough's Gandhi was when the director met Motilal Kothari, a British Asian to discuss his idea about a film of the life of Gandhi. Attenborough met Prime minister Nehru and Indira Gandhi in this regard in 1963. Trivedi (2011) mentioned that learning about the intentions of Richard Attenborough Nehru warned the director by saying, "Whatever you do, do not deify him-that is what we have done in India-and he was too great a man to be deified". During his days of research Attenborough learned about Gandhi, reading D. G. Tendulkar's Mahatma: Life of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi (8 vols.), Louis Fischer's Life

of Mahatma Gandhi, and Gandhi's own books (Gandhi 1928, 1982). Taking most of the inspiration from Louis Fischer's work the director used three scriptwriters in succession to develop the character of Gandhi for his film. The final script was written by Jack Briley which kept the core essence of the Fischer's narrative structure. In 1980 Prime Minister Indira Gandhi read the script sent by the director. In spite of the director's request she refused to approve the script, saying that film must be the creation of its makers. However, Attenborough (1982) in his book *In Search of Gandhi* mentioned Mrs. Gandhi's point of view as "Government and Ministry should merely satisfy themselves that, related to the subject matter, the manner in which the film was envisaged was a proper one."

Like all other biopics, Attenborough's *Gandhi* tries to hit all the right tone to create an authentic account of the history of modern India, which includes the episode of the country's political agitation against British imperialism. It elaborately showcases the contribution of Gandhi's philosophy in creating a free India by fighting off British hegemony with the powerful weapon of satyagraha and non-violence. The film has a number of epic set pieces to suit the grandeur of the film. Richard Attenborough's *Gandhi* provides a space for the most of the significant events of Gandhi's life by a firmly edited narrative which presents Gandhi in an idealized manner. It was a mammoth task on the part of Attenborough for dealing with the subject of Gandhi. The director opens his film with one of the most tragic episode in the history of modern India, the assassination of Gandhi. Portraying the assassination scene at the beginning of the movie and using close shots provides a sentimental and sympathetic undertone to the film. Attenborough has portrayed every significant historical events related to the life of Gandhi, from his journey to South Africa, Non-violent resistance to the discriminatory regulation, experiments with Satyagraha, non- violence, Champaran episode, the Swadeshi movement, Salt march, Non-Cooperation Movement following the the Jallianwala Bagh massacre, and finally Godse's gunshot.

Attenborough made a serious attempt to in drawing a biographical portrayal of Gandhi which is intertwined with the parallel understanding of the history of Indian freedom movement. The film brings forth the impression of incompleteness to the history of Indian freedom struggle without the presence of Gandhi. Without touching the controversial aspects of

Gandhi intentionally the director has portrayed the image of Indian nationalism through the heroic intervention of Gandhi with success. Kaul (1998) in his work Cinema and Freedom Leaders notes the relevance of cinema in spreading the values of Gandhism as, "a performing arts movement developed for spreading the message of the freedom struggle to the remotest villages...cinemas had made the main leaders of the freedom struggle known by their faces and Mahatma Gandhi was better known to remote rural audiences than some of their own regional leaders." Attenborough's film has provided the sense of Gandhism in visual by not harming the sensibility of Indian national sentiments. Such a herculean task of making a biopic film using accentuating visual techniques and strategic narration of individual history as well as of the nation deserves an academic appreciation. Juergensmeyer (1984) in his article The Gandhi Revival--A Review Article mentioned that Richard Attenborough's Gandhi had become the most widely viewed cinematic portrayal of the man and one of the most widely seen films in history. Attenborough's Gandhi as a film has invoked the public imagination and emancipation, bestowing a gravitas to the life Gandhi and his body of works best known as Gandhism.

Munna's Gandhi

In 2004 Raj Kumar Hirani in his directorial debut introduced a new film hero, Munna Bhai aka Murali Prasad Sharma to the audiences. The first instalment of Munna Bhai series Munna Bhai MBBS showed the main protagonist Munna healing the patients with love and compassion after an abortive attempt to do an MBBS. Munna appealed to cross section of audiences and to viewers to all types of cinema. The success of the first instalment inspired the makers to create the second instalment of the Munna Bhai series. However, the second instalment had no impression of continuity that is often the characteristic of a sequel. Munna's second film, Lage Raho Munna Bhai is a fairy tale of a lovable rogue local gangster who inspired by love aspires to be a professor in history and a Gandhian. Unlike other films on Gandhi a new alternative narrative method is used in this film to propagate Gandhism in a patriotic comic genre. In the age of globalisation and transforming ideas the film perfectly reconstitute history making it seamlessly compatible with contemporary popular cultural

space. Lage Raho Munna Bhai (LRMB) presented the Gandhian principals in the foreground without any jingoism of a patriotic film or a documentary style narrative technique hailed as cinematic tribute to Gandhi. The film managed to escape the in fights prevailing among historians from different school of thoughts.

Lage Raho Munna Bhai marked a revival of Gandhian thought and was successful in unifying them to the Indian way of thought that has been hybridized because of global influence.

Bande Mein Tha Dam (The guy had guts), Bandemataram was the opening line of a song saluting the greatness if Gandhi. LRMB abstained from dealing with a complicated view of Gandhi but showed the protagonist Munna, who is fatherless and has no authority discovering Gandhi to fulfil this role in his life. Munna garners limited knowledge about Gandhi and his philosophy after his brief visit to the public library. Munna started practising Gandhism which he avows as Gandhigiri and as a result the film follows the transformation in his character and life style in totality. Protagonist Munna adapts to Gandian strategies of satyagraha and non-violence to find ethical resolution of his conflict with property mafia in his city. The film shows the apparition of Gandhi that is visible only to Munna, advising him in a very brief manner. The advices are then used by Munna to guide common citizens to deal with their daily life issues. Munna's Gandhigiri is certainly more influential than that of any academic research on Gandhi. Gandhigiri revived the public consciousness about Gandhi, especially among the youths, who started to follow Gandhigiri as a non political tool to fight corruption and misappropriation of power. Gandhigiri has installed a moral way of behaving among the contemporary generation.

The undercurrent of Hirani's movie LRMB has no trace of Gandhism as a serious subject but has every bit of commercial features of a movie with traces comic narration using the core essence of Gandhism. Having the confluence of the commercial entity and entertainment value on one hand and a serious subject like Gandhi on the other productively influence the changed cultural and aesthetic sensibility of the new age globalised mass audience. LRMB as filmic venture provided a deep aesthetic space for Gandhi in order to propagate his three basic principles of non-violence, Truthfulness and fearlessness. Lage Raho Munna Bhai proved the presence of an appetite for the idea of Gandhi and Gandhism that could be

allocated a space for re-interpretation and re-enactment even at the time when commercial cinema is changing and experimenting with its narrative styles.

At a time of radical social change in India, it is not surprising that Gandhi as a subject could be experimented in not only the print literacy arena but also in the scope of visual narrative. A personality such as Gandhi is an inspiring and motivating topic even in the new cultural space. In the filmic universe Gandhi has reappeared as a powerful voice answering questions that Indians today are presented with in their day to affair. As a tool for transforming the mankind in present age of globalisation and digitization film makers have courageously re-structured the Gandhian ethos to cater to the audience set in a dynamic ethico-cultural settings. By finding new meaning of the message the Gandhi that has been brought back in visual narrative is not a political Gandhi, but a Gandhi who act as an inner conscience and moral guide. The showcasing of the transformation of Gandhism to Gandhigiri has led to the creation of adherent of Gandhi cross-section of society. Therefore, this paper has examined the possibilities of representing the astounding leader Gandhi and construction and reconstruction of his ideas giving new nomenclature in visual narration for reaching out to the mass.

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STATE AND GOVERNMENT

State and Government are the main objects of study in Politics. In fact, in its traditional way, Politics continues to be identified as Political Science and defined as the science of state and government. One scholar has observed State is as old as History and Politics is as old as the State. The students of Political Science have to understand the meaning of State, Government and Society as well as the difference between these three. In fact, each human being is born in a society, lives as a citizen of State and is governed by the government of the state. He inherits by birth the citizenship of a State. He lives under the rule of the government and carries out its commands-laws, policies, orders, rules, regulations and decrees. Hence, it is essential for each one of us to know about State Government and Society.

ELEMENTS OF STATE:

A State stands identified with its four essential elements. The presence of all the four, without exception, constitutes a State. These are:

1. Population: State is a community of persons. It is a human political institution. Without a population there can be no State. Population or less but it has to be there. There are States with very small populations like Switzerland, Canada and others, and there are States like China and India and some others, with very larger populations.

The people living in the State are the citizens of the State. They enjoy rights and freedom as citizens as well as perform duties towards the State. When citizens of another State are living in the territory of the State, they are called aliens. All the persons, citizens as well as aliens, who are living in the State are duty bound to obey the laws and policies of the State. The State exercises supreme authority over them through its government. The government is, however, organised and constituted by the people and is responsible and accountable to them.

There is no definite limit for the number of the population essential for a State. However, it is recognized that the population should be neither disproportionately large nor very small. It has to be within a reasonable limit. It should be determined on the basis of the size of the territory of the State, the available resources, the standard of living expected and needs of defense, production of goods and supplies. India has a very large and fast growing population and there is every need to check population explosion. It is essential for enhancing the ability of India to register a sustainable high level of development.

2. Territory: Territory is the second essential element of A State. State is a territorial unit. Definite territory is its essential component. A State cannot exist in the air or at sea. It is essentially a territorial State. The size of the territory of a State can be big or small, nevertheless it has to be a definite, well-marked portion of territory. States like Russia, Canada, U.S.A., India, China, Brazil and some others are large sized states whereas Nepal, Bhutan, Sri Lanka, Maldives, Switzerland, Togo, Brundi and many others are States with small territories.

The whole territory of the state is under the sovereignty or supreme power of the State. All persons, organizations, associations, institutions and places located within its territory are under the sovereign jurisdiction of the State. The State can regulate all these in all respects.

Further, it must be noted that the territory of the state includes not only the land but also, rivers, lakes, canals, inland seas if any, a portion of coastal sea-territorial waters or maritime belt, continental shelf, mountains, hills and all other land features along with air space above the territory. The territory of the state can also include some islands located in the sea. For example Andaman & Nicobar and New Moor islands are parts of India. State exercises sovereignty over all parts of its territory. Ships of the State are its floating parts and Arco planes are its flying parts. Even a States can lease out its territory to another State e.g. India has given on lease the Teen Bigha corridor to Bangladesh.

