Political Science

Standard Twelve

UNHRC

The Constitution of India

Chapter IV A

Fundamental Duties

ARTICLE 51A

Fundamental Duties- It shall be the duty of every citizen of India—

(a)   to abide by the Constitution and respect its ideals and institutions, the National Flag and the National Anthem;

(b)   to cherish and follow the noble ideals which inspired our national struggle for freedom;

(c)   to uphold and protect the sovereignty, unity and integrity of India;

(d)   to defend the country and render national service when called upon to do so;

(e)   to promote harmony and the spirit of common brotherhood amongst all the people of India transcending religious, linguistic and regional or sectional diversities, to renounce practices derogatory to the dignity of women;

(f)   to value and preserve the rich heritage of our composite culture;

(g)   to protect and improve the natural environment including forests, lakes, rivers and wild life and to have compassion for living creatures;

(h)   to develop the scientific temper, humanism and the spirit of inquiry and reform;

(i)   to safeguard public property and to abjure violence;

(j)   to strive towards excellence in all spheres of individual and collective activity so that the nation constantly rises to higher levels of endeavour and achievement;

(k)   who is a parent or guardian to provide opportunities for education to his child or, as the case may be, ward between the age of six and fourteen years.

Political Science

Standard Twelve

Maharashtra State Bureau of Textbook Production and Curriculum Research, Pune.

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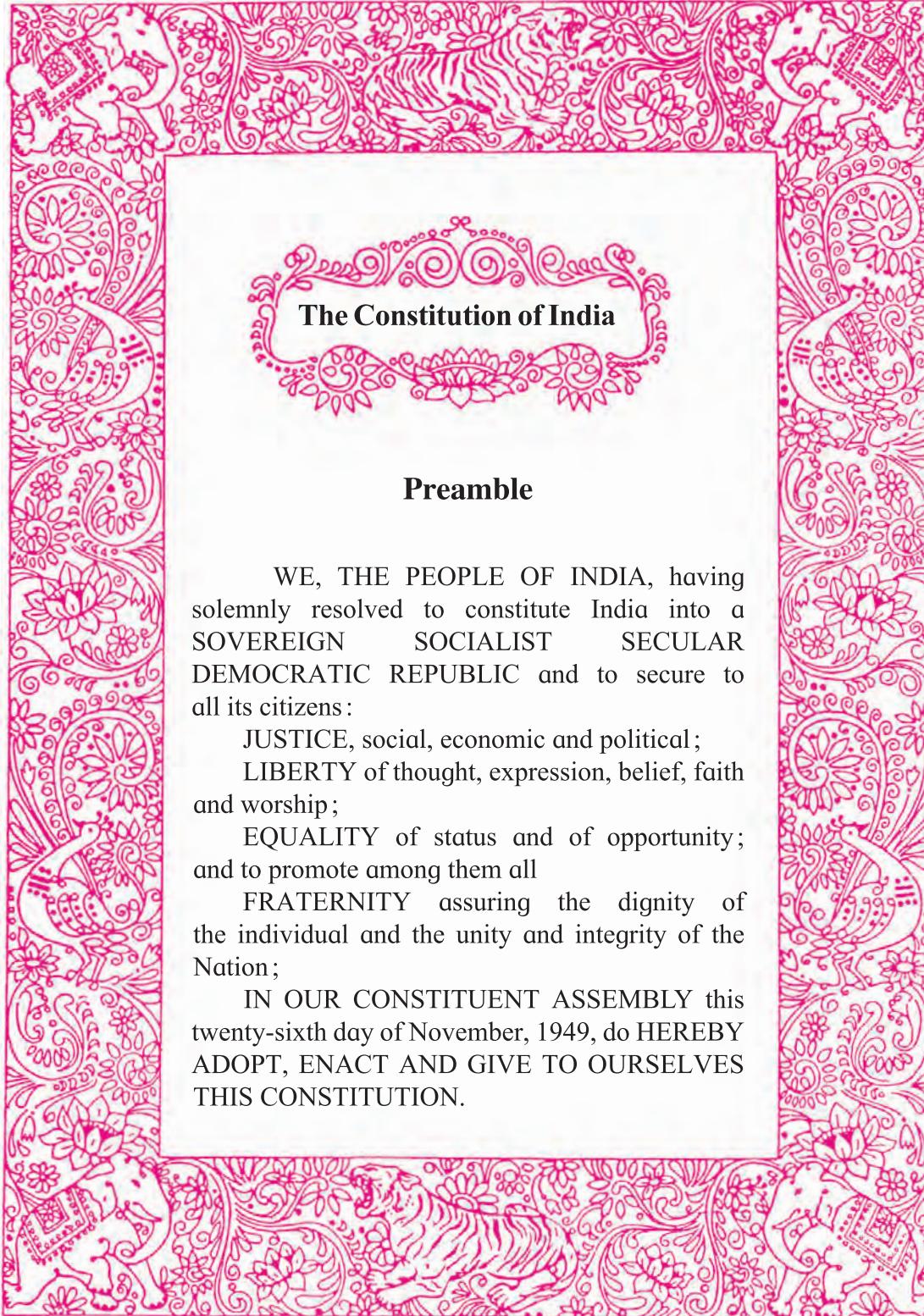
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The Constitution of India

Preamble

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

JUSTICE, social, economic and political ;

LIBERTY of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship ;

EQUALITY of status and of opportunity ; and to promote among them all

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

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

NATIONAL ANTHEM

Jana-gana-mana-adhināyaka jaya hē
        Bhārata-bhāgya-vidhātā,

Panjāba-Sindhu-Gujarāta-Marāthā
        Drāvida-Utkala-Banga

Vindhya-Himāchala-Yamunā-Gangā
        uchchala-jaladhi-taranga

Tava subha nāmē jāgē, tava subha āsisa māgē,
        gāhē tava jaya-gāthā,

Jana-gana-mangala-dāyaka jaya hē
        Bhārata-bhāgya-vidhātā,

Jaya hē, Jaya hē, Jaya hē,
        Jaya jaya jaya, jaya hē.

PLEDGE

India is my country. All Indians are my brothers and sisters.

I love my country, and I am proud of its rich and varied heritage. I shall always strive to be worthy of it.

I shall give my parents, teachers and all elders respect, and treat everyone with courtesy.

To my country and my people, I pledge my devotion. In their well-being and prosperity alone lies my happiness.

Introduction

Dear Students,

The subject of Political Science provides you with a broad understanding of the power structures and the system of government. There are various dimensions to this system. The XIth Standard textbook on Political Science introduced you to the various aspects of Political Science. This included the various concepts that are the core of Political Science, the various governmental systems, the system of administration and international relations. Now, in the XIIth standard we move ahead from what you have learned in the last year.

The XIIth standard textbook looks at the contemporary world since 1991. This includes the various events that have taken place in the world since 1991 and introduces you to the various conceptual debates that have taken place in the context of globalisation. Issues like environment, sustainable development, poverty and gender are some of the humanitarian issues that we need to address. These, along with the challenges to national integration are dealt with, both as issues of concern and their relevance in the Indian context. How does the government address all these issues? This is looked at in the chapter on Good Governance. Finally, this book provides you with a survey of India's foreign policy.

Standard XI and XII together, will provide you with a comprehensive introduction to the subject of Political Science. It will enable you to understand the subject and provide the necessary tools with which to analyse the events that are happening around you. It would also be useful as a basic guideline when you attempt various competitive examinations.

The boxes providing additional information, various activities provided in the textbook and the informative articles in the Q.R.Code will certainly make the process of self-study easier, interesting and encourage active participation.

The subject committee, study group, authors and illustrators have taken pains to ensure that you get the maximum benefit from the material provided. The book also provides you with information on various website links to gain more information.

Your suggestions and recommendations are most welcome. We will certainly take all those into consideration.

We hope that the students, parents and teachers welcome this book.

(Vivek Uttam Gosavi)
Director
Maharashtra State Bureau of Texbook
Production and Curriculum Research, Pune

Pune
Date : 21st February 2020

About the textbook….

In the XIth Standard you were introduced to the various areas of Political Science. You have studied some of the key concepts in Political Science, the working of the Government, the administrative machinery and international relations. The XII standard book will introduce you to some new areas of Political Science.

The book starts with a survey of the global changes since 1991. The first chapter introduces you to some of the important trends in global politics since the disintegration of the Soviet Union. This Chapter examines the broad trends in global politics since 1991.

The next two chapters focus on some of the key concepts and issues that have emerged in the post 1991 era. Chapter II focuses on globalisation. The book introduces you to the various dimensions of globalisation. These include the political, economic, ideological, technological and socio-cultural aspects. It also focuses on the implications of globalisation to the Indian political and economic system. Chapter III looks at humanitarian issues like environment and sustainable development, poverty and gender.

The next two chapters focus on the issues that concern contemporary India. The thrust is on the role of the State in addressing these new issues. Chapter IV focuses on the issues of national integration and the challenges that the Indian State faces in this context. Good governance and citizen centric government is the focus of the role of the State today. Chapter V deals with how the government can deliver various services to the people through good governance.

Finally, Chapter VI focuses on India's role in the world. It looks at how Indian foreign policy has evolved over the years and the issues that India faces in its relations with the world at large.

The XIth and XIIth standard books, together, would provide you with both, a foundation of the discipline of Political Science and an introduction to some of the contemporary debates that are taking place in India and the world. They would help you to understand the subject better and prepare you for higher studies in the area of social science and humanities. They would also provide you with a ground work for attempting various competitive examinations.

We hope that you find both these books useful for your further studies. We wish you all the best in your future careers.