3. Government : Government is the organization, or machinery or agency or magistracy of the State through the laws of the State are made, implemented enforced and adjudicated. It is the third essential element of the State. The state exercises its sovereign power through its government. This sometimes creates the impression that there is no difference between the State and Government. However it must be clearly noted that government is just one element of the State. It is the agent or the working agency of the State, Sovereignty belongs to the State, the government uses it on behalf of the State. (Details have been discussed separately). Government is essential for every State. However, it can be of any different form-Monarchy, or Aristocracy or Dictatorship or Democracy. Further, it can be either Parliamentary or Presidential or both, and Unitary and Federal or mixture of the two, in its organization and working. In contemporary times every civilized State has a democratic government.

Further, a government in itself has three essential parts-which are popularly called the organs of the government. These are: the Legislature, which formulates laws, the Executive which implements and enforces the laws, and the Judiciary which adjudicates and settles disputes by interpreting and applying laws. It is also a universally accepted rule that each of the three organs of the government carries out its assigned functions and responsibilities. Independence of Judiciary is also a settled rule. The relationship between Legislature and Executive is defined by law and it corresponds to the adopted form of government. In the Parliamentary form of government like the one which is working in India and Britain, the legislature and executive are closely related and the latter is collectively responsible to the former. In the Presidential form, as is in operation in the U.S.A., the legislature and executive are independent and separate, with stable and fixed tenures, and the executive is not responsible to legislature. It is directly responsible to the people. Government is an essential element of State. However it keeps on changing after regular intervals.

4. Sovereignty: Sovereignty is the most exclusive element of State. It stands accepted as the most essential element because the State alone possesses sovereignty. Some institutions can have the first

three elements but not sovereignty. State has the exclusive title and prerogative to exercise sovereignty over its people and territory. Infact, an Laski opines, Sovereignty provides the basis on which the State regulates all aspects or the life of the people who live

on its territory. Sovereignty means supreme power of the State. It has two dimensions : Internal Sovereignty and External Sovereignty.

(i) Internal Sovereignty: It means the power of the State to order and regulate the activities of all the people, groups and institutions which are at work within its territory. They act in accordance with the laws of the State and the State can punish them for every violation of any of its law.

(ii) External Sovereignty. It means complete independence of the State from external control. It also means the equal freedom of the State to participate in the activities of the community of nations and to have its own foreign policy. It stands the right of each state to have an independent foreign policy designed to secure the goals of its national interests in relations with other states. All this makes it essential to define external sovereignty of the State as sovereign equality with every other state and the equal freedom of action as a member of the community of nations.

A State accepts rules of international law voluntarily. These cannot be forced upon the State. India is free to sign or not to sign NPT, CTBT and MTCR. No state can force it to do so. In practice, the government of the State exercises the sovereign powers on behalf of the State. Sovereignty belongs to the State, although it is exercised by the government. Infact, Sovereignty of the State is the basis of all governmental authority.

No State can really become a State without sovereignty. India became a State in 1947 when it became independent. It was after her independence that India got the power to exercise sovereignty, internally as well as externally. Sovereignty permanently, exclusively and absolutely belongs to the State. End of sovereignty means end of the State. That is why sovereignty is usually identified as the hallmark of the State.

Thus, these are the four essential elements/features of the state. A State comes to be a state only when it has all these elements. However, out of these sovereignty stands accepted as the most important and exclusive element of the State. No other organization or institution can claim sovereignty. An institution can have population, territory and government but not sovereignty. Andhra Pradesh, Tamilnadu, Orissa, Punjab, infact all states of the Indian Union have their populations, territories and governments. These are also loosely called states. Yet these are not really states. These are parts of the Indian Union and India is the Sovereign State. Sikkim was a state before it joined India in 1975. Now it is one of the 28

provinces of Sovereign India. UNO is not a state and so is the case of the Commonwealth of Nations, because these do not possess sovereignty.

India, China, U.S.A., U.K., France, Germany, Japan, Australia, Egypt, South Africa, Brazil, Argentina and others such countries are States because each of these possesses all the four essential elements of state. The presence of all these four elements alone vests a State with real statehood.

Political Science: Meaning, Nature and Scope

Meaning and Nature:

Politics according to Aristotle and other thinkers is as old as human civilization and its importance could be gauged from the fact that it touches every aspect of human life, be it economy, culture, social relations or ethical norms. Therefore, one pertinent question which comes to mind is what does politics mean and what comprise its nature and scope. The following sections deal with these queries.

The meaning of politics has varied with time and place. While in Greece and India it was associated with ethics, and conceived in theological terms during the medieval ages it was Machiavelli in the west and Kautilya in India who gave realistic orientation to politics. The word 'politics' is derived from the Greek word 'polis' which means the state and therefore the term 'political' refers to anything related with state. Political Science, is therefore, defined as the science of the state encompassing the government and organisation and theory and practice of the state'. This is a traditional view of Political Science supported by thinkers like R G Gettel, J W Garner, Bluntschli, Paul Janet, George Catlin, Hans Eulan and many others. However this is a very narrow definition of Political Science as within the state there are other institutions and organisation like NGO's and trade Unions which though informal have bearings on public policies and individual lives. Thus modern political thinkers like Laswell and Robert Dahl have defined politics in terms of power, authority and influence. Laswell and Kaplan have therefore defined Political Science as the "study of shaping and sharing of power" which has shifted the focus from the mere study of structures and institutions to the study of actions and processes. A more recent definition of Political Science by Miller and Peter B Haris has defined it as the study of conflict resolution. According to Haris, "the modern emphasis in the study of politics is laid on disagreements and reconciliation or resolution of these disagreements". From the above discussion it could be culled out that the definition of Political Science has changed according to the changed circumstances and the changing perception of the scholars of the discipline. Roughly speaking these definitions could be grouped into traditional and modern approaches to political science. While traditional approach has defined political science as the study of state, government and formal institutions laying emphasis on the study of formal legal structures and theoretical part, the modern approach has emphasized on the study of what is actually happening in the state; various forces, processes and informal structures operating within the state.

Another debate which has dominated the modern approach to political science has been as to whether political science could be placed under the ambit of pure science? With the rise of Political Science as a distinct discipline, Political Theory was made one of its subfields. Political Science is concerned with describing and explaining the realities of political behavior, generalizations about men and political institutions on empirical evidence and the role of power in the society. Political theory, on the other hand, is not only concerned with the behavioral study of political phenomena empirically but also prescribes the goals which states, governments, societies, and citizens ought to pursue. Therefore it is being questioned as to whether the discipline of political science could be described as pure science and various explanations have been put both for and against it.

Unlike natural science, political science lacks consensus among scholars regarding its definition, nature and terminology. Also its principles can't be allied universally as they lack precision and clarity like the principles of natural science where two plus two is always equal to four. This is because political science

deals with human beings whose actions are unpredictable and not liable to laboratory experimentation. Therefore a middle approach in political science emerged in the form of post-behaviouralism and political science came to be regarded as both science and art. Robert Dahl states, "political science is both science and art. Whenever students of political science test their theories against the data of experience by observation, the political analysis can be regarded as scientific. When this political analysis is applied for the working of political institution it is art"

Scope:

The scope of political science refers to its subject matter. There has been tremendous increase in the number of issues which is now being analyzed under the realm of Political Science. There are discussions on the theories of state origin, sovereignty, law, liberty, rights, forms and organs of government, representation, state functions, political parties, pressure groups, public opinion, and ideologies such as capitalism, socialism, communism etc., international relations and institutions.

The international Political Science Association meet in Paris in 1948 classified the scope of Political Science into four zones: political theory, political institution, political dynamics and international relations". Political theory deals with the fundamental concepts of political science like state, government, justice, liberty, equality, law, sovereignty, separation of power, modes of representation, forms of government, grounds of political obligation and various ideologies. Political philosophy takes a theoretical and speculative overview of these fundamental concepts. Political institution is concerned with the study of formal political institutions like the state and the government, the legislature, the executive, the judiciary, the electorate and the administration. Political dynamics refers to the forces and processes which operate within the government and politics such as political parties, pressure groups, interest groups, lobbies, public opinion, propaganda etc.

Apart from these four zones political science also deals with three other areas which are public administration, international relations and international law and relations between the state and the individual. Public administration deals with the organization, control and coordination of administrative machinery, personnel administration, financial administration, public relations, management, administrative, law and adjudication etc.'. It also covers the study of local self-governing institutions like corporations, municipalities and Panchayati Raj institutions.

Conclusion:

Therefore, broadly speaking Political Science deals with two sorts of topics, one which is based on empirical facts and the other which is value based. There has been a long tradition in Political Science of dealing with value based issues or things as they ought to be based on the preferences of individual philosophers. Based on value preferences, philosophers have sought to make generalizations regarding state, government as well as the structures and processes associated with them. However such generalizations aren't being made without any consideration to the political realities. Therefore it would

be wrong to say that all traditionalists have ignored empirical facts at the altar of value orientations. The fact is that it was only after industrialization and behavioural revolution that empirical methods came to occupy centre-stage in Political Science. The primary focus here is on the actual nature, structure and working of the political systems so as to derive factual propositions and generalizations.

However both traditional and empirical methods have their limitations. Therefore a third kind of approach which is basically a combination of the traditional and empirical approach have emerged which is basically prescriptive in nature and seeks to bridge the gap between what is and what ought to be". For example. proposals for political reform such as anti-defection measures and prescriptions for improving the political system like parliamentary versus presidential form of government are generally based on normative considerations. At the same time these also involve examination and evaluation of factual data. Discussions with such an evaluative overtone can be called as prescriptive". All the above discussions together constitute the scope of political science.

LOKPAL AND LOKAYUKTA ACT 2013

The **Lokpal and Lokayukta Act, 2013** provided for the establishment of Lokpal for the Union and Lokayukta for States. These institutions are **statutory bodies** without any constitutional status. They perform the function of an "ombudsman" and inquire into allegations of corruption against certain public functionaries and for related matters.

In 1809, the institution of ombudsman was **inaugurated officially in Sweden**. In the 20th century, Ombudsman as an institution developed and grew most significantly after the Second World War. **New Zealand and Norway adopted this system in the year 1962** and it proved to be of great significance in spreading the concept of the ombudsman.