Competency Statement
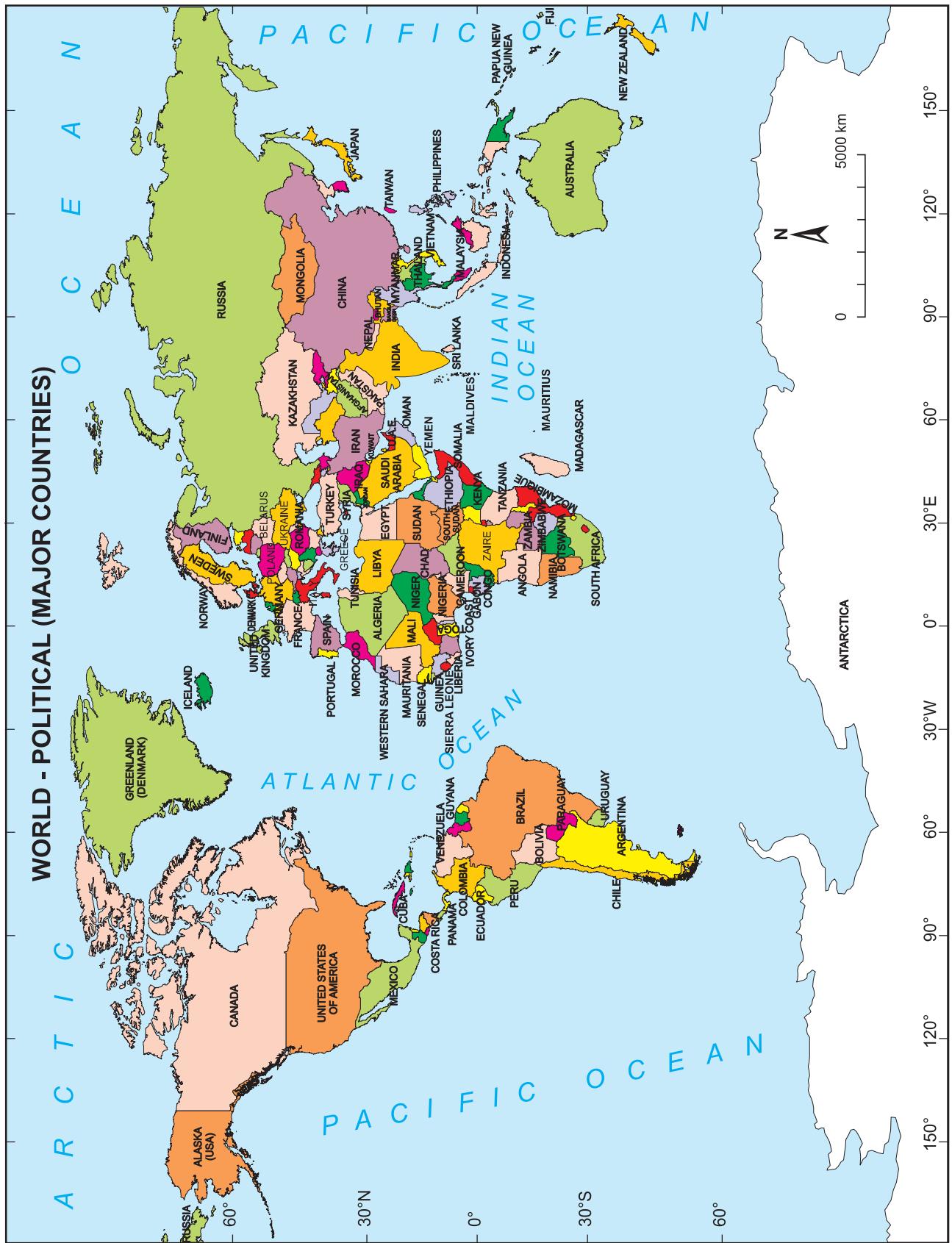
No.	UNIT	COMPETENCY
1.	The World since 1991	• Understand the developments in international relations in the post-cold war era. • Understand the growing importance of humanitarian issues, problems of terrorism and the rise of multipolarity and regionalism.
2.	Globalisation	• Develop the ability to understand and analyse the various changes that have taken place in the age of globalisation in the areas of economics; politics; science and technology and society and culture.
3.	Humanitarian Issues	• Introduce the students to contemporary issues like environment and sustainability, poverty and development and gender issues. • Develop the ability to analyse these contemporacy issues in the Indian context.
4.	National Integration	• Inculcate values of national identity and national integration. • Understand the various challenges to peace, stability and national integration faced by India.
5.	Good Governance	• Understand the rethinking in traditional approaches to public administration. • Understand the various dimensions of good governance in India.
6.	India and the World	• Understand the evolution of Indian foreign policy. • Develop the ability to analyse India's relation with various countries.

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PACIFIC OCEAN

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ALASKA (USA)

MEXICO

CUBA

COSTA RICA

PANAMA

VENEZUELA

GUYANA

COLOMBIA

ECUADOR

PERU

BRAZIL

BOLIVIA

PARAGUAY

CHILE

ARGENTINA

URUGUAY

RUSSIA

NORWAY

SWEDEN

FINLAND

UNITED KINGDOM

DENMARK

BELARUS

UKRAINE

POLAND

GERMANY

FRANCE

SPAIN

PORTUGAL

SERBIA

ROMANIA

GREECE

TURKEY

SYRIA

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SRI LANKA

MALDIVES

MONGOLIA

CHINA

MYANMAR

THAILAND

VIETNAM

MALAYSIA

INDONESIA

PHILIPPINES

TAIWAN

JAPAN

PAPUA NEW GUINEA

AUSTRALIA

NEW ZEALAND

FIJI

ANTARCTICA

N

5000 km

0   90°   120°   150°

150°   120°   90°   60°   30°W   0°   30°E   60°   90°   120°   150°

60°   30°N   0°   30°S   60°

ASIA - POLITICAL
(MAJOR COUNTRIES)

1. The World since 1991

In the XIth standard we studied international developments from 1945 to 1991. In this chapter we will look at the changes that have taken place in the post 1991 era.

In November 1989, the Berlin Wall fell and after that the process of Disintegration of Soviet Union started. Eventually, in 1991, Cold War ended with the disintegration of Soviet Union. It also ended the East- West division of the world that was based on the rivalry of the United States and the Soviet Union.

The developments in the post-cold war period can be analyzed through five major consequences:

(i) End of Cold War and rise of new states : The end of Cold War led to the end of an international order dominated by the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union. It also saw the emergence of new states after the disintegration of the Soviet Union.

(ii) Emergence of Unipolarity : The Cold War between United States and the Soviet Union came to end signaling the end of bipolarity. This led to the emergence of a unipolar world order dominated by the United States.

(iii) Human Rights and Humanitarian intervention : There was an increasing awareness about human rights and also a rise in intervention for humanitarian purposes.

(iv) Terrorism : The nature of terrorism changed after the 11 September 2001 attacks (also known as 9/11 attacks) against the United States.

(v) Multipolarity and Regionalism : This phase primarily saw the rise of China and India, the growing importance of the

Indo-Pacific region and also the rise of Russia under Vladimir Putin. These developments and the growth of regionalism brought in multipolarity in the world order. Regions and regional organisations started to become more important.

End of Cold War and Rise of New States

We can see two important trends in international relations since the East European revolution of 1989. The first is the assertion of the concept of ethnic nationalism based on right to self-determination and the second is the end of bipolarity. Bipolarity existed because of the existence of the two superpowers, United States and the Soviet Union. The world was divided into two centers of power. The disintegration of the Soviet Union ended one of the centers of power. Therefore, the disintegration of the Soviet Union meant the end of bipolarity in the world.

The revolution of the East European states was a revolution of growing aspirations of the middle class. They desired more freedom and economic well-being. They rose against the communist governments that were controlled by the Soviet Union and emerged as free democratic states. Even within the Soviet Union the movement for more political and economic freedom led to the various states demanding more autonomy and eventually independence. Meanwhile, the

ethnic identity of the various people of the region became stronger. This led to the demand for the creation of independent states based on ethnic identity.

Here are some examples of this trend:

- In Europe the pattern of creation of new states can be seen as follows:
  - Czechoslovakia split into two states, Czech Republic and Slav Republic.
  - Yugoslavia split into Croatia, Slovenia, Serbia, Bosnia Herzegovina, North Macedonia, Montenegro,
- In case of the former Soviet Union the new states were as follows:
  - Armenia, Moldova, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan, Belarus, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Ukraine, Kazakhstan and Russia.

- The trend of creation of new states on the basis of ethnic nationalism based on right to self-determination was also seen in other parts of the world. Some of the new countries that emerged as independent states were:
  - East Timor (independent from Indonesia),
  - Eretria (independent from Ethiopia),
  - South Sudan (independent from Sudan).
- This trend of demand for independence on the basis of ethnic nationalism is also seen in the following cases:
  - Catalonia (wants independence from Spain)
  - Kosovo (wants independence from Serbia. Its independence has been recognised by some countries of Europe)
  - Chechnya (wants independence from Russia)

Europe

Countries of the former Soviet Union

Countries of the former Soviet Union

Towards a Unipolar World

In 1990, Iraq went in for a war against Kuwait and established control over its territory. There was a global reaction against it and the matter was discussed in the United Nations. The United States took the initiative and led a multinational force against Iraq. The war ended with Kuwait becoming free from Iraqi control. The then American President George H. Bush considered this as a moral victory and used the term 'New World Order' to describe the nature of the global situation. This American action had received global support, including from the Soviet Union, China, countries of the NATO, Israel, and the Arab States including Saudi Arabia. The Soviet Union which was facing internal problems disintegrated in 1991.

There wasn't much ideological opposition against the United States and eventually the meaning of the term 'New World Order' which implied American dominance and leadership in matters of security was accepted at the global level. This was the first expression of the unipolar world order.

Map of Kuwait and Iraq

American political commentator Francis Fukuyama introduced the concept of 'End of History'. He believed that after the fall of communism in Soviet

Francis Fukuyama

Union the socialist political, economic and social system had come to its end and that the world would now have liberal democratic systems.

The United States emerged as a dominant country. American dominance had political and economic dimensions. Politically, the American model of liberal-democratic governance was readily accepted and adopted by several post-communist states of Eastern Europe and elsewhere. The concept of good governance was linked to democracy. In economic sphere, socialist system of economy was given up by most of the countries.

One of the other aspects about American domination was the use of American 'soft power'. Soft power is when you influence the other countries without the use of military force. The influence is spread through economic, social, cultural and other similar means.

What is a Liberal Democracy?

Liberal democracy is a form of representative democracy. Liberal democracy is currently one of the dominant political ideologies in the world. It gives importance to individual liberty. A liberal democracy is characterized by presence of a few important features:

- Universal suffrage
- Free and fair elections
- Competitive party politics
- Rule of law

American academician Joseph Nye differentiates between two types of powers, namely hard power and soft power. Hard power is 'the ability to get others to

Joseph Nye

act in ways that are contrary to their preferences and wills'. This is the ability to coerce, through threats and inducements. On the contrary, soft power is the ability to get 'others to want the outcomes that you want', and more particularly 'the ability to achieve goals through attraction rather than coercion'.

Some Examples of American Soft Power

- **Educational exchange programs :** The United States is known as a student friendly nation. In last few years, number of international students studying in the United States has increased substantially.

- **Internet :** Propagation of democracy and freedom of speech through internet has been a soft power of United States.

- **Food chains :** Food chains in the United States have a global recognition. Few examples are McDonald's, Subway, Pizza Hut, Burger King, etc.

Human Rights and Humanitarian interventions :

The process of disintegration of states and the creation of new states was not always peaceful. In Yugoslavia, for example, there was a lot of bloodshed in Bosnia Herzegovina between different ethnic groups. Conflicts also occurred in Chechnya, East

United Nations
Peacekeeping

The United Nations does not have its own army. But in order to maintain international peace and security member states of the United Nations have created a peacekeeping force out of their own military resources. This force is known as UN Peacekeepers. Peacekeepers are sent to conflict-prone or war zones based upon UN Security Council recommendations often when ceasefires are established.

UN Peacekeeping Force

Timor and Eritrea. It is in response to such situations that people started to be concerned about the violation of human rights. The United Nations, an important global organisation would intervene in countries to prevent conflict from escalating. This is one of the main tasks of UN Peacekeeping.

In the post-cold war era, the United Nations continued to intervene in conflict situations to bring about a peaceful resolution of the dispute. But now the rationale for intervention was not just to stop the ongoing war but also prevent the reoccurrence of conflicts in future, maintain peace and protect the human rights of the affected people. The United Nations intervened in Cambodia, Somalia and Yugoslavia for this purpose.

The increasing awareness about human rights and their protection in international law gave rise to a new phenomenon for protection of rights in the form of 'humanitarian intervention'. The 1990s are sometimes seen as the golden age of humanitarian intervention.

Human Rights in the Post-Cold War World

Since 1990, there was a dramatic rise in the number of states ratifying the six main human rights conventions and covenants. Over 170 countries participated in the 1993 World Conference on Human Rights, which met in Vienna where they reaffirmed their commitment to protect human rights.

This was followed by the creation of the office of UN High Commissioner for Human Rights. Its main task was to coordinate the UN human rights initiatives and establish universal respect for human rights.

NGOs have been a crucial factor in the 1990s spread of human rights ideas. Organisations such as International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), Medicins Sans Frontiers and Oxfam work directly in conflict zones and have campaigned to promote the observance of human rights treaties and humanitarian law.

Humanitarian role played by India

United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC) February 1992 to September 1993 : India sent military and police forces in Cambodia to maintain peace and restore human rights. Maintenence of law and order, conduct of free and fair elections, civil administration were other tasks undertaken. India played an important role in repatriation and resettlement of the Cambodian refugees during the transitional period.

UN Operations in Somalia (UNOSOM – II) March 1993 to December 1994 : India played an active role in United Nation's campaign in Somalia. The Indian contingent of the UN Peacekeepers successfully provided humanitarian relief. It dug a large number of wells, constructed schools and mosques, and ran mobile dispensaries and relief camps, which provided medical as well as veterinary care. It also carried out rehabilitation of thousands of refugees and assisted in their repatriation.

Indian Police Officer in Cambodia

Indian Army Doctors in Somalia

Terrorism

The attack on the New York Trade Centre and the Pentagon in Washington D.C. on 11 September 2001 (popularly referred to as 9/11 attack) brought in a new form of terrorism in the world. The concept of terrorism is not new. Terrorism has been defined as the use of violence or the threat to use violence with an intention to create panic in the society and pursue political, religious or ideological goals. Generally, government institutions and officials are primary targets.

Terrorist Attack of 11 September 2001

The first instance of modern-day terrorism is considered to be the attack on the Israeli Olympic team at Munich in 1972 by the Palestinians. Since then terrorist organisations and groups have indulged in airplane

The 'War on Terror' is a military campaign launched by the American President George W. Bush in response to the 9/11 terrorist attacks by al-Qaeda. The War on Terror includes the Afghanistan War (2001)

George W. Bush

and the War in Iraq (2003). The US-led military offensive was supported by Britain, Turkey, Germany, Italy, Netherlands, France and Poland.

hijackings, bombings and assassinations of political leaders. Traditional forms of terrorism mainly targeted institutions of the state. The terrorists usually fought for the rights of some specific people. The terrorist activity was usually associated with separatist movements.

Modern day terrorism is different in several ways. The terrorists today are not fighting for a specific group in a specific geographic area. The terrorist organisations are motivated and inflamed by an abstract religious ideology, the fight is for abstract goals and the operations are global in nature. After the 9/11 attacks, similar attacks took place in Bali (2002), Madrid (2004), London (2005) and Mumbai (2008).

Multipolarity and Regionalism

The world order was dominated by the United States in the post-cold war era. The American military and economic might was unchallenged during this time. This made it the only superpower. However, economic rise and military capabilities are not the only criteria to become and remain a superpower. It is the amalgamation of both hard power and soft power that shapes a country to become a world power. While hard power relies on coercion, military force and economic

sanctions, soft power includes social, economic, cultural influence, values and tradition. In recent times, the dominant position of the United States has been directly or indirectly challenged. For instance, the economic and regional integration in Europe through the creation of European Union (EU); the rise of Asia through the presence of China and Japan followed by India in the global world order; the military resurgence of Russia and the growing importance of new regional organisations have come to define a shift from a unipolar to a multipolar world order.

China has posed a formidable challenge to the unipolar world led by the United States. China's rise to global prominence can be attributed to its rapid economic progress since the introduction of economics reforms in the mid-1970s under Deng Xiaoping's leadership. The most dramatic phase of which began only in the 1990s.

China has increased its sphere of influence through its ambitious economic projects such as One Belt One Road and China Pakistan Economic Corridor and aims to create a sphere of influence in Central and East Asian regions. Furthermore, Chinese opening to Africa shows that their dream goes beyond neighbouring countries. Militarily, China is ambitiously building up its naval and air power in order to back up its claims in the South China Sea.

Can you find out?

What is One Belt One Road and China Pakistan Economic Corridor policy of China?

Russia has made substantial progress in oil and gas production. Russia has emerged as an energy superpower. Economic stability has renewed the sense of national pride leading to military assertiveness in recent times. Russia continues to influence Central and Eastern Europe and it is a founding member of the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO).

Today the Indo-Pacific region is gaining importance. Economic growth in Asia, led by China and other countries like India and Japan; conflicts in the South China Sea; the importance of ASEAN and American interest in the Pacific region has contributed to the importance of this region. India is likely to play an important role in this region in the future.

Regionalism in the Post-Cold War Era

Regionalism is an important issue in international relations. Countries come together to either create or join some regional organisations. These organisations may be based on geographic proximity or on common political, ideological, economic etc. concerns. While geographic linkages are important, sometimes some functional and infrastructural issues become the basis of regional cooperation. These can be in areas like transport and communication, energy, health, etc. The process of regionalism usually begins with a political dialogue amongst the participants. Similar ideological perspectives or economic concerns may help the process of dialogue. Such a dialogue may lead to the creation of an organisation.

In the 1940s and 1950s regionalism in Asia and Africa focused on a political dialogue between countries. In Europe the focus was on economic cooperation. For example, Europe created the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC, 1951), the European Economic Community (EEC, 1957) and the European Atomic Energy Agency (Euratom, 1958).

In 1960s the concept of regional cooperation spread to Asia and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) was created in 1967. In the 1960s we saw the growth of regional organisations that focused on economic issues. Some regional organisations like the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) focused on security issues. In the post-cold war era, the regional organisations started to focus on issues of trade. We see the creation of Trade Blocs during this period.

What is a Trade Bloc?

A trade bloc is created when a group of nations make special agreements regarding their economic relationships with each other. The agreements generally focus on the relaxation or elimination of trade barriers. The most common types of trade barriers are tariffs (taxes on imports) and quotas (limits on the quantities of various imports).

Let us take a survey of some of the important regional organisations in the post-cold war era:

(i) European Union (EU)

The Second World War followed by the Cold War gave rise to a constant instability which has always motivated the European countries to come together. It is on this basis that European Union was established. The European Union began as an organisation which wanted to foster economic cooperation. The idea being that countries that trade with one another become economically interdependent and so more likely to avoid conflict. The European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) and European Economic Community (EEC) were created for this purpose in 1951 and 1957 respectively.

Later these various organisations merged together and were referred to as the European Community. In 1973 an agreement was signed to create a European Parliament. The process of creating a single market for the European Union began in the 1980s and was completed in 1993. The 'Maastricht' Treaty was signed on 7th February 1992 to create the European Union (EU). This treaty led to the expansion of spheres of cooperation which now included internal affairs, judicial

THE EURO ZONE

EU member in the euro zone
EU member not in the euro zone

SWEDEN
FINLAND
NORWAY
ESTONIA
LATVIA
DENMARK
LITHUANIA
IRELAND
UNITED KINGDOM
GERMANY
POLAND
BELGIUM
LUXEMBURG
CZECH REP.
SLOVAKIA
AUSTRIA
HUNGARY
FRANCE
SLOVENIA
ROMANIA
MONACO
ITALY
BULGARIA
ANDORRA
PORTUGAL
SPAIN
N
GREECE
CYPRUS

0   1000 km

Eurozone Countries
(Source : https://europa.eu/european-union/about-
eu/euro/which-countries-use-euro-en)
(Date : 5 Nov. 2020)

The creation of the Schengen Area is one of the greatest achievements of the EU. The Schengen Agreement – covering the abolishment of the internal borders between countries was signed in 1985. The Agreement was signed by the five European countries France, Germany, Belgium, Luxemburg, and Netherlands, in Schengen, a small village in Southern Luxemburg. The Schengen visa is the most common visa for Europe. The Schengen Area is an area

matters, foreign and defence policies. The treaty led to the creation of an economic union which had a common currency, the Euro. The euro (€) is the official currency of 19 out of 28 countries of the EU. These countries are collectively known as the Eurozone.