In 1967, on the recommendations of the **Whyatt Report of 1961, Great Britain adopted the institution of the ombudsman** and became the first large nation in the democratic world to have such a system. In 1966, Guyana became the first developing nation to adopt the concept of the ombudsman. Subsequently, it was further adopted by Mauritius, Singapore, Malaysia, and India as well. In India, the concept of constitutional ombudsman was **first proposed by the then law minister Ashok Kumar Sen in parliament in the early 1960s**. The term Lokpal and Lokayukta were **coined by Dr. L. M. Singhvi**.

In 1966, the First Administrative Reforms Commission recommended the setting up of two independent authorities- at the central and state level, to look into complaints against public functionaries, including MPs.

In 1968, Lokpal bill was passed in Lok Sabha but lapsed with the dissolution of Lok Sabha and since then it has lapsed in the Lok Sabha many times. Till 2011 eight attempts were made to pass the Bill, but all met with failure.

In 2002, the Commission to **Review the Working of the Constitution headed by M.N. Venkatachaliah recommended the appointment of the Lokpal and Lokayuktas**, also recommended that the PM be kept out of the ambit of the authority. In 2005, the **Second Administrative Reforms Commission chaired by Veerappa Moily** recommended that the office of Lokpal should be established without delay. In 2011, the government formed a Group of Ministers, chaired by Pranab Mukherjee to suggest measures to tackle corruption and examine the proposal of a Lokpal Bill. "India Against Corruption movement" led by Anna Hazare put pressure on the United Progressive Alliance (UPA) government at the Centre and resulted in the passing of the Lokpal and Lokayukta Bill, 2013, in both the Houses of Parliament. It received assent from President on 1 January 2014 and came into force on 16 January 2014.

FEATURES:

The salient features of the Lokpal and Lokayukta Act (2013) are as follows:

- It seeks to establish the institution of Lokpal at the centre and Lokayuktas at the state level and thus provide an anti-corruption roadmap for the nations at the Centre and at the States. The jurisdiction of lokpal includes the Prime Ministers, Ministers, Members of Parliament and Groups A, B,C and D officers and officials of the Central Government
- The Lokpal Consists of a chairperson with a maximum of 8 members of which 50% shall be judicial members.
- About 50 % of members of the Lokpal shall come from amongst the SCs, the STs, the OBCs, minorities and women.

- The selection of the Chairperson and the members of Lokpal shall be through a Selection Committee consisting of the Prime Minister, the Speaker of the Lok Sabha, the Leader of the Opposition, the Chief Justice of India or a sitting **Supreme Court** Judge nominated by the Chief Justice of India and an eminent person nominated by the President of India.
- A Search Committee will assist the Selection Committee in the process of selection. 50% of the members of the Search Committee shall also be from amongst the SCs, the STs, the OBCs, minorities and women
- The Prime Minister has been brought under the purview of the Lokpal with subject matter exclusions and specific process for handling complaints against him/her
- Lokpal's jurisdiction will cover all categories of public servants including Group A, Group B, Group C and Group D officers and employees of the government
- The Lokpal will have the power of superintendence and direction over any investigative agency including the **CBI** for cases referred to by the Lokpal.
- A High-Powered Committee chaired by the Prime Minister will recommend the selection of the Director of the CBI.
- It lays down clear timelines. For preliminary enquiry, it is three months extendable by three months. For investigation, it is six months which may be extended by six months at a time. For trial it is one year extendable by one year and to achieve this, special courts are to be set up.
- It enhances maximum punishment under the Prevention of Corruption Act from 7 to 10 years. The minimum punishment under sections 7,8,9 and 12 of the Act will now be three years and the minimum punishment under section 15 (punishment for attempt) will now be two years.
- Institutions that are financed fully or partly by the Government are under the jurisdiction of the Lokpal, but institutions aided by the governments are excluded
- All Entities receiving donations from a foreign source within the context of the **Foreign Contribution Regulation Act** in excess of Rs 10 Lakhs per year are brought under the jurisdiction of Lokpal
- It contains a mandate for setting up of the institutions of Lokayukta through enactment of law by the State Legislature within a period of 365 days from the date of commencement of this Act.

HISTORY OF FEMINISM (INDIA) :

The history of feminism in India can be divided into three phases: the first phase, beginning in the mid-19th century, initiated when reformists began to speak in favour of women rights by making reforms in education, customs involving women; the second phase, from 1915 to Indian independence, when Gandhi incorporated women's movements into the Quit India movement and independent women's organisations began to emerge; and finally, the third phase, post-independence, which has focused on fair treatment of women at home after marriage, in the work force, and right to political parity.

Despite the progress made by Indian feminist movements, women living in modern India still face many issues of discrimination. India's patriarchal culture has made the process of gaining land-ownership rights and access to education challenging. In the past two decades, there has also emerged a trend of sex-selective abortion. To Indian feminists, these are seen as injustices worth struggling against and feminism is often misunderstood by Indians as female domination rather than equality.

As in the West, there has been some criticism of feminist movements in India. They have especially been criticised for focusing too much on privileged women, and neglecting the needs and representation of poorer or lower caste women. This has led to the creation of caste-specific feminist organisations and movements.

According to Maitrayee Chaudhuri, unlike the Western feminist movement, India's movement was initiated by men, and later joined by women. But feminism as an initiative started independently a little later in Maharashtra by pioneering sex of women's rights and education: Savitribai Phule, who started the first school for girls in India (1848); Tarabai Shinde, who wrote India's first feminist text *Stri Purush Tulana* (A Comparison Between Women and Men) in 1882; and Pandita Ramabai, who criticized patriarchy and caste-system in Hinduism, married outside her caste and converted to Christianity (1880s). The efforts of Bengali reformers included abolishing sati, which was a widow's death by burning on her husband's funeral pyre, abolishing the custom of child marriage, abolishing the disfiguring of widows, introducing the marriage of upper caste Hindu widows, promoting women's education, obtaining legal rights for women to own property, and requiring the law to acknowledge women's status by granting them basic rights in matters such as adoption.

The 19th century was the period that saw a majority of women's issues which came under the spotlight and reforms began to be made. Much of the early reforms for Indian women were conducted by men. However, by the late 19th century they were joined in their efforts by their wives, sisters, daughters, proteges and other individuals directly affected by campaigns such as those carried out for women's education. By the late 20th century, women gained greater autonomy through the formation of independent women's own organisations. By the late thirties and forties a new narrative began to be constructed regarding "women's activism". This was newly researched and expanded with the vision to create 'logical' and organic links between feminism and Marxism, as well as with anti-communalism and anti-casteism, etc. The Constitution of India did guarantee "equality between the sexes", which created a relative lull in women's movements until the 1970s.

During the formative years of women's rights movements, the difference between the sexes was more or less taken for granted in that their roles, functions, aims and desires were different. As a result, they were not only to be reared differently but treated differently also. Over the course of time, this difference itself became a major reason for initiating women's movements. Early 19th century reformers argued that the difference between men and women was no reason for the subjection of women in society. However, later reformers were of the opinion that indeed it was this particular difference that subjugated women to their roles in society, for example, as mothers. Therefore, there was a need for the proper care of women's rights. With the formation of women's organisations and their own participation in campaigns, their roles as mothers was again stressed but in a different light: this time the argument was for women's rights to speech, education and emancipation. However, the image of women with the mother as a symbol underwent changes over time – from an emphasis on family to the creation of an archetypal mother figure, evoking deep, often atavistic images.

First phase: 1850–1915

The colonial venture into modernity brought concepts of democracy, equality and individual rights. The rise of the concept of nationalism and introspection of discriminatory practices brought about social reform movements related to caste and gender relations. This first phase of feminism in India was initiated by men to uproot the social evils of sati (widow immolation), to allow widow remarriage, to forbid child marriage, and to reduce illiteracy, as well as to regulate the age of consent and to ensure property rights through legal intervention. In addition to this, some upper caste Hindu women rejected constraints they faced under Brahminical traditions. However, efforts for improving the status of women in Indian society were somewhat thwarted by the late nineteenth century, as nationalist movements emerged in India. These movements resisted 'colonial interventions in gender relations' particularly in the areas of family relations. In the mid to late nineteenth century, there was a national form of resistance to any colonial efforts made to 'modernize' the Hindu family. This included the Age of Consent controversy that erupted after the government tried to raise the age of marriage for women.

Several Indian states were ruled by women during British colonial advance including Jhansi (Rani Laxmibai), Kittur (Rani Chennamma), Bhopal (Quidisa Begum) and Punjab (Jind Kaur)

Second Phase: 1915–1947

During this period the struggle against colonial rule intensified. Nationalism became the pre-eminent cause. Claiming Indian superiority became the tool of cultural revivalism resulting in an essential model of Indian womanhood similar to that of Victorian womanhood: special yet separated from public space. Gandhi legitimized and expanded Indian women's public activities by initiating them into the non-violent civil disobedience movement against the British Raj. He exalted their feminine roles of caring, self-abnegation, sacrifice and tolerance; and carved a niche for those in the public arena. Peasant

women played an important role in the rural satyagrahas of Borsad and Bardoli. Women-only organisations like All India Women's Conference (AIWC) and the National Federation of Indian Women (NFIW) emerged. Women were grappling with issues relating to the scope of women's political participation, women's franchise, communal awards, and leadership roles in political parties.

The 1920s was a new era for Indian women and is defined as 'feminism' that was responsible for the creation of localized women's associations. These associations emphasized women's education issues, developed livelihood strategies for working-class women, and also organised national level women's associations such as the All India Women's Conference. AIWC was closely affiliated with the Indian National Congress. Under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, it worked within the nationalist and anti-colonialist freedom movements. This made the mass mobilisation of women an integral part of Indian nationalism. Women therefore were a very important part of various nationalist and anti-colonial efforts, including the civil disobedience movements in the 1930s.

After independence, the All India Women's Conference continued to operate and in 1954 the Indian Communist Party formed its own women's wing known as the National Federation of Indian Women. However, feminist agendas and movements became less active right after India's 1947 independence, as the nationalist agendas on nation building took precedence over feminist issues.

Women's participation in the struggle for freedom developed their critical consciousness about their role and rights in independent India. This resulted in the introduction of the franchise and civic rights of women in the Indian constitution. There was provision for women's upliftment through affirmative action, maternal health and child care provision (crèches), equal pay for equal work etc. The state adopted a patronizing role towards women. For example, India's constitution states that women are a "weaker section" of the population, and therefore need assistance to function as equals. Thus women in India did not have to struggle for basic rights as did women in the West. The utopia ended soon when the social and cultural ideologies and structures failed to honour the newly acquired concepts of fundamental rights and democracy.

Post-1947

Indira Gandhi (née Nehru) was the only child of the India's first Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru. She is the first and only woman Prime Minister of India and the second-longest-serving Prime Minister.

Post independence feminists began to redefine the extent to which women were allowed to engage in the workforce. Prior to independence, most feminists accepted the sexual divide within the labour force. However, feminists in the 1970s challenged the inequalities that had been established and fought to reverse them. These inequalities included unequal wages for women, relegation of women to 'unskilled'

spheres of work, and restricting women as a reserve army for labour. In other words, the feminists' aim was to abolish the free service of women who were essentially being used as cheap capital. Feminist class-consciousness also came into focus in the 1970s, with feminists recognizing the inequalities not just between men and women but also within power structures such as caste, tribe, language, religion, region, class etc. This also posed as a challenge for feminists while shaping their overreaching campaigns as there had to be a focus within efforts to ensure that fulfilling the demands of one group would not create further inequalities for another. Now, in the early twenty-first century, the focus of the Indian feminist movement has gone beyond treating women as useful members of society and a right to parity, but also having the power to decide the course of their personal lives and the right of self-determination.

In 1966 Indira Gandhi became the first female Prime Minister of India. She served as prime minister of India for three consecutive terms (1966–77) and a fourth term from 1980 until she was assassinated in 1984.

Section 53A of the Code of Criminal Procedure of the Indian law, 1973 lays down certain provisions for medical examination of the accused. Section 164A of the Code of Criminal Procedure deals with the medical examination of the victim.

Mary Roy won a lawsuit in 1986, against the inheritance legislation of her Keralite Syrian Christian community in the Supreme Court. The judgement ensured equal rights for Syrian Christian women with their male siblings in regard to their ancestral property. Until then, her Syrian Christian community followed the provisions of the Travancore Succession Act of 1916 and the Cochin Succession Act, 1921, while elsewhere in India the same community followed the Indian Succession Act of 1925.

In 1991, the Kerala High Court restricted entry of women above the age of 10 and below the age of 50 from Sabarimala Shrine as they were of the menstruating age. However, on 28 September 2018, the Supreme Court of India lifted the ban on the entry of women. It said that discrimination against women on any grounds, even religious, is unconstitutional.

The state of Kerala is often viewed as the ideal progressive leader in the women's rights movement in India among states. Kerala maintains very high relative levels of female literacy and women's health, as well as greater female inheritance and property rights. For example, a 1998 study conducted by Bina Agarwal found that while only 13% of all women in India with landowning fathers inherited that land as daughters, 24% of such women were able to do so in the state of Kerala. This is important because it has been shown that measures to improve such access to property and economic independence through channels such as education not only directly improve women's wellbeing and capabilities, but also reduce their risk of exposure to marital or any sort of domestic violence.

The Protection of Women from Domestic Violence Act 2005 is an Act of the Parliament of India enacted to protect women from domestic violence. It was brought into force by the Indian government from 26 October 2006. The Act provides for the first time in Indian law a definition of "domestic violence", with this definition being broad and including not only physical violence, but also other forms of violence such as emotional/verbal, sexual, and economic abuse. It is a civil law meant primarily for protection orders and not meant to penalize criminally. However, as per the recent study 51.5% males have experienced the violence from their wives/partner. Many men feel bad to share about they are being beaten by their wives. Also, as per the research Married men have reported the domestic violence.

The Sexual Harassment of Women at Workplace (Prevention, Prohibition and Redressal) Act, 2013 is a legislative act in India that seeks to protect women from sexual harassment at their place of work. The Act came into force from 9 December 2013. The Criminal Law (Amendment) Act, 2013 introduced changes to the Indian Penal Code, making sexual harassment an expressed offence under Section 354 A, which is punishable up to three years of imprisonment and or with fine. The Amendment also introduced new sections making acts like disrobing a woman without consent, stalking and sexual acts by person in authority an offence. It also made acid attacks a specific offence with a punishment of imprisonment not less than 10 years and which could extend to life imprisonment and with fine. The definition of rape under the law was expanded to consider rape as any acts like penetration by penis, or any object or any part of body to any extent, into the vagina, mouth, urethra or anus of a woman or making her to do so with another person or applying of mouth to sexual organs without the consent or will of the woman constitutes the offence of rape. The section has also clarified that penetration means "penetration to any extent", and lack of physical resistance is immaterial for constituting an offence. Except in certain aggravated situation the punishment will be imprisonment not less than seven years but which may extend to imprisonment for life, and shall also be liable to fine. In aggravated situations, punishment will be rigorous imprisonment for a term which shall not be less than ten years but which may extend to imprisonment for life, and shall also be liable to fine. The revised statutes of 2013 Indian law, in section 376A, also mandates minimum punishment in certain cases. For instance, if the sexual assault inflicts an injury which causes death or causes the victim to be in a persistent vegetative state, then the convicted rapist must be sentenced to rigorous imprisonment of at least twenty years and up to the remainder of the natural life or with a death penalty." In the case of "gang rape", the same mandatory sentencing is now required by law. The convicted is also required to pay compensation to the victim which shall be reasonable to meet the medical expenses and rehabilitation of the victim, and per Section 357 B in the Code of Criminal Procedure. Death penalty for the most extreme rape cases is specified. The new law has made it mandatory for all government and privately run hospitals in India to give free first aid and medical treatment to victims of rape. The 2013 law also increased the age of consent from 16 years to 18 years, and any sexual activity with anyone less than age of 18, irrespective of consent, now constitutes statutory rape.

In May 2013, the Supreme Court of India held that the two-finger test on a rape victim violates her right to privacy, and asked the Delhi government to provide better medical procedures to confirm sexual assault.

In 2014, an Indian family court in Mumbai ruled that a husband objecting to his wife wearing a kurta and jeans and forcing her to wear a sari amounted to cruelty, which led to the wife being granted a divorce. In 2016 a judgment of the Delhi high court was made public in which it was ruled that the eldest female member of a Hindu Undivided Family can be its "Karta".

In 2018 the Supreme Court of India struck down a law making it a crime for a man to have sex with a married woman without the permission of her husband. Prior to November 2018, women were forbidden to climb Agasthyarkoodam. A court ruling removed the prohibition.

Introduction

For almost 50 years after their emergence as independent nation states in the late 1940s, India's relationship with China had a highly uneven trajectory, marked by extreme vicissitudes. These decades do not lend themselves to easy periodization, punctured as they were by intense mutual suspicion, an occasional turn to fraternal bonhomie, a border war, bitter changes, and near conflict scenarios. It took almost three decades after the 1962 conflict for this relationship to start acquiring a more comprehensive and multi-dimensional character. Significant hurdles have marred the progress towards normalization, namely, the issue of Tibet, the China-Pakistan alliance, the contested boundary, and the role of major powers. Since the 1990s, the increasing power asymmetry and economic gap—by 2013, China's GDP had become four times larger than that of India—has further complicated India's engagement with China.

History As Prelude

In the case of civilization-states such as India and China, it is evident that there are sturdy historical legacies that are manifest in the present, which still inform attitudes and perceptions on both sides.

There is an ancient history of civilizational encounters when Buddhism travelled from India to China, along with a rich consignment of ideas, texts, and values. The names of Fa Xian, Xuan Zhang, and Kumarajiva are legendary in this account of cross-cultural fertilization. There is another history of these two economically powerful and prosperous empires during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, dominating world trade with flourishing and dynamic trade routes criss-crossing their frontier regions and constituting the hub of international relations at the time. There is yet another and extremely rich tapestry of interactions between the eighteenth and twentieth centuries, when these two great civilizations and proud empires were humbled, and bled white by Western imperialist dominance. Their shared experiences, during their respective struggles for independence and liberation from the colonial yoke found expression, in Rabindranath Tagore's 1924 China visit which had a major impact on the Chinese intelligentsia. Shared perspectives on imperialism were also seen in the interaction between the Indian delegation led by Nehru and the Chinese delegation to the Congress of Oppressed Nationalities in Brussels in 1927.

Indian and Chinese historical experience and common concerns, Nehru believed, called for a policy of friendship and cooperation—any other approach would only lead to confrontation and draw hostile lines across Asia. He was also convinced that given the possibility of superpower intervention, China would never attack India. India thus became the first Asian non-communist country to recognize the new regime in China and has consistently upheld the “one-China” policy.

Subsequently, India's role and diplomacy in the 1950-3 Korean War (which directly contributed to the PRC being incited to the Geneva peace talks), and the nationalistic upsurge in the Afro

Asian world during the 1950s, led to a change in the Chinese evaluation of the non-aligned countries and brought the desired break in India-China relations. Nearly a million Chinese lined up to welcome Nehru on his visit to China in 1954 and Zhou's return visit to India in 1954 affirmed the shift in China's strategic perspective.

The Agreement on Trade and Intercourse between India and China relating to Tibet signed on the occasion, incorporated the Panchsheel—the Five Principles of Peaceful Cooperation which can be seen as the first joint political contribution of India and China to contemporary foreign policy semantics. The concept has a pan-Asian appeal and did become the model for the PRC's agreements with many other countries. With the signing of Panchsheel, however, India formally renounced its traditional privileges and position in Tibet, which it had inherited from the British, and established the official Indian position that Tibet was a part of China and that India would not permit any anti China activity on its soil.

Thereafter began a short-lived, but extremely friendly and cordial phase of Sino-Indian relations, epitomized in the slogan *Hi di-Chini Bhai-Bhai* (Indians and Chinese are brothers). The Chinese move into Tibet had caused a furore in India, but Nehru resisted the demand in the Indian Parliament to take on a tough posture and attempted to 'strike a balance between the trend of Indian popular feeling and the need to maintain Sino-Indian friendship'. Subsequently when the Dalai Lama sought and obtained political asylum in India in the wake of the Tibetan uprising in 1959, India-China relations were stretched to breaking point, especially with the establishment of the Tibetan government-in-exile in Dharamsala, where the Dalai Lama had settled. Though it was not accorded any recognition by the Indian government a 'dual policy' appeared to be operating (wherein some sort of Indian involvement in, and support to, the resistance movement, was in place), which was clearly a source of suspicion and annoyance for the PRC and a major irritant in the relationship.