The process of European cooperation began as a purely economic union and evolved into an organisation dealing with various policy areas like climate change, environment, health, external relations and security, and migration.

Can you find out?

Who are the members of the European Union?
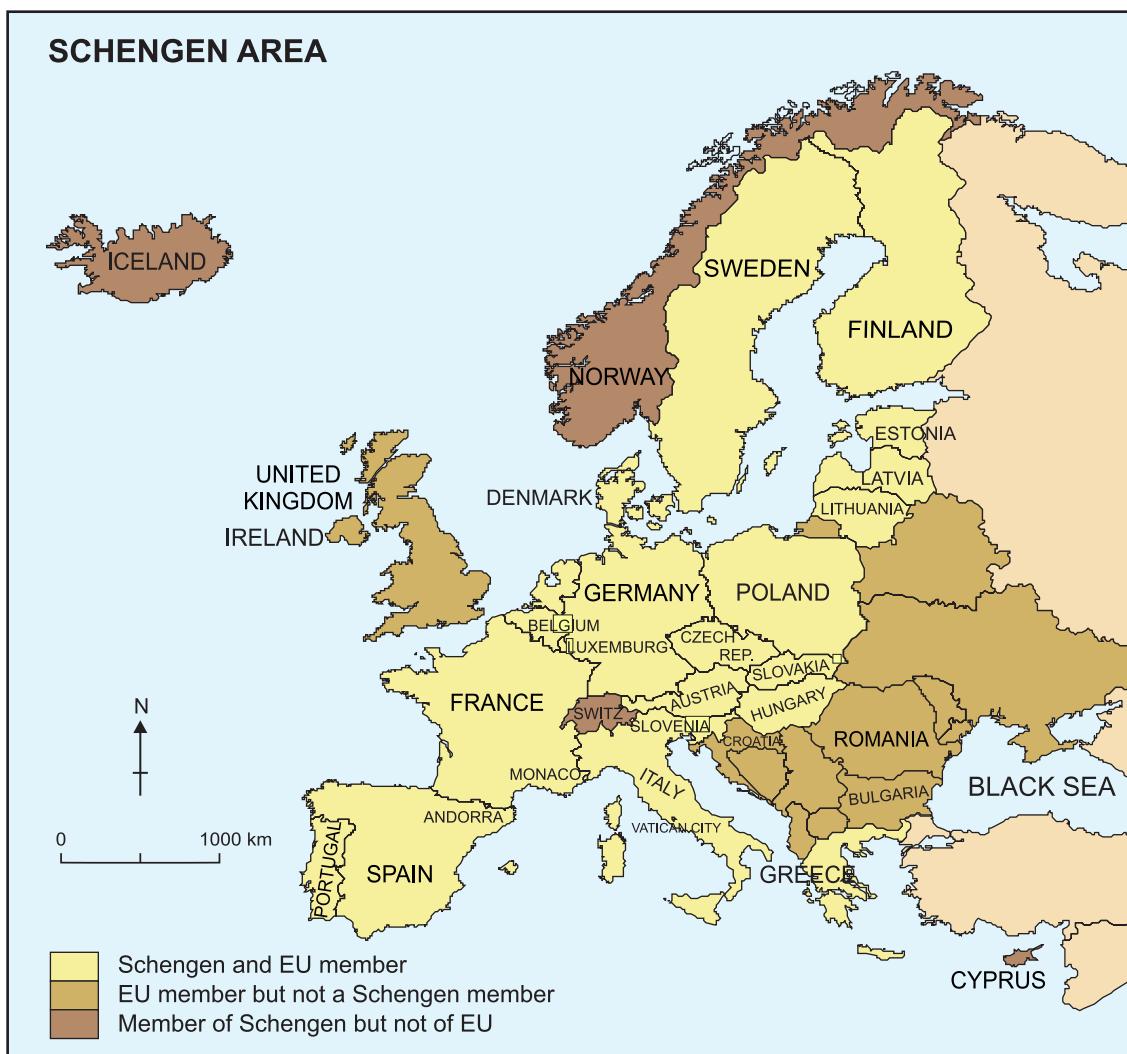
Do you know?

The Euro : The Euro was launched in the world money market on 1st January 1999; it became the unit of exchange for all of the EU states except the United Kingdom, Sweden, and Denmark. The geographic and economic region that consists of all the EU countries that have fully incorporated the Euro as their national currency is known as the Eurozone.

without internal borders. In this area, nationals of EU and even non-EU nationals including business people and tourists can travel from country to country freely and easily. They do not have to go through checks and controls when they pass from one country to another. Today 22 out of the 28 countries of the European Union are part of the Schengen Area.

Schengen Area
(Source : https://europa.eu/eruopean-union/about-eu/countries_en#countries-using-the-euro)
(Date : 5 Nov. 2020)

Do you know?

What is the Schengen Visa?

A Schengen visa allows eligible individuals to travel freely within the 26 participating Schengen Area countries. This means travelers in Europe will not be subject to border checks at internal Schengen borders and enter various Schengen countries directly.

How does the European Union work: There are four key institutions which work together to run the EU - the European Commission, the European Parliament, the European Council and the European Court of Justice.

The European Commission : The Commission is the executive-bureaucratic arm of the EU. It is mainly responsible for drawing up proposals for new European legislation, and it implements the policy decisions of the European Parliament and the Council of the EU.

The European Parliament : The European Parliament is composed of 751 Members, who are directly elected every five years. It is a body entrusted with legislative, supervisory, and budgetary responsibilities.

The European Council : The structure of the European Council consists of the presidents or prime ministers of each member state, accompanied by their foreign ministers, and a full-time President of the European Council. The European Council meets four times a year and provides strategic leadership for the EU.

The European Court of Justice : The ECJ interprets, and adjudicates on, EU law and treaties. As EU law has primacy over the national law of EU member states.

Discuss the case of Brexit.

In 2016, the people of United Kingdom (UK) voted to leave the European Union in a referendum. The UK formally ended its membership of the EU at midnight of Friday, 31 January 2020. This is called Brexit. Brexit is an assertion of British sense of nationalism. This shows that the concept of State very much relevant. Have a discussion in class in this context on the basis of the following questions:

Why did Britain want to exit from the European Union?

Does the vote in favour of Brexit go against the concept of globalisation?

(ii) SAARC

SAARC was formed in 1985 at Dhaka. Originally, SAARC had seven members, namely India, Bangladesh, Pakistan, Nepal, Bhutan, Sri Lanka and Maldives. In 2007, Afghanistan was added as the eighth member. Meanwhile, China, USA, EU along with 9 other nations have been conferred with the 'observer status'. The main aim of SAARC was to establish a dialogue in South Asia. With this context, South Asian Association for Preferential Trade Arrangement (SAPTA) came into existence in 1993. Later in 2006, SAARC's free trade arrangement was activated through South Asian Association Free Trade Area (SAFTA) which replaced the earlier regime of SAPTA.

(iii) BIMSTEC

The Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-Sectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation (BIMSTEC) is a regional organisation founded in 1997. It comprises of seven

Member States lying in the littoral and adjacent areas of the Bay of Bengal. Among them, five are from South Asia, including Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Nepal, Sri Lanka, and two from Southeast Asia, including Myanmar and Thailand. BIMSTEC acts as a bridge between South and South East Asia and mainly aims to facilitate rapid economic development and promote collaboration on matters of common interests.

(iv) Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa (BRICS)

BRICS is an association of major emerging national economies created in 2009. Its original members were Brazil, Russia, India and China. South Africa joined in 2010. BRICS members are all developing countries or newly industrialized countries. They have large, fast-growing economies and significant influence on regional and global affairs. All of them are members of G20.

(v) Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO)

SCO is a political, economic and security organisation, which was founded in Shanghai by the leaders of China, Russia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan in the year 2001. India and Pakistan joined in 2016. In the past few years SCO has focussed on counter terrorism. The SCO's primary focus is on maintaining peace and stability in the region through political dialogue and economic cooperation among member states. SCO also encourages effective cooperation in trade, research and technology.

(vi) G-20

G-20 is an international forum established in 1999 for governments and central bank governors from 19 countries and the European Union. It was formed with a primary aim to discuss policies relating to financial stability. Since 2008, the G-20 Summits are attended by the heads of the government or head of the states along with their finance ministers and foreign ministers. Developed countries like United States, Britain, Germany, France, Japan among others are a part of G-20. It thus, acts as a platform for discussion between the developed and developing countries. India plays an active part in G-20.

We have seen some of the important trends in global politics since 1991. These trends indicate the major changes that have taken place in the world since the disintegration of the Soviet Union. In the next chapter we will see how these trends can be understood at a conceptual level.

See the following website for additional information:

(1) College of Engineering, (COEP) Pune, History Club Lecture, ''१९९१ नंतरचे जग आणि प्रवाह'' – डॉ.श्रीकांत परांजपे World After 1991" - Dr. Shrikant Paranjpe. (On You Tube)

(2) India and United Nations Peacekeeping Operations, By Lt Gen Satish Nambiar (Retd) January 26, 2014, Media Centre, Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India
https://mea.gov.in/articles-in-indian-media.htm?dtl/22776/India+and+United+Nations+Peacekeeping+Operations

Q.1 (A) Choose the correct alternative and complete the following statements.
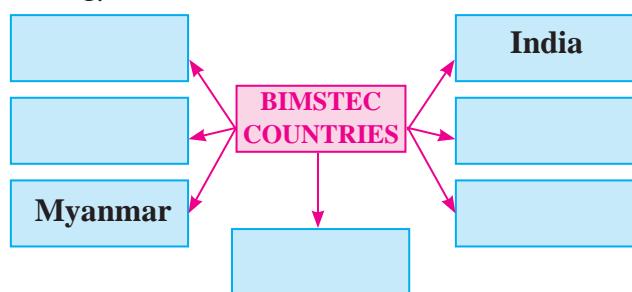
1. The main aim of .... was to establish a dialogue in South Asia. (SAARC, BRICS, G20, SCO)

2. Catalonia wants independence from .... (Indonesia, Serbia, Spain, Russia)

(B) State the appropriate concept for the given statement.

1. When a state influences other states without the use of military force.

2. A state with a leading position in international politics with abilities to influence global politics and fulfill its own interest.

Q.2 (A) Complete the concept maps.

1.