THE 1962 BORDER CONFLICT AND BEYOND

There is a tremendous profusion of writings, documentaries and analysis of the events that led up to the 1962 conflict—scholars differ in their assessments of its origins and the general perception. The dominant narrative in India continues to stress Chinese irredentism and betrayal whereas the Chinese account puts the blame at the 'forward policy' adopted by India, which sought to unilaterally alter the status quo. The letters and memoranda continuously exchanged between the two governments right up to 1962, revealed differences not just on the boundary but in their worldview, their attitude to International law and to the sanctity of colonial treaties. Border clashes erupted frequently. China's concerns vis-a-vis the Soviet Union were building up and trouble within Tibet was gathering pace. So when in late 1961, India embarked on a proactive policy to set up its posts in what it considered its territory, but were north of the then Chinese positions, the Chinese responded swiftly. They successfully pushed back the Indian troops south of the MacMahon Line in the east, seized control of Aksai Chin in the west, and then withdrew after declaring a unilateral ceasefire. Ambassadors were recalled

and the curtains came down on the fraternal friendship-which in any case had begun to fray by the end of 1962.

The post-1962 period also saw the PRC readjusting its policy vis-à-vis the Indian subcontinent, which was essentially aimed at establishing a special relationship with Pakistan. The Indo Pak wars of 1965 and 1971 provided the opportunity for the Chinese to show their solidarity with Pakistan—not only did they supply military equipment but they also threatened to open another front on the Sikkim border.

Overtures from India in 1974 were stalled once again with the merger of Sikkim in India, which was denounced as 'naked annexation' in the Chinese media.

The fundamental stance of the Janata government which came to power in 1977, was that unless the boundary dispute was sorted out no meaningful relationship with China could be established. But it did make attempts to reach out to China. The then Indian Foreign Minister A. B. Vaidya's visit to China in 1979 and meeting with Deng Xiaoping, who urged the opening of a new chapter in their relationship.

THE PATH TO NORMALIZATION

The reinstatement of ambassadors imparted regularity to the official/bureaucratic process of exchanges. The latter half of the 1980s brought a change in international dynamics: as the Sino-US normalization proceeded rapidly. Gorbachev decided to move Soviet troops out of Afghanistan and mend fences with the PRC. Even as the Soviets were also advising the Indians to bury the hatchet with China two events once again disrupted the ongoing interactions. In July 1986, one of the most threatening face-offs since 1962 took place between the military forces of India and China at Sumdorong Chu in the eastern sector and in February 1987, the Indian Parliament granted full statehood to Arunachal Pradesh.

In November 1988, Rajiv Gandhi became the second Indian Prime Minister to visit China in November 1988—30 years after Nehru's visit and as he told Deng, 'It is now time to look into the future. I have come to renew an old friendship.' The discussions on the border were also upgraded to a higher level of officials with the creation of the Joint Working Groups (JWG) which accelerated the momentum of the boundary negotiations.

The Chinese Premier Li Peng's visit to India in 1991, 30 years after Zhou Enlai's visit of 1960, realized the desire of stabilizing their relationship and thereby the neighbourhood. The first Indian presidential visit took place in 1992 as also a first visit by an Indian army chief. Two major agreements were signed in 1993 (Maintenance of Peace and Tranquillity along the Line of Actual Control) and then in 1996 (when the Chinese President Jiang Zemin visited the subcontinent—Confidence-Building Measures in the Border Regions) which provided a positive impetus to the normalization process. This visit also appeared to confirm the Chinese strategy of modifying their overt tilt towards Pakistan to a more balanced approach towards South Asia.

With the visit of Prime Minister Vajpayee in June 2003, a decisive and rational (philosophically understood) shift was brokered between China and India with regard to the boundary dispute. Special Representatives were appointed on both sides, mandated to explore, from the political perspective of the overall bilateral relationship, the framework of a boundary settlement. This shift was formalized and substantiated during the visit of Wen Jiabao to India, with the signing of an agreement, in April 2005 on the Political Parameters and Guiding Principles for the Settlement of the India-China Boundary Question". Wen's visit finally yielded China's recognition of Sikkim as a part of India and the Joint Statement announced the establishment of a "Strategic and Cooperative Partnership for Peace and Prosperity.

THE YIN AND YANG OF INDIA-CHINA RELATIONS

The yin and yang of India-China relations may be stated in terms of a paradox: on the one hand, there is a visibly expanding and deepening multi-level engagement, and the remarkable increase of trade, and on the other hand the low levels of mutual trust and confidence. Six issues amply demonstrate the manner in which the yin and yang are playing themselves out.

1. Economic Dynamism

Trade was officially resumed in 1978 and the most Favoured Nation Agreement was signed in 1984. In 2004, India became China's 11th largest trade partner and the largest in South Asia when trade levels climbed up to US\$13.6 billion, representing an increase of 79.1 per cent over the previous year.

Amazingly, the India China trade in goods was the world's fastest growing trade during 2000-12, surpassing, in 2009, India's trade with its then largest trading partner, the United States (which increased only by 23 per cent compared to 29.7 per cent with China). Analysts, however, highlight two drawbacks: in terms of product composition, the Indian export basket is still extremely limited, comprising mostly primary products, and since 2005-6, we see a continuous and rising trade deficit in favour of China, India has consistently demanded that China give greater market access to Indian pharma and IT sectors.

2. The Territorial Imperative

Since the 1993 and 1996 Agreements, the border has been entirely peaceful. The 2001 Agreement upholding a political understanding on the question and the well-crafted parameters and guidelines of 2005 should have logically led to an early settlement. Nine years later there are no signs of an early breakthrough. Chinese claims to Arunachal Pradesh-India's easternmost state- goes counter to the 2005 Guidelines agreeing to respect populated areas. Furthermore, the lack of clarity regarding the alignment of the Line of Actual Control has led to a rising number of transgressions over the past few years.

3. The Sino-Pakistan Alliance

Arguably, it is the Sino-Pak alliance and their diary ties bath in the conventional and nuclear aspects, that generate within India.Chinese position is that any case, such cooperation is not directed against any third country Indian policy makers, however, continue to be concerned shout the range of conventional military sales, China's construction of the Gwadar Fort, and in particular, China's violation of the NSG rules to supply civilian nuclear plants to Pakistan. Above all, Chinese presence and infrastructure building activities in the territory ceded to China by Pakistan in Pakistan-occupied Kashmir, have generated serious concerns in India.

4.Expanding Ambit : From the Bilateral to the Global

China's rise and India's emergence is by no means on the same page but their growing global footprint has inevitably led to a gradually expanding dialogue on a range of international issues: international terrorism, multipolarity, energy security Iraq,North Korea, Afghanistan. UN reforms, globalization, etc.Both are acquiring more prominence in trilateral (India-China-Russia) and other multilateral platforms such as the BRICS(Brazil,Russia,India, China, South Africa).This enlarging interaction is being increasingly grounded in a framework of accommodation where possible and cooperation where necessary.

5.Regional and Subregional Cooperation

Asian regional groupings in the twenty-first century have proliferated, allowing multiple understandings of and approaches to development and modernization and newer forms of collaboration, often grounded in cultural affinities. China's regional profile in certainly very complex and over the last decade it has enmeshed its economy with numerous regional and subregional ventures whereas India's story with regionalism has yet to take off. Its Look East policy since 1991-largely a reaction to the increasingly dominant and dominating tale of the PRC has t to aquire a cohesive dynamism-though some headway has been made with ASEAN. Questions naturally arise as to whether these regional forums would become arenas for the India-China competition and/or rivalry

6.The US Factor

India and China have attempted, with varying degrees of success, to take advantage of the flexibility afforded by the post Cold War environment, to have multi-dimensional engagements with all major powers.The United States and China have experienced a longer period of close politico-strategic cooperation, and since the end of the bipolar world.They have had a 'strategic partnership'since November 1997 but there are elements of both 'contention' and 'collusion', 'containment' and 'engagement' or 'congagem', which have at times d memories of Cold War hostilities, India too, had been moving closer to the United States, particularly since the late 1990s Indo-US civilian nuclear cooperation has also raised questions on the nature of this proximity and implications for the autonomy of Indian foreign-policy.Exploiting the 'communist' China and 'democratic' India divide is also thei-strate gic mistrust, appears to undergied the logic of the Chams adminstration's 'pivot to Asia'

Indo-Sri Lanka Relations

Eswaran Sridharan

A. Historical Background

India's relations with Sri Lanka began after the latter's independence from Britain on 4 February 1948. Relations with the island state have been determined by a number of factors that have shifted in relative importance over time. Some of these factors are the same as those that determine India's relations with its other neighbours—geography, the legacy of British colonial rule, the relationship inherited from the colonial period, geopolitical alignments, economic relations and personal relationships between the leaders.

1. Colonial Ceylon was directly ruled from Britain and was not part of the British Indian Empire. During the colonial period, beginning from the 1830s, Indian indentured labour from Tamil Nadu was taken to the Central Highlands of Sri Lanka to constitute the labour force of the plantation sector. This population came to be called the Indian-origin Tamils or (tea, rubber) estate/plantation Tamils or 4.2 per cent in the east (2011 Sri Lanka census). The deteriorating relationship between the majority Tamils since independence, and especially since the early 1980s, has been a major factor in Indo-Sri Lanka relations.