2.

Q.2 (B) Observe the maps in textbook and answer the following questions.

(1) Name any four countries in the Schengen area. (Page 10)

(2) Name any two non-European Union countries within Schengen area. (Page 10)

Q.3 State whether the following statements are true or false with reason.

(1) SAARC is important for trade in South Asia.

(2) 'Maastricht' Treaty was signed for the defence of Europe.

(3) The decade of 1980s is seen as the golden age of humanitarian intervention.

Q.4 Express your opinion.

(1) Express your opinion about humanitarian intervention.

(2) Is Regionalism important in international politics?

Q.5 Answer the following.

Explain the term soft power with examples.

Q.6 Answer the following question in detail with help of given points.

Discuss the European Union with help of given points.

(a) History   (b) European Commission (c) European Parliament   (d) European Council (e) European Court of Justice

Activity

Find out the role played by India in BRICS.

2. Key Concepts and Issues since 1991 : Globalisation

We have studied the changes that took place in the world after 1991. We read about the changes that took place in Eastern Europe in 1989, the Kuwait crisis of 1990 and the disintegration of the Soviet Union in 1991. It was during the Kuwait crisis that the term 'New World Order' was used to describe the nature of world order. After the disintegration of the Soviet Union two terms came to be used: 'post-Soviet world order' and 'post-cold war era'. All these three terms focussed on the political and security situation that evolved after 1991. In the early 1990s another term started to be used. The term was 'globalisation'. Unlike the earlier terms the term globalisation was broader based. It included the nature of economic, ideological, political, technological, social and cultural changes that took place in the world after 1991. Today we use the term globalisation to describe the post-cold war era.

What is globalisation?

When we talk of globalisation, we say that the world has become more interconnected. Technological developments have helped this interconnectivity. For example, online applications can be made for admission to any college or university abroad. Similarly, mobile calls or WhatsApp messages can be made from any part of the world to your friends and family. Changes have taken place in economics and trade. Indian fruits and flowers are exported to Europe and America, various consumer goods from Europe, America or China are available in the Indian market.

Globalisation increased interconnectedness among countries and people and events in one part of the world have an impact on other parts. There are various ways of looking at this change. One argument is that while interconnectedness has increased, the importance of the state structure has not declined. In fact, the concept of nationalism is still very much alive. Some feel that economics and technology are key factors that have brought the world together. They argue that the concept of sovereignty and jurisdiction of states is now being challenged. There are others who give importance to the civil society and non-state actors. According to them social movements cut across state boundaries and focus on humanitarian problems of the people.

Let us look at the changes that have occurred in each of these areas separately. We will also see how these changes have affected India. We are going to see the changes in these areas separately only for academic convenience. In reality all these areas are interconnected. This means that political or economic change will affect society and culture and vice versa.

Economic Issues

Some of the important changes that have occurred in the area of economic issues are as follows:

(i) Free flow of finance capital : Investment is an important aspect of the economic system. Industries need finance. Investments help to build industries as they provide finance. Investments are done by both, the government and the private sector. Today you may have read about how Indian companies are investing in foreign countries. Private companies like Tatas, Reliance, etc have invested not only in India but in various industries in America, Europe, Africa and other places. Even government companies like ONGC have made investments abroad. Similarly, a lot of foreign companies are investing in India.

These investments take place in both infrastructural sector and consumer sector. Foreign companies have invested in building airports, nuclear power plants, etc. in India. They have also invested in consumer food chains like MacDonald's, Burger King, Pizza Hut, etc.

Prior to the 1990s such investments were rare. There used to be several governmental rules that made investments difficult. This has now changed. This change is looked at as free flow of financial capital. This capital flows both ways, from India to foreign countries and from foreign companies into India.

India is a developing country; it needs financial investment in industry for its development. There are limitations to domestic financial investment in India. Therefore, foreign investment is always welcome. But we must also remember that this investment in the infrastructure sector is more important than that in the consumer sector. Real development will take place with building of communication networks through road, rail, water and air travel.

Examples of Indian investments abroad

Tata's Jaguar Land Rover in UK

ONGC Videsh Ltd, Vietnam

Examples of Foreign investments in India

Microsoft in India

Nestlé in India

(ii) Change in the concept of trade : Several changes have taken place in the approach to trade since the 1990s.

(a) International trade was governed by rules and regulations under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) since 1948. GATT was not an organisation, it was an agreement amongst nations regarding trade. In 1995 GATT was replaced by the World Trade Organisation (WTO). WTO is an international body whose purpose is to promote free trade by persuading countries to abolish import tariffs and other barriers. The WTO is the only international agency overseeing the rules of international trade. It promotes free trade agreements, settles trade disputes between governments and organises trade negotiations.

(b) Trade is normally done in commodities. These can be commodities like iron ore, coal, oil or such perishable commodities like fruits, flowers, seeds, etc. In the 1990s the scope of the term 'trade' widened and we talked of trade in services. Thus banking, insurance, etc. were services and they were also looked at as matters in which trade can be done. Today we talk of trade in intellectual property. This includes copyrights, trademarks, patents, etc.

Examples of Intellectual Property

©	Amul Nike Vadilal McDonald's Apple Google
Copyright	**Trade Marks**

(c) Another change that has occurred in the area of trade is the use of container cargo ships. Container ships are able to carry huge amounts of goods across the world. There are special port facilities for container ships. The container cargo revolution has changed the manner in which trade takes place in the world today.

Container Cargo

Do you know?

(i) The General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) is a treaty of the World Trade Organisation (WTO) that entered into force in 1995. The treaty was created to extend the multilateral trading system to services, in the same way the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) provides such a system for merchandise trade.

(ii) The WTO Agreement on Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPs) is an international treaty which sets down minimum standards for most forms of intellectual property regulation within all member countries of the WTO.

Some of the things TRIPs deals with includes copyrights, geographical indications; industrial designs; integrated circuit, patents, trademarks, etc. TRIPs also specifies enforcement procedures, remedies, and dispute resolution procedures.

(iii) Rise of transnational companies : Until the 1990s the government had a lot of control on the economic sector. There was a limited scope for the private sector. Globalisation has changed this situation. We have seen the growth of private companies. Companies that used to operate within the nation started operating in foreign lands. They became multinational companies. Today we also see the growth of transnational companies. This development is mainly in the private sector. How does this affect the common person?

(a) One impact is seen on the labour market. There is a migration of skilled and semi-skilled labour from one country to another. For example, these companies recruit both, skilled and semi-skilled employees. There is a lot of skilled and semi-skilled Indian labour working in West Asia, Africa, United States, Europe, etc. The growth of private sector has also increased the employment in the service sector. Various services like providing catering, delivery of goods, transport, etc. are being provided.

(b) A second impact is seen on the small industries and shops. They have to face competition from the big multinational companies. Shops and small industries that are efficient are able to compete. For example, we have seen big grocery stores and malls in cities, but despite these, the small shopkeepers, vegetable and fruit sellers continue to attract clientele. This is because they provide the necessary services to the people.

(c) A third impact is on the agricultural sector. Today farmers are able to sell their goods directly to companies. Multinational companies have brought in new technology and opened up markets for Indian agricultural products. For example, India exports marine products, meat, rice, spices, cotton, fresh fruits and vegetables, sugar, coffee, groundnut, cashews, etc.

Do you know?

-A **Multinational Company** is a company that is operating in several countries but has one home country from where it controls all the business. Some Indian multinational companies: Bajaj, Dabur, Aditya Birla, ONGC, Amul, Godrej, Wipro, etc.

-**Transnational Corporations** are a type of multinational corporations. A Transnational Company is borderless, as it does not consider any particular country as its base, home or headquarters. Some Transnational companies: Nestlé, Bayer, Unilever, Siemens, General Electric, etc.

-The **Service Sector** is the third of the three traditional economic sectors. The first is the primary sector which covers areas like farming, mining, fishing, etc., the second is the manufacturing sector. Service sector provides various services like catering, housekeeping, security, etc.

What do you think?

Can the cooperative movement of India be an answer to the domination of multinational and transnational companies? The philosophy of the cooperative movement is to provide both, empowerment and finance to the members while that of the corporations work on profit motive. Give your opinion on this.

Political Issues

Political issues in the context of globalisation mainly focus on the following:

(i) **Importance of Democracy:** The East European revolution of 1989 and the disintegration of the Soviet Union is looked at as the fall of communism. It has been argued that the world is moving towards democratic political systems. Terms like 'Participatory State', 'Citizen Centric Governance' and 'Good Governance' have become important. Participatory state goes beyond traditional democratic practices wherein the decision is made by the majority. In a participatory state all segments of the society are involved in the making of policy. Citizen centric governance and good governance focus on the role of the civil society in the functioning of the government.

(ii) **Position of the State :** It is being argued that the State is becoming less and less important. One of the key features of the State is its sovereignty. The concept of sovereignty is linked with the concept of jurisdiction of the state. This is the right of the State to make laws within its territory. It has been argued that the concept of sovereignty is being challenged from both, internal and external factors. External challenges come from the growth of international law, regional economic organisations, globalisation of markets, growing environmental and humanitarian concerns, etc. Internal challenges come from a decline of national consensus, growth of ethnic nationalism, activism of non-state actors, etc. Issues like environment, gender and humanitarian problems have taken the center stage.

(iii) **Non-State actors :** It is the importance of the civil society that has given importance to non-state actors. Thus, Voluntary Organisations and Non-Governmental Organisations (NGO) have started to become more important. Today international relations is not relations between states, it also includes non-state actors. They play an important role in promoting humanitarian issues. Besides organisations like the Amnesty International, Green Peace Movement, terrorist organisations are also non-state actors.

(iv) **Human Rights:** In the age of globalisation protection of human rights has become an important agenda. But there is a need to make a distinction between the approaches to human rights of the developed world and the developing world. The Third World holds that economic development has to precede before civil and political rights and that a greater value needs to be placed on community and family than on individual rights. The Indian constitution for example, lays stress on the aspect of social justice and looks at food, shelter, clothing, education and health as primary needs of its citizens. It is further argued that in the desire to achieve distributive justice there is an undue emphasis on liberty rights and not welfare rights of the people. Therefore, countries should have the right to interpret human rights in accordance to their history, culture, polity, and economy. Thus, the broad application of western approach to human rights, that focuses on civil and political rights and freedoms as a priority, would have to be tempered with the ground situation mentioned above.