Starting from shortly after independence, Sri Lanka (Ceylon till 1972) established itself under the 1948 Soulbury constitution as a unitary state under the effective control of the majority Sinhalese, who constituted three-quarters of the population, and who were overwhelming Buddhist. The official language policy of 1956 made Sinhalese the sole official language, threatening the prospects of the Tamils in public employment, a sphere in which they were then relatively overrepresented due to the early emergence of an English-educated professional class, in turn due to the impact of missionary education in the Tamil heartland, Jaffna, in the north. Sinhalese majoritarianism went from strength to strength from the 1950s onwards. Tamil-speakers were progressively marginalized in public employment and from the early 1970s in university admissions. The 1972 Republican constitution officially established Buddhism as having a special status and removed the 1948 Soulbury constitution's protection of minority rights, completing the establishment of Sinhalese-Buddhist majoritarian unitary state. The 1978 constitution concentrated power in the hands of an executive president, inevitably a Sinhala Buddhist, against a

weak parliament. Major anti Tamil riots ,in which state forces and politicians were involved, took place in 1956, 1958, 1977, 1981 and 198

2. From the late 1940s to the 1970s, Indo-Sri Lankan relations remained normal if not cordial, both being non-aligned, Third Worldist and state-regulated economies. The major tension in the first three decades was over the citizenship status and repatriation of the Indian-origin Tamils. In 1948 itself immediately after independence, Ceylon refused citizenship to the Indian-origin Tamils, 'who at that time had actually come to outnumber the native Tamils, reducing them to statelessness and therefore vulnerability in terms of lacking citizens' rights. It also wanted their repatriation to India, which Nehru resisted because he did not want to set a precedent for other overseas Indian populations. This was a point of tension in the relationship. However, India agreed to consider repatriating some of them, and long-drawn-out negotiations took place resulting in two major agreements spaced ten years apart, the 1964 Sirimavo-Shastri accord, and that 1974 Sirimavo-Indira accord, that fixed the exact numbers to be repatriated, the rest being granted citizenship.

3. India helped, short of military force, with the quelling of the uprising by the radical, then-Maoist Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna in 1971. Despite Sri Lanka allowing Pakistani aircraft to refuel at its airports during the December 1971 war, India concluded the 1974 and 1976 agreements that completed the process of repatriation of Indian origin Tamils in agreed numbers, and also recognised Sri Lankan sovereignty over the barren Kachchativu islet, against objections by the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK) government in Tamil Nadu, without adequate safeguard for traditional fishing right of Tamil Nadu fisherman. These developments were partly because of the personal relationship between Indira Gandhi and Sirimavo Bandaranaike, a move to keep Sri Lanka well disposed to India, but also a complete lack of foresight that relations with Sri Lanka could deteriorate due to the latter's domestic policies of discrimination against the Tamil minority and its fallout in India,

B. The Deterioration of Relations from the Early 1980s

1. Indo-Sri Lankan relations worsened from the early 1980s and sharply after the July 1983 riots against the Tamil minority, widely considered a pogrom, which resulted in about 200,000-250,000 refugees crossing over to India in a short period of time.

i) First, the election of J.R. Jayawardene of the United National Party (UNP) in 1977, led to a distinct shift to a pro-American tilt in foreign policy. Sri Lanka was negotiating with the US over naval facilities in Trincomalee and a Voice of America broadcast relay station on the west coast, which India suspected could be used for electronic intelligence gathering and monitoring of communications.

ii) Second, Sri Lanka's discriminatory and majoritarian treatment of its Tamil minority had led to the beginnings of Lankan Tamil separatism from the late 1970s. The 1981 riots and the burning down of the Jaffna Public Library and its priceless collection of manuscripts in June 1981 by the Lankan security forces, and finally the massive anti-Tamil riots of late July 1983, with the participation of government ministers, led to an eruption of sympathy in Tamil Nadu and in India generally, which the government could not ignore. Covert assistance, including arms and training, to Lankan Tamil rebel groups, which had been in existence from the early 1980s, was stepped up, the support being spread across a number of groups.

2. Following the July 1983 riots, clandestine Indian support to Tamil insurgent groups, including the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), was stepped up so as to put pressure on the Sri Lankan government to accommodate the Tamils, to mollify public outrage in Tamil Nadu. Indira Gandhi designated a special envoy, G. Parthasarathi, to talk to both the government and the Tamil parties and groups and try to arrive at a solution to devolve and share power. Parthasarathi made three visits to Sri Lanka in late 1983 and early 1984. This mediation did not bear fruit. India then arranged, under Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, two rounds of talks between the Tamil parties and militant groups and the government in July-August 1985 in Thimphu, Bhutan. But that too did not bear fruit as the government rejected Tamil demands, which centred on their recognition as a nation, recognition of a Tamil homeland, and self-determination for Tamils. In the meantime, the government hardened its stand and, during 1986 and 1987, made a push for a military solution by sending the army to crush the rebel groups. By May 1987, it appeared as if the main rebel group, the LTTE, then supported by India, would be defeated by the army in the Jaffna peninsula.

3. Rajiv Gandhi, under pressure of circumstances, made a decision to intervene. On 4 June 1987, the Indian air force dropped food packets in the Jaffna peninsula. Violating Lankan airspace and sovereignty, ostensibly to offer relief to the civilian population in response to the government's blanket cut-off of civil supplies to the peninsula. Over June and July 1987, India pressured Sri Lanka to permit a mediatory

military intervention under the ISLA of 29 July 1987, whereby India would send contingents of its army called the Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF) to disarm the Tamil rebel groups in return for Sri Lanka amending its constitution to provide for a meaningful devolution of power to the Tamil-majority north and east, merged into a combined North-Eastern Province, and make Tamil an additional national language

The Tamil rebel groups were not a party to the agreement, although it was very grudgingly accepted with explicit reservations by Prabhakaran on 4 August 1987 in Jaffna. The IPKF was deployed immediately starting from 30 July 1987, and initially a token surrender of arms by the Tamil groups including the LTTE was arranged in early August. However, Prabhakaran soon went back on his initial acceptance of the accord, and afterwards began to provoke the IPKF by organizing demonstrations and a fast unto death (in September by Dileepan) against it. The situation deteriorated after the 3-5 October incident in which the Sri Lankan navy arrested over a dozen LTTE guerrillas smuggling arms and transported them to Colombo against the appeal of Indian High Commissioner J.N. Dixit. They committed suicide by swallowing cyanide capsules. The LTTE blamed the IPKF for this, unfairly from India's perspective, announced a pullback from the accord, and began firing on the IPKF on 6 October, including from crowded civilian locations, killing half a dozen Indian soldiers. This led India to order an operation (Operation Pawan) against the LTTE. In turn, this led to a long-drawn-out guerrilla war by the LTTE against the IPKF. The inconclusive guerrilla war lasted until the IPKF's withdrawal by 24 March 1990. The losses suffered by the IPKF were over 1,100 men dead and a few thousand wounded.

C. Indo-Sri Lanka Relations 1991-2009: Post-assassination. Post-Cold War

1. The assassination of then former prime minister Rajiv Gandhi at Sriperumbudur near Chennai on 21 May 1991 by the LTTE, while he was on an election campaign in Tamil Nadu, and the subsequent banning of the LTTE in India in 1992 after the act was traced to it, marked the beginning of the next phase in Indo-Sri Lanka relations. To set the latter in its larger context, Indian foreign policy underwent a gradual shift in the post-1991 period. Starting from the election of the Congress government of P.V. Narasimha Rao in June 1991 just after the assassination, India launched a long-term economic liberalization programme that would gradually globalize the economy. Pro-US shift in Foreign policy for both economic and strategic reasons. In this larger context, again, and in the context of domestic policy and political shifts in Sri Lanka, India's policy moved towards greater cooperation with Sri Lanka. Particularly from the late 1990s.

This shift over the 1990s and 2000s was helped by shifts in public opinion in Tamil Nadu. Shocked by the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi public opinion in Tamil Nadu underwent a distinct shift, in that there was a cooling off towards the LTTE from 1991 to 2008-9. In the 1991 Lok Sabha and state assembly elections, the Congress-AIADMK alliance swept to power, AIADMK Jayalalitha forming the government in the state and cracking down hard on the LTTE.

2. Sri Lankan policy on its Tamil minority also underwent a shift under President Chandrika Kumaratunga from 1994, which helped the process of improvement of relations with India. Kumaratunga put forward proposals for resolution of the conflict, which went halfway towards a federal solution in 1995, 1997 and 2000, the last of which can be read as an improvement on the 13th Amendment. These proposals were rejected by the LTTE, which was then bent on a sovereign Tamil Eelam and would not consider anything short of that.

3. The Indo-Sri Lanka Free Trade Agreement of 1998 signed by the BIP-led Government of 1998-9, operational from 2000, was part of a larger shift in both/ foreign economic policy, South Asia policy and Sri Lanka policy, as well as running parallel to the process of trade liberalization in SAARC. On the trade, investment, and tourism fronts, Indo-Lanka relations grew rapidly during the 2000s, particularly during the boom years for the Indian economy of 2003-8.

4. Meanwhile, in Sri Lanka, Mahinda Rajapaksa was elected president in November 2005. The already hawkish Rajapaksa was provoked by LTTE actions such as the Mavil Aru incident in the Eastern Province in July 2006, and the assassination attempts on the army chief Sarath Fonseka and the president's brother and defence secretary, Gotabaya Rajapaksa, in 2006. The ensuing final phase of the conflict, called Eelam War IV, 2006-9, led to the rollback and defeat of the LTTE by an army and ending with the decimation of the LTTE in May 2009.

The UPA minority government, in which the DMK was a key partner enjoying its highest-ever representation in the cabinet and council of ministers, followed a hands-off policy on the Sri Lankan ethnic conflict while promoting trade and investment. On forming a minority government in Tamil Nadu with Congress support in May 2006, it also declared that the centre's policy on Sri Lanka would be the state's policy.

D. Indo-Sri Lanka Relations after the LTTE: 2009 to 2015

The major developments after May 2009 are the following. In geopolitical terms, China and, to a much lesser extent, Pakistan established a diplomatic presence in Sri

Lanka. Pakistan supplied pilots and arms during the final phase of the Eelam War (2006-9), and China supplied arms on a larger scale, while India exercised restraint due to its earlier bad experience of fighting the LTTE its uncertainty about the Sri Lankan government's ultimate goals and intentions regarding the Tamils, and public sentiment in Tamil Nadu. Sri Lanka has since then played the 'China card' against India to ward off pressures to accommodate the Tamils in a political solution based on the full implementation of the 13th Amendment involving the devolution of land, police, and fiscal powers to the north and east. China has also emerged as the largest aid donor to Sri Lanka even while India has emerged as the largest trade partner source of tourists, and one of the major direct investors. China is also building the Hambantota port, a pet project of President Rajapaksa, which India initially turned down for financial reasons. and However, Sri. Lanka has repeatedly assured India that they will respect Indian security interests and concerns.