Let us see some examples to understand these issues in detail.

- India is a signatory to various international

treaties, organisations and conventions. As a member of the WTO India is required to follow some rules regarding international trade practices. Treaties like the Indus Waters Treaty with Pakistan or the Farakka Agreement with Bangladesh requires India to follow the agreement in matters of sharing of waters of the Indus and the Ganga.

- Organisations like Amnesty International or Green Peace raise humanitarian issues and put pressure on local governments. Amnesty has been critical of the Indian government's position on human rights in regions like Kashmir.

- When the Chernobyl disaster took place the effects of radiation spread across Europe. Such environmental disasters cannot be restricted to a nation's boundaries. European countries were forced to cooperate and take action to ensure that the ill effects do not harm their population.

- The Narmada Bachao Andolan had approached the World Bank to support its cause of opposition to big dams and had internationalised the issue.

- There has been an opposition to the building of the nuclear power plants in Jaitapur and Kudankulam. Political parties and NGOs have opposed the building of these projects despite getting proper clearance.

Agitation against Kudankulam nuclear plant

Chernobyl nuclear power plant after the explosion

Can you find out?

Find out cases where the sovereignty of the State has been challenged by non-state actors.

In all the above cases the State's sovereignty was challenged by these groups. These are some of the challenges that the State faces from internal and external factors. Therefore, it is argued that the role of the State is slowly reducing. In the economic sphere it is reducing because of the increasing importance of the private sector and in the political sphere the domestic and international pressures have reduced the authority of the State.

How important is the State in the age of globalisation? Is the concept of the State and its features still relevant? Is there a withdrawal of the State as an agency of welfare and development?

Let us look at the main elements of the State. The main elements are territory, sovereignty government and people. Today, the territory of the State still remains intact. States still talk of nationalism and national integration. The concept of sovereign government also continues to exist. It is true that some of its powers have reduced due to international treaty obligations, but the authority of the State remains. The rise of ethnic nationalism and the demand for self-determination has led to the creation of new

States. But as we saw in the earlier chapter, this has led to the creation of new states and not the dissolution of the concept of the State.

States that have a strong framework of political institutions (like Legislature, Executive, Judiciary and Bureaucracy) are able to face the challenges of globalisation. It is these institutions that are able to protect the core values of a country, provide social safety nets and promote development in the country. Despite the many concerns about the loss of sovereignty, the State remains the key actor in the domestic and the international sphere. The popular assumption that the emergence of global civil society, and increasing levels of cross-border trade, finance and investment flows have made the State irrelevant, is wrong.

Ideological Issues

Ideology was an important factor during the cold war era. Countries used to be classified as Socialist or Communist on the one hand and Capitalist or Free Democracies on the other. Soviet Union, East Europe, and China were grouped as the socialist world while West Europe and North America was the capitalist bloc. Ideology and the economic systems were well connected. While ideology was a political feature, the economic system followed by the countries depended upon the ideology of that country. For example, the countries of Eastern Europe had followed the Socialist ideology and had socialist economic systems where the government or the public sector was most important. Western European countries followed the capitalist ideology hence their economic system was also capitalist in nature. In these countries the private sector played an important role in the economy. During this period countries like India were 'Democratic Socialist'. This meant that they combined the ideologies of socialism and capitalism as per their requirement. Consequently, India had a 'Mixed Economic system'. This meant that both, the public and

private sector played an important role in the economic system.

Today, in the era of globalisation there appears to be only one dominant ideological and economic system. This is described as 'Market Economy'. But all countries do not follow the same kind of market economic system. The nature of market economy is determined by the ideology of that country. Let us take some examples. The United States is considered a 'capitalist market economy' because it combines the capitalist system of economy with market economics. Western European countries are described as 'welfare market economies' because their political system is that of a 'welfare state'. China is described as having a 'socialist market economy'. China is a socialist state but its economic system changed in the 1990s and became a market economic system. In India we do not use the word market economics. We describe Indian system as 'economic liberalism'.

Technology
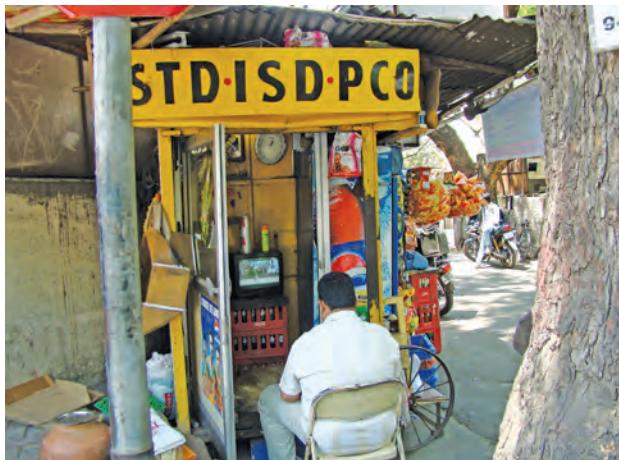
The nature of global communication changed rapidly in the 1990s. Satellite communication system, mobile telephone, FAX, internet, etc brought in revolutionary changes in the social, political and economic life of the people.

Let us see the manner in which media changed in India. In 1990 CNN came into India. Until the coming in of a foreign channel, Doordarshan was the only TV broadcaster in India. In Maharashtra, for example we saw only two channels: Mumbai and Delhi Doordarshan. Within a span of a decade, the Indian TV network had several channels that were both private and governmental. Satellite communication system made it easy to have a dish antenna and watch programmes anywhere in India.

Changes also took place in other means of communication. Earlier, telephone connections were not available in all

households. People would use the public telephones in the Post or the Telegraph office in case of emergencies. Long distance calls were done through a system of Trunk Calls. Later on, the government introduced the Subscriber Trunk Dialling (STD). Today we have mobile connectivity which is used by almost everybody. Both, private and government mobile phone systems are available today.

The internet revolution was perhaps the most important revolution in the field of technology. It became possible to connect to anyone in the world instantly. This global communication infrastructure has helped in the spread of ideas, cultures and information. Internet has provided 'search engines' to find information, it has also enabled 'social networking' activity like 'Twitter', 'Skype',

STD ISD Telephone Booth

Mobile Revolution

'Facebook', 'Instagram', 'Whats App' etc.

The technologies of the information age are by their nature transnational. Mobile phones, satellite television and the Internet operate regardless of borders. This has facilitated the growth of transborder groups, bodies and institutions, ranging from non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and transnational corporations (TNCs) to international criminal and terrorist organisations. The states have found it difficult to control and restrict the operations of transborder groups and organisations.

Can you find out?

Find out cases where agitations have used social networking to highlight their demands.

Do you know?

The Arab Spring movement that took place in Egypt is sometimes called a 'Facebook revolution'. Find out what the Arab Spring movement was and how social networking was used during that movement.

Social and Cultural Issues

The revolution in global media and the easy access to the internet has made people aware of what is happening globally. This, along with the movement of the people within the country and the world has had an impact on the society and culture. We see the emergence of what is called 'global cosmopolitan culture'.

There is a great deal of western domination on this global cosmopolitan culture. Values like modernisation, westernisation, secularisation are considered more important than traditional values. This is seen in personal lifestyles of the people. For example, there is an increase in the consumption of fast food like burgers, pizza,

Friendship Day

Credit Cards

vada pav, etc. The method of celebrating traditional festivals like Christmas, Diwali, etc. has become more westernized. New ideas like celebrating 'Mother's Day', Father's Day', 'Friendship Day', etc. have come in. There is also an increasing demand for 'western wear' in the clothes that are purchased in the market.

Another aspect of this global culture is the rise of individualism and materialism in the society. The breakup of traditional family system was mainly due to urbanisation. This has been further enhanced by the concept of individualism. We are likely to hear the words 'I want my privacy' or 'this is my personal space' right from school going children to elderly people. Similarly, the tendency to spend beyond one's financial means has increased due to the introduction of the credit cards.

When we look at globalisation from all angles, we realise that there are both, positive and negative aspects. The positive aspects are the new opportunities that have opened up for the youth in our country. We are now more aware of what is happening in the world, and how it can affect us. We are better connected. New employment opportunities have come up and more jobs are being created. This change is mainly

through the private sector as it has the financial capability. There is a serious financial limitation on what services the government can provide.

But there are also negative aspects. There is the fear that the welfare activity that the State provides would come to an end. There is also the fear that international competition would cripple local business, especially small business. In the field of agriculture, the fear is that the small and marginal farmer would not be able to compete with the big corporations.

In reality, India's biggest problem is attitudes and mindsets. India has identified all foreign capital and trade with its history of imperialist dependence. Independence meant autonomy and self-reliance. India's opposition to liberalisation has roots in its ideology of anti-imperialism. India's socialists and capitalists are both hostile to liberalisation. The former for ideological reasons; the latter because of the fear of losing the traditional protection that they have enjoyed in India. In the long run, it is for the Indian State to protect its core values and ensure that the welfare net is maintained so the marginalized and the underprivileged people do not suffer. This continues to be an important role of the State in the age of globalisation.

Exercise

Q.1 (A) Choose the correct alternative and complete the following statements.

1. The technologies of the information age are by their nature ....
   (transnational, national, local, regional)

2. In 1995, GATT was replaced by the ....
   (European Union, World Trade Organisation, United Nations, World Bank)

(B) Find the odd word in the given set.
   Mobile, Satellite, Internet, Gramophone

(C) Suggest appropriate concept for the given statements.
(1) The international agency dealing with international trade -
(2) The companies that operate in several countries -

(D) Identify the incorrect pair in every set, correct it and rewrite it.

1. (i) Service sector - Bank
   (ii) Intellectual property - Trademark
   (iii) Perishable commodity - Coal

2. (i) China - Socialist market economy
   (ii) India - Capitalist market economy
   (iii) Western European Countries - Welfare market economics

Q.2 State whether the following statements are true or false with reasons.
(1) Investment in infrastructure sector is most important –
(2) Non-state actors have become irrelevant in the age of globalisation –

Q.3 Explain co-relation between the following.
(1) Globalisation and culture
(2) GATT and WTO

Q.4 Express your opinion of the following.
Participatory State is beneficial to the society.

Q.5 Answer the following question in 80 to 100 words.
What are the positive and negative aspects of Globalisation?

Activity

Talk to people of the older generation to find out what changes have taken place in the age of globalisation.

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3. Key Concepts and Issues since 1991: Humanitarian Issues

In the first two chapters we have studied the changes that have taken place in the world since 1991. We saw how the process of globalisation has brought in concepts like participatory state, awareness of human rights, increasing importance of non-state actors, etc. Today, humanitarian issues like environment, perspectives about poverty and development policies and approaches towards gender have become important. This chapter looks at these issues and tries to understand how India has dealt with them.

Environment and Sustainability

What is the environment? It is everything that makes up our surroundings, the air we breathe, the water that covers most of the earth's surface, the plants and animals around us, and much more. It is the conditions in which a person, animal, or plant lives. The natural environment consists of all living and non-living things occurring naturally. It would include soil, rocks, atmosphere, air, water, and climate, etc. There is also the built environment. This refers to such areas where man has transformed landscapes such as urban settings and agricultural land conversion. The natural environment is modified into a human environment.

The relationship between economic development and environmental degradation was first placed on the international agenda in 1972, at the United Nations (UN) Conference on the Human Environment, held in Stockholm. The main purpose of the conference was to encourage and provide guidelines for the protection and improvement of human environment. In 1983 the UN set up the World Commission on Environment and Development (Brundtland Commission). The Report of the Commission (1987) put forward the concept of sustainable development as an alternative approach to one based on economic growth.

The UN General Assembly called for the UN Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) as a follow up to the report of the Brundtland Commission. The goal of the summit was to understand the concept of development that would support socio-economic development and prevent the continued deterioration of the environment. It also aimed at creating a partnership between the developing and the more industrialised countries to ensure a healthy future for the planet. This summit was held at Rio in 1992.

The Rio de Janeiro Earth Summit (1992) also called the Rio Summit, the Rio Conference, or the Earth Summit sought to create international cooperation on development issues. It tried to raise public awareness on the need to integrate environment and development. In 2002 the Earth Summit was held in Johannesburg with the goal of again bringing together leaders from government, business and NGOs. Sustainable Development was recognised as the most important goal for institutions at the national, regional and international levels. In 2012, the United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development was again held in Rio, and is also commonly called Rio+20 or Rio Earth Summit 2012.

The goal of environmental sustainability is to conserve natural resources and to develop alternate sources of power while reducing pollution and harm to the environment. Environmental sustainability is defined as responsible interaction with the environment to avoid depletion or degradation of natural resources and allow for long-term environmental quality. The practice of environmental sustainability helps to ensure that the needs of today's population are met without jeopardizing the ability of future generations to meet their needs.

Some of the important environmental concerns are as follows:

Climate Change : Greenhouse gas emissions are the main cause of climate change. This has resulted in extreme weather events such as droughts, wildfires, heat waves and flooding.

Pollution : Air pollution and climate change are closely linked. Greenhouse gas emissions that are warming the planet are also creating smoggy conditions in major cities that endanger public health.

Deforestation : Forests are important as they absorb CO_2 that would otherwise escape into the atmosphere and worsen global warming. Cutting down trees also threatens animals and humans who rely on healthy forests to sustain themselves.

Water Scarcity : As the population increases and climate change causes more droughts, water scarcity is becoming more of an issue. Access to clean, safe drinking water is an important problem faced by the population today.

Loss of Biodiversity : Loss of biodiversity threatens food security and population health. Climate change is also a major contributor to biodiversity.

Pollution

Deforestation

Do this.

What can you do to protect the environment?

- Climate Change : _____
- Pollution : _____
- Deforestation : _____
- Water scarcity : _____
- Protect Biodiversity : _____

The Ministry of Environment, Forest and Climate Change is the nodal agency in the administrative structure of the Central Government for the planning, promotion, co-ordination and overseeing the implementation

of India's environmental and forestry policies and programmes. The primary concerns of the Ministry are implementation of policies and programmes relating to conservation of the country's natural resources including its lakes and rivers, its biodiversity, forests and wildlife, ensuring the welfare of animals, and the prevention and abatement of pollution. While implementing these policies and programmes, the Ministry is guided by the principle of sustainable development and enhancement of human well-being.

Find out?

What are the different initiatives taken by the Indian Government to protect the environment?

Solar panels - Non-Conventional Energy Source

Poverty and Development

What is poverty? How is it related to Development? What are the various perspectives and approaches that would help us to understand the relationship between the two? These are some of the issues that this section deals with.

The traditional perception of poverty would focus on the lack of food, water, shelter, clothing, sanitation, etc. There is also a monetary based consideration of what is poverty. Poverty is therefore a state of an individual, family or society where people are unable to provide for their basic necessities of life. It focuses on the earnings of an individual that would help him to live a relatively comfortable life. These are material aspects of life. A State is expected to ensure that the people are provided for the necessary material goods for their survival.

There is an alternate view of poverty. This focuses on both the material and non-material aspects of life. Here the focus is on human wellbeing through sustainable societies in social, economic and political terms. Here the emphasis is on values, community ties and availability of common resources. Such a view would focus on participatory nature of decision making, ensuring that the marginalised community is able to participate in public policy and promote economic and political decentralisation.

Poverty in India: Urban India

Poverty in India: Migration

The approach to the concept of development is usually looked at through a set of social and political values. The purpose of development is to ensure welfare of the people. For example, development can be associated with economic growth. One perspective about economic growth can focus on the predominant role of the State in

promoting economic growth. Another view can focus on the role of the free market economy in promoting development. The former would be classified as 'socialist' while the latter as 'capitalist'. Both these are traditional approaches to development.

The alternate, non-traditional view about development focuses on both material and non-material aspects of poverty. It stresses on political participation from the grassroot level, ensuring that all sections of the community are represented in the decision-making process. It seeks to balance human activity with nature, thus promoting the concept of sustainable development.

The approaches to development until the 1990s were mainly traditional in nature. Their main concern was tackling material aspects of poverty. Thus, the role of the State was targeted to increasing economic prosperity through industrialisation or focus on agriculture so as to generate employment opportunities and increase the per capita income of the people. It is only in the 1990s that the alternative view of development has become acceptable. Consequently, the focus to day is development based on equity, participation, empowerment, sustainability, etc.

Do you know?

Millennium Development Goals

In September 2000, the member states of the United Nations adopted United Nations Millennium Declaration. The Declaration committed the nations to fulfil international development goals by the year 2015. These goals are termed as the millennium development goals. Three important goals in the list are, eradication of extreme poverty and hunger, ensuring sustainable development and attaining global partnership for development. On the lines of these goals Sustainable Development goals also called as Global Goals came into effect in 2016. Poverty eradication continues to be the primary objective in the Global goals.

The Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) of the United Nations considers poverty as a denial of choices and opportunities and a violation of human dignity. It means lack of basic capacity to participate effectively in society, not having enough to feed and clothe a family, not having a school or a clinic to go to, not having the land on which to grow one's food or a job to earn one's

Find out and discuss.

In 2015 the United Nations adopted the '2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development'. It provides a blueprint for peace and prosperity for people and the planet for now and into the future. The Agenda mentions 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) for action by all countries - development and developing - in a global partnership.

Find out the details of each of these goals and discuss them in the classroom.

Sustainable Development Goals

Find details see : https://www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/development-agenda/

living, nor having access to credit. It also means insecurity, powerlessness and exclusion of individuals, households and communities.

It means susceptibility to violence and it often implies living on marginal and fragile environments, not having access to clean water and sanitation. The ECOSOC also argues that poverty needs to be addressed through the full involvement of governments and all other development actors in society. This has to be done as per national and local circumstances based on the actual assessments of the needs of the poor. Democratisation and enhanced protection of human rights as key components of good governance are necessary to eradicate poverty.

Poverty and Development in India

Indian national policy has always associated political freedom with economic freedom. It meant the freedom to follow our own policies without compromise on national sovereignty.

Indian vision of the process of development in India had three aspects:

(i) **Modernisation of the Economy :** Modernisation of Indian economy meant industrialisation. Industrialisation would provide employment and increase productivity. The stress was on large scale industrialisation and factory production rather than small scale industries. This would provide employment to the growing labour force. During the Nehru years the focus was on industrialisation and not on agriculture

Images of Economic Modernisation in India

production. Land reform and irrigation were looked at as the means to achieve agricultural growth.

(ii) **Self-reliance :** Self-reliance was associated with India's freedom movement. One of the aspects of self-reliance was 'import substitution' strategy. The focus was to develop indigenous industry. India did take foreign aid from other countries, but the aid was utilised mainly in the public sector industry.

(iii) **Socialist pattern of society with equity and social justice :** India adopted the approach of Planning for development. The Planning Commission was created that was expected to prepare Five Year Plans for the development of the country. Importance was given to the Public Sector industry and not the Private Sector. The Indian concept of socialism was based on the promotion of the welfare state and employment generation. This was the approach to tackle the problem of poverty in India.

Do you know?

The Planning Commission

The Planning Commission was set up by the Government of India in March 1950 to promote a rapid rise in the standard of living of the people. One of its objectives was to formulate a Plan for the most effective and balanced utilisation of country's resources.

The Planning Commission was replaced by the National Institution for Transforming India, also known as the NITI Aayog. It came into existence on January 1, 2015. NITI Aayog is the premier policy 'Think Tank' of the Government of India, providing both directional and policy inputs.

Do you know?

Green Revolution : Green revolution refers to the introduction of High yielding variety (HYV) of seeds and increased use of fertiliser and irrigation methods. It took place during the 1960s. It was aimed at providing increase in production to make India self-sufficient in food grains.

Green Revolution

Some changes did take place in the 1960s and 1970s. The 1960s saw a focus on agriculture. This was the period of the Green Revolution in India.

India faced an economic crisis in the late 1980s. Indian public sector was not performing well. The various public expenditure programmes for social welfare and removal of poverty were becoming wasteful. The Panchayati Raj Amendments to the Indian Constitution tried to bring in decentralisation of decision-making. But they were not very successful. India was forced to take loan from the International Monetary Fund to overcome the financial problems.