PARTY SYSTEM IN INDIA:

The Party System in India may be characterised by the following features:

1. One Party Dominance System:

The party system operating in India does not conform to the two party systems of Britain and the USA.

At the same time, it is basically different from the multi-party model of countries like France and Italy because one of India's several parties has over-shadowed all others by having dominated the political scene ever since independence.

The Con-gress system emerged after the country had attained independence. From 1947 to 1967 and from 1971 to 1977 as well as from 1980 to 1989, this system was at the centre of Indian Politics, spanning three distinct stages in its post-independence development.

Thus, the Congress, which functioned as broad-based nationalist movement before independence, transformed itself into the dominant political party of the nation. That is why the observers of Indian politics like Morris Jones described the Indian Party system as a system of "one party dominance" While Rajni Kothari went to the extent of calling "One Party Dominance System" or "The Congress System".

2. A Multi-Party System:

Since the disintegration of the consensus based Congress system in 1967, the Indian Parties have fit the category of a multi-party system. India has as many as Seven National Parties and 48 State parties.

3. Lack of Strong Opposition:

India lacks a strong well-organised opposition party. A strong opposition is essential for the success of parliamentary democracy. The main function of the opposition is to highlight the shortcomings of the government and to compel it to become responsive to the public opinion.

4. Personality Cult:

Indian Party system values the role of the leader. When a party ceases to have a charismatic leader, it starts declining. After the death of Jawaharlal Nehru and Mrs. Indira Gandhi Congress suffered adversely. Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookherjee's death caused irreparable loss to the Jan Sangh. Similarly the Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia and C. Rajagopalachari witnessed very fast decline of the socialist forces and Swatantra Party respectively.

5. Lack of Ideological Commitment:

In India politics has become issue oriented rather than based on ideology. The existence of the National Front Government at the centre was a canid example of issue oriented politics which got support from the extreme left CPI (M) to the extreme right (BJP). Since 1971, elections have been won not on the basis of the inherent strength of the ideology of a political party but on the basis of issue of immediate concern to the electorate.

6. Emergence of Regional Parties:

In India, several all-India parties have suffered in strength and regional parties have grown in number and influence. Thus, Tamil Nadu has become a stronghold of the DMK followed by the ADMK; the Punjab is dominated by the Akali Dal; Assam has been ruled by the AGP; Jammu & Kashmir is governed by the National Conference and Shiv Sena has emerged a powerful force in Maharashtra politics.

Some regional parties such as the DMK, Shiromani Akali Dal and National Conference emerged soon after the country's independence. These parties articulate and seek to defend a regionally-based ethnic or religious-cultural identity.

7. Factions within the Parties:

All political parties tend to be factionalised. In non-communist parties the faction leaders tend to be community, caste or religious leaders who have skillfully built-Patron-client relationship among the members of different castes or communities.

Such factional leaders view among themselves for political influence within the party and the government, entering into political alliances with one another in order to keep their political rivals out of

power. Most of these factional alliances are non-ideological; they also tend to shift a good deal, thus keeping the parties in a state of flux.

8. Communalism and Casteism:

Communalism is not a phenomenon confined only to India and other countries of Asia but it can be seen in many parts of the world like Germany, Sweden, and Denmark etc. What is peculiar about India is that even the so called secular persons and parties adopt an opportunist attitude towards communalism.

9. The Use of Extra-Constitutional Means to Power:

Although electioneering and campaigning is an effort to capture a maximum number of seats in public offices are said to be the main functions of the parties, very few parties are able to make a respectable showing using only these legitimate methods. As a result political parties of all ideological persuasions frequently try to exploit political or social discontent to their advantage.

They do not hesitate to use such non- parliamentary means as civil disobedience, mass demonstrations, strikes and protest rallies to embarrass the party in power and some of these tactics may become violent.

10. Politics of Defection and Anti-Defection Act:

Defection is the term used for opportunistic transfer of loyalties from one political party to another. When a legislator is elected on the ticket of one party, but later joins another party, for selfish reasons, without his voters' consent, it is called defection.

The Anti-Defection Act, 1985 sought to stop defections, so that representatives elected on certain principles and on certain party tickets would not be allowed to betray the trust which was reposed in them by the electorate at the time of their elections.

INDIA'S NEPAL POLICY

NEPAL is INDIA'S unique neighbour .The two countries are closely bound together in a complex web of linkages and contiguities that span across civilization,historical,socio-cultural,ecomonic,geostrategic,and political terrains.Geographically India's fertile and densely populated Indo-gangetic heartland flows smoothly into Nepal's densely populated Terai flatland reinforcing their territorial bonds as on of sub-Himalayan strategic entity . Lord Buddha was born as a prince [siddharth] in the Lumbini/Kapilvastu area of Nepal Terai but gained enlightenment in India .The dominant languages of Nepal ----Nepali Maithali, and Bhojpuri etc.----are rooted in Indian languages ; Sanskrit,Pali,Hindu,and their regional variations. The people of India and Nepal share commonalities in their attire,food habits,and lifestyles .The two countris are therefore said to be lodged into each other's intestines each sharing the spillover of turubulence and tenacity from the other.

INDIA'S INTRESTS IN NEPAL

Independent India's security intrests in Nepal were primarily dictated by its sub- Himalayan and contiguous location in proximity to Tibet. They bore a strong imprint of British legacy where Nepal was used not only to expand the British reach across the Himalayas, to Tibet and China , but also to ensure that Nepali ruler's territorial and political ambitious did not pose any challenge to British imperial consolidation in India. The imposition of Sagauli Treaty on Nepal in 1816 after a decisive military victory in two years-long Anglo-Nepalese wars and the use bof Nepalisoldiers in putting down revolt of the Indian princely rulers in 1857 were typically related to the establishment of the british Empire in India .India's security interserts in Nepal were radically recast soon after independence when in 1949 China emerged as a communist natin in 1951 , militarily occupied Tibet. Unprepared ,India had to accept this change and withdraw its presence from Tibet. The idea of Nepal being integral part of India's sub-Himalyan strategic space was reinforced in this context .It was enshrined in the July 1950 Treaty of Peace and Freindship between India and Nepal underlining 'the everlasting peace and freindship' between the two countries. In a speech in Indian Parliament Nehru said; Frankly , we do not like and shall not brook any foreign intereference in Nepal.We recognize Nepal as an independent country and wish her well, but even a child knows that one cannot go to Nepal without passing through India . therefore ,no other country can have as intimate a relationship with Nepal as ours is [Parliament debates 1950].The geographical determination of India's security interests in Nepal led Nehru to build what came to be called as 'special relationship' with Nepal .This involved guarding Nepal's northern

border, modernizing Nepal's defense capabilities and closely coordinating the foreign policy of Nepal. There arose a strong domestic political resistance in Nepal to these Indian moves with a change in Nepalese Monarchy in 1955; from King Tribhuvan to his son King Mahendra, who even as a Crown prince was strongly resentful of India's massive presence in Nepal. He opened up Nepal's external relations and forced India to start winding up specific initiatives in the areas of Nepal's foreign policy and defense matters. King Mahendra allowed China and Pakistan to build their presence in Nepal in order to counteract India's pressures for the restoration of democratic order that he had dismissed on December 15, 1960. King Mahendra's strategy of using China and Pakistan, along with other international players, to ward off political pressures and extract concessions from India continued to be followed by his King Birendra and King Gyanendra. India's security concerns in Nepal have accordingly become more subtle and mundane. They now relate to the use of Nepali territory to the disadvantage of India, not only by China but any third country non-state actors. Issues include the use of Nepali territory due to its unique open border with India by cross-border terrorists from Pakistan, cross border activities of criminal gangs and individuals and anti-social elements like smugglers of both India and Nepal, and the flow of Indian fake currency in India through Nepal. The hijacking of an Indian airlines flight [IC 814] from Kathmandu by Pakistani terrorists eventually ending up in Kandhar [Afghanistan] in December 1999, gave India nightmares. Establishing bilateral measures to ensure that such incidents do not repeat has been a major concern of India since then. India is also constantly battling the flow of Pakistani terrorists and fake Indian currency notes through Nepal. The most important natural resources of Nepal has of course been water. What initially started as harnessing of water resources for mutual benefit of the two countries has now been extended to protecting and promoting India's trade and investment interests in Nepal. India's first water harnessing projects in Nepal were on the Rivers Kosi [1954] and Gandak [1959]. These projects generated considerable controversy as the Nepalese perceived them to be tilted heavily in India's favour. These agreements were revised in 1964 [Gandak] and 1966 [Kosi] to accommodate Nepalese grievances. However, a deep cleavage of distrust was created between the two countries in the area of water harnessing and no major projects could be undertaken until the 1988 signing of the Mahakali Treaty. Not much movement is visible on the implementations of the Mahakali treaty as yet. Similarly, progress in the area of hydro-power development in Nepal has also been dismal. Out of a commercially viable potential of 45,000 MW of hydropower, Nepal has hardly been able to develop 600 MW which is not even enough for Nepali's basic requirements. Instead of contributing to India's power needs, Nepal has periodically been buying power from India. India is Nepal's major trading partner. With a view to reducing its dependence on India for trade, Nepal, during the 1960s and 1970s had politicized its trade policy and a host of incentives were offered to exporters and importers for encouraging trade with third countries. Goods originating from China and Japan [synthetic textiles and stainless steel products] were imported for re-export to India. India now accounts for nearly 60-70 percent of Nepal's total external trade. India also is a major source of Investments in Nepal, accounting for little less than 50 percent of total foreign direct investments into Nepal by 2013.

Political Sociology:

Every society devices ways of governing its members in order to maintain peace and harmony within the society, and to ensure its smooth functioning. The birth of political sociology is by no means an accident or an overnight phenomenon.

Political science is one of the ancient and most enriched subjects within the social sciences. The term 'Sociology' was coined by Auguste Comte(1798-1857), who is considered the founding father of the discipline. The term simply means the study of society.

Sociology is concerned with human behaviour from a societal point of view, politics is considered with only one aspects of the society. Political sociology is a branch of sociology that is mainly concerned with the analysis of the interaction between politics and society.

The scope of political sociology is broad, reflecting on the wide interest in how power and oppression operate over and within social and political areas in society Although diverse, some major themes of interest for political sociology include:

1. Understanding the dynamics of how the state and society exercise and contest power (e.g. power structures, authority, social inequality).
 2. How political values and behaviours shape society and how society's values and behaviours shape politics (e.g. public opinion, ideologies, social movements).
 3. How these operate across formal and informal areas of politics and society (e.g. ministerial cabinet vs. family home).
 4. How socio-political cultures and identities change over time.
- The discipline of political sociology dates back to Aristotle's time. His word for politics or 'politike' is derived from politike episteme which means political science. However, it was developed into an actual academic field in the late 19th century at Columbia University. With the 20th century around, it gained a lot of attention and sociologists were researching the state concerning the historical context and political thought and different approaches of the same. Over time, many sociologists have defined political sociology according to their backgrounds and viewpoint. Some of them include: Robert E. Dowse & John A. Hughes stated that "Political Sociology is the study of political behavior within a sociological perspective of the frame (Das, 2017)."
 - Giovanni Sartori defined it as "a cross-disciplinary breakthrough" that entails the "sociological and politico-logical approaches combined at the point of intersection"
 - Bendix & Lipset stated that "while political science starts with state and examines how it affects the society, political sociology starts with society and examines how it affects state (Das, 2017)."
 - Michael Rush & Phillip Althoff defined that it " examines the links between politics and society, between social behavior and political behavior (Das, 2017)."
 - Lewis Coser opined that it is concerned with social causes and consequences of power distribution between societies and that social and political conflicts lead to allocation of power (Das, 2017)."

- Keith Faulks said that it is "concerned with the relationship between politics and society and the acknowledgment of political actors and social movements function from a wider social context (Das, 2017)."
- A.K. Mukhopadhyaya defined it as " a product of cross-fertilization between sociology and political science that studies the impact of politics on society and the reverse (Das, 2017)."

In other words, political sociology is concerned with how social trends, dynamics, and structures of domination affect formal political processes alongside social forces working together to create change. From this perspective, we can identify three major theoretical frameworks: pluralism, elite or managerial theory, and class analysis, which overlaps with Marxist analysis.

Pluralism sees politics primarily as a contest among competing interest groups. Elite Theory is sometimes called a state-centered approach. It explains what the state does by looking at constraints from organizational structure, semi-autonomous state managers, and interests that arise from the state as a unique, power-concentrating organization. A leading representative is G. William Domhoff. It can be split into two parts: one is the "power structure" or "instrumentalist" approach, whereas another is the structuralist approach. The power structure approach focuses on the question of who rules and its most well-known representative is G. William Domhoff. The structuralist approach emphasizes the way a capitalist economy operates; only allowing and encouraging the state to do some things but not others.

the writings of Max Weber that political sociologists received their intellectual orientation for a more autonomous and more institutional view of politics. As a sociologist, Weber adopted a line of thinking which converged with that of Marx in that he held a comprehensive view of social structure as a basis for analysing politics.

However, he differed from Marx in that he viewed social stratification as encompassing both economic relations and social status—prestige and honour.

Furthermore, in his essay 'Class, Status and Party' Weber indicated that the emergence of modern society implied a historical process of separation of political institutions from economic and social structure. Political institutions, therefore, emerge as worthy of direct sociological inquiry because they are an independent source of societal change.

Political sociology is the intersection of political science and sociology that deals with the circumstances of social groups and their effects on That is, how politics is molded by societies and vice versa. Many famous sociologists such as Marx, Weber, Gramsci, Miliband, Poulantzas, and Jessop have made significant contributions to political sociology. Their work has enabled us to get an understanding of the socio-political structures and their implications which is only possible with the study of political sociology. The analysis of social forces and politics rather than studying the mechanics of politics puts forth the idea that society should come over political institutions. Political sociology in specific has major contemporary relevance, especially with the current socio-political affairs going on all over the world. A prime example is the impeachment of Donald Trump. The dynamics of the republican office did not align with the individuals in society as it did not include all social strata in the policies that were being put out. When external forces, such as individuals in a society are not happy with the governmental system and its decisions, then the external forces have the power to overthrow the government. Donald Trump's inconsiderate remarks of such an intersectional society and not understanding the effect of social forces on politics had gotten him out of the presidency. So, it is important for political sociology to be a major part of academics to be able to apply it to society and help run the social forces and governmental institutions better.

Social Reform Movement in India and Role of Women:

The social reformers believed in the principle of individual liberty, freedom, and equality of all human beings irrespective of sex, color, race, caste, or religion. They attacked a number of traditional, authoritarian, and hierarchical social institutions and launched social reform movements to liberate the Indian women from their shackles.

There are two distinct groups of progressive movements aimed at emancipation of Indian women. Both groups recognized the restrictive and coercive nature of the social customs and institutions. One group opposed these customs and institutions as they contradicted the democratic principles of liberty and freedom. This group was called the Reformers.

The other group demanded the democratization of social relations and removal of harmful practices on the basis of revival of the Vedic society in modern India, which according to them, was democratic. This group came to be known as the Revivalists.

The social reformers believed in the principle of individual liberty, freedom, and equality of all human beings irrespective of sex, color, race, caste, or religion. They attacked a number of traditional, authoritarian, and hierarchical social institutions and launched social reform movements to liberate the Indian women from their shackles. Though many of the reformers were mainly men, the reform movement aimed at improving the status of Indian women.

Raja Ram Mohan Roy was one of the greatest social reformers of India. He was concerned about a number of evil customs plaguing the Indian society. These included "saha marana" or Sati, female infanticide, polygamy, infant marriages, purdah, absence of education among women, and the Devadasi system. Raja Ram Mohan Roy led a crusade against the evil and inhuman practice of Sati, in which a widow was forced to immolate herself on the funeral pyre of her deceased husband. Sati was in practice in many parts of India.

It was accepted and condoned on the grounds that it would secure "Moksha" for widows. It was also felt that a woman could be led astray if she continued to live after the death of her husband. This feeling was disproved by Raja, who felt that a woman could be led astray even during her husband's lifetime.

In fact, after the death of her husband, a woman is under the protection of her family, so she can be watched over with greater vigilance. Raja strongly refuted the contention that Sati was a free, voluntary act of the widow, and called it a monstrous lie. Raja's arguments and anti-Sati activities led Lord William Bentinck to legislate for the prohibition of Sati, which resulted in the passing of the Prohibition of Sati Act in 1829.

Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar was another great social reformer who sought to improve the condition of widows by legalizing widow remarriages. Since he felt that his own life should set an example for others to follow, he took a pledge that he would allow his daughters to study, and married all his daughters after they were 16 years of age. He also pledged that if any of his daughters were widowed and they wanted to get remarried, he would allow them to do so. He was also against the prevalent custom of polygamy.

Justice Mahadev Govind Ranade was instrumental in laying down the foundation of an all Indian organization to carry on the struggle for social reform—the Indian National Social Conference. This

organization was the first national institution to carry on collectively, in an organized way, and on a national scale the social reform movement.

He took up the problems of widow remarriages and was an active member of a society, which worked for widow remarriages. In fact, the Shankaracharya had excommunicated him for attending the first widow remarriage in 1869. Ranade worked toward educating women. He and his wife started a school for girls in 1884.

Maharishi Karve showed great concern for the plight of widows and the problem of widow remarriages. He revived the Widow Remarriage Association and started the Hindu Widow's Home. Karve also made efforts to improve the education levels of girls as well as widows.

He created the Kane Women's University. His efforts in the movement to liberate the Indian women are of great significance, and the extensive and successful work brought about a change in the attitudes of people towards widows.

In order to set an example for others, he married a widow after the death of his first wife. As a result of the social reform movement, a number of institutions and organizations were established. The institutions started by the reformers covered the whole country with their activities.

The institutions established during this period are as follows:

The Gujarat Vernacular Society: This social institute was established in 1848. The aim of this institute was to decrease the large-scale illiteracy and superstitious beliefs that was a feature of the Gujarati society. It was associated with all social reform activities concerning women in Gujarat.

The society worked for the cause of women through education. It started a number of co-educational schools. It published literature on women's issues in the vernacular press. It tried to organize elocution competitions and provide a platform for women to talk about their issues and problems.

The Deccan Education Society: This society was formed in 1884. The society started girls' schools and encouraged education of women in Maharashtra.

The Ramakrishna Mission: The Ramakrishna Mission was established in 1897. It set up homes for widows and schools for girls. It also gave refuge to invalid and destitute women, ante- and post-natal care for women, and provided training for women to become midwives.

The Arya Samaj: Though started as a revivalist organization, the Arya Samaj emphasized women's education. Girls received instructions in home science and domestic affairs. Fine arts were also included in the curriculum for girls. It also included instructions in religion and religious ceremonies for women. It provided shelter to distressed women in times of difficulty.

The Hingne Women's Education Institute: This institute was started in 1896 to meet the demand of women, whether married, unmarried or widowed. By imparting training to young unmarried girls in various fields, it tried to prevent early marriages. It tried to impart skills and education to married women to enable them to carry on domestic life efficiently and economically. It also gave training to widows to make them economically independent.

S.N.D.T. Women's University: This university was established to meet the needs for higher education for women in such a manner that women's requirements were satisfied. It provided education in the mother tongue. It was established exclusively for the education of women.

The Seva Sadan: Seva Sadan was started in 1908, with a view to bringing together enlightened women of different communities who desired to work for the upliftment of backward women. Its main activity was to provide social and medical aid to women and children of the poor classes, irrespective of their caste or creed. It also established a home for destitute and distressed women and children.

It also provided training to poor women in domestic crafts to enable them to earn a livelihood. The Seva Sadan in Poona was established to educate women in religious, literary, medical, and industrial subjects. It also emphasized on all-round development of a woman's personality. It stressed on economic self-sufficiency of women.

The Indian National Social Conference: Some of the activities taken up by this organization were—to deal with disabilities of child marriages, sale of young girls, the practice of polygamy, and the issue of widow remarriages. It also took up the problem of access to education for women.

All India Women's Conference: The primary focus of this organization was women's education as well as social reforms. Its aim was to work actively for the general progress and welfare of women and children. It passed various resolutions in different sessions in order to elevate the status of women.

It also dealt with the evils of early marriages, polygamy, and prohibition of divorce. It advocated complete equality for women in property matters. It sought to improve working conditions for women. It also agitated against immoral traffic in women and children, and against the inhuman custom of Devadas.