India has always recognised the link between economic growth and the quality of life of the people. It also recognises the need to combine economic growth with the objective social justice. 'Growth with Social Justice and Equity' has been India's policy towards poverty and development. The Indian government initiated several programmes that sought to help the poor and promote holistic development.

India's development strategy has evolved over the years. It has reflected the growing strength of the economy and developments in the world economy. In the early stages of development planning, government had played a dominant role through the public sector in all important industries. This strategy changed in the 1980s. Some changes were made in the 1980s to address the shortcomings in the development strategy. After 1991 a wide-ranging programme of economic reforms was initiated. The earlier framework of socialist pattern of development was given up. India introduced the policies of economic liberalisation and privatisation of the public sector. These reforms were pursued by successive governments since 1991 and have enjoyed a broad base of support. These reforms brought in changes in the Indian economy. Indian economic and industrial growth rate increased and India became a stable economic power.

These reforms also changed the role played by the State. Now the development strategy was to encourage the private sector to increase production, create jobs and raise income levels in society. India has a strong and vibrant private sector, including large, middle sized and small enterprises. Encouragement of the private sector does not mean that the State has no role to play in development. Today, the State, along with the civil society (NGOs and Voluntary Organisations) continues to play an important role in the area of social development, especially in rural areas. This includes providing basic services such as health care, education, safe drinking water etc. to the majority of the population, especially in rural areas.

The estimates from the 2018 Global Multidimensional Poverty Index (MPI) released today by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the Oxford Poverty and Human Development Initiative (OPHI) indicate that despite

Find out?

Here are some Poverty Alleviation Programmes in India. Find out information about them and discuss it in the classroom. Find out other such programmes that are in existence in India.

The poverty alleviation programmes in India have been designed for both rural areas and urban areas. Most of the programmes are designed to target the rural poverty as prevalence of poverty is high in rural areas.

Jawahar Gram Samridhi Yojana (JGSY) is the revised version of the Jawahar Rozgar Yojana (JRY). It was started in1999. The main aim of this programme was development infrastructure like roads to connect the village to different areas and other social, educational (schools) and infrastructure like hospitals in the rural areas.

Integrated Rural Development Program (IRDP) was first introduced in 1978-79. The main objective of IRDP is to create sustainable opportunities for self-employment in the rural sector.

Pradhan Mantri Gramin Awaas Yojana was started in 1985. This scheme aimed at creating housing for everyone.

Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (MGNREGA) was launched in 2005. It provides 100 days assured employment every year to every rural household.

Saansad Adarsh Gram Yojana was started in 2014. According to this yojana, each Member of Parliament will take the responsibility of developing three villages by 2019. The idea is to make India's villages to be fully developed with physical and institutional infrastructure.

Pradhan Mantri Kaushal Vikas Yojna was started in 2015. It aimed at providing skill training to youth.

difficulties and prevalent gaps, India has made decent progress in reducing multidimensional poverty. According to the report, the incidence of multidimensional poverty has almost halved between 2005-06 and 2015-16, climbing down to 27.5 percent from 54.7 percent. However, pockets of poverty are found across India, but multidimensional poverty is particularly acute.

Gender issues

Poverty and Women

There are interlinkages among various issues and concerns. One of the most important linkage is between poverty, underdevelopment and women. Majority of women in different parts of the world are poor owing to cultural norms and values, gendered division of assets and property, and unequal power equations between men and women. Women and girls bear an unequal burden of unpaid domestic responsibilities and are overrepresented in informal jobs.

The world witnessed rise of feminist movements in early 19th century. Since then, social, political and economic rights of women were constantly asserted. They broadly talked about gender equality- equal rights, social equality, political equality, gender justice etc. Later in the 1970s, women empowerment came to be accepted as an important concept and philosophy.

What is Empowerment?

Empowerment is a process by which oppressed persons gain control over their own lives. It helps them to get basic necessities of life. This process gives the person strength, self-confidence, increases self-esteem and provides courage to fight against injustice. The process of empowerment has social, economic, psychological and political dimensions.

Do you know?

Gender refers to the socially constructed characteristics of women and men – such as behaviour, norms, roles and relationships between women and men. Gender issues focus on women and on the relationship between men and women, their roles, access to and control over resources, division of labour, difficulties and needs etc.

In global politics, gender issues started gaining importance since the 1980s. This led to the development of a gender perspective to look at world politics. It includes gender analysis which means analysis of masculine and feminine identities is considered as important.

Gender approach is based on the assumption that men and women understand the world in a different manner. It believes that this understanding is a product of social or historical experiences. Gender approach recognises the contribution of women which was previously neglected. Invisible contributions of various sections of women such as domestic workers, migrant labourers, wives of diplomat's etc. are taken into consideration. Along with this, it started paying attention to the problems faced by women across the world.

Gender inequality is pervasive, with women lacking access to decent employment and facing gender wage gaps. All around the world women and girls are routinely denied access to education and healthcare; they are under-represented in economic and political decision-making. They suffer from violence and discrimination.

The United Nations 'Decade for Women' began in the year 1976. The aim of this program was the promotion of equal rights and opportunities for women across the globe. The program also tried to link women's issues

with developmental issues. They focused on many inequalities that women face in education, health care, work places, landholding and human rights.

Status of Women in India

The principle of gender equality is enshrined in the Indian Constitution in its Preamble, Fundamental Rights, Fundamental Duties and Directive Principles. The Constitution not only grants equality as a fundamental right to women, but also empowers the State to adopt measures of positive discrimination in favour of women. Despite this, women continue to face discrimination. Some of the important gender related issues in the Indian context are as follows:

(i) **Economic inequality :** The major problem that India faces is a high level of male-female wage gap. Similarly, the participation of women in the labour market is also as low as 28.2% compared to the men which is 78.8%.

(ii) **Trafficking and exploitation :** A 2013 UN Office on Drug and Crime report highlighted that women from India were trafficked for forced marriage. They are often "exploited, denied basic rights, duplicated as maids and eventually abandoned."

(iii) **Literacy rate :** The literacy rate of women in India is low as compared to men. As per the Census Report 2011, the male literacy rate is 82.14%, whereas female literacy rate is 65.46%.

(iv) **Political representation :** The low percentage of women in Parliament and State Assemblies has been one of the problems since independence.

In India, within the framework of a democratic polity, laws, development policies, plans and programmes have aimed at women's advancement in different spheres. The Central Social Welfare Board (CSWB) was established in 1953 to carry out welfare activities for the general welfare of family, women and children.

The initial approach to women's issues in India can be described as a 'welfare approach'. The focus was on community development through Mahila Mandals, protection of women against injurious work, provide maternity and child care benefits, etc. In the 1960s the emphasis was on education as a welfare strategy. Health programmes concentrated on maternity and child services, health education and nutrition and family planning.

In the 1970s the approach towards women's issues shifted from 'welfare' to 'development'. The 1970s was the 'United Nations' Decade for Women. The Report of the Committee on the Status of Women in India titled 'Towards Equality' talked of rights and status of women in the context of changing social and economic conditions in India. The 1980s saw a further change in the approach towards women in India. Now the focus was on health, education and employment.

The 1990s saw a shift from 'development' to 'empowerment'. The government wanted to ensure that the benefits of development do not bypass women and therefore their participation in planning and implementation was necessary. The National Commission for Women was set up by an Act of Parliament in 1990 to safeguard the rights and legal entitlements of women. The 73rd and 74th Amendments (1993) to the Constitution of India have provided for reservation of seats in the local bodies of Panchayats and Municipalities for women, laying a strong foundation for their participation in decision making at the local levels.

Women Empowerment in India

The socio-cultural landscape for women is a complex mixture of the old and the new. Industrialisation, globalisation, urbanisation, and modernisation have led to major changes in the lifestyle of women. On the one hand, liberalisation has provided better opportunities for women in terms of education, jobs, and decision-making power. On the other hand, increased violence, wage differences and discrimination continue. Change in social norms and mindsets can be brought through institutional initiatives. This involves the family, community, religious and educational institutions. It can initiate, strengthen, and implement economic and social policies for gender equality.

The Department of Women and Child Development, Government of India, came into existence as a separate Ministry in 2006. Earlier since 1985 it was a Department under the Ministry of Human Resources Development. The Ministry was constituted with the prime intention of addressing gaps in State action for women and children and to create gender equitable and child-centred legislation, policies and programmes. The Ministry aims at achieving empowerment of women living with dignity and contributing as equal partners in development in an environment free from violence and discrimination.

The Ministry has prepared the National Policy for the Empowerment of Women (2001) and the Draft of the National Policy for Women (2016) that seeks to articulate a vision for empowerment of women. Various important legislations are passed by the Indian legislature in recent years. These include the Protection of Women from Domestic Violence Act, 2005; the Sexual Harassment of Women at the Workplace (Prohibition, Prevention and Redressal) Act, 2013; Muslim Women (Protection of Right on Marriage) Act, 2019.

Find out and discuss.
Read the National Policy for Women (2016) and discuss its salient features in the classroom.

In this chapter we focussed on three humanitarian issues that have become important since the 1990s. These issues are global in nature because they deal with situations that can arise anywhere in the world. We also saw the role played by the Indian State to tackle the problems in these issue areas. In the next chapter we will study the role of the State in matters of ensuring peace, stability and development in the country.

Exercise

Q.1 (A) Choose the correct alternative and complete the following statements.

(1) The initial approach to women's issues in India can be discribed as '.......................... approach'.
(welfare, developmental, empowerment, educational)

(2) In 1972, UN Conference on human environment was held in ....
(Rio de faneiro, Paris, Stockholm, New York)

(B) Identify the incorrect pair in every set, correct it and rewrite.

1. (i) 1960's - Welfare approach to womens issues.
   (ii) 1970's - Development approach to womens issues
   (iii) 1990's - Educational approach to womens issues

2. (i) Lack of food, water etc. - Traditional perception of poverty
   (ii) Lack of values, community files - non-traditional approache of development
   (iii) Lack of economic growth - Traditional approach of development

(C) Find the odd word in the given set.

(1) National policy for empowerment of women, protection of women from domestic violence act, Muslim women (protection and right on marriage) Act, the secual harassment at workplace (prohibition prevention and readressal) Act.

(2) Climate change, waste management, water scarity, deforestation.

Q.2 State whether the following statement are true or false with reason.

(1) Planning Commission was created to promote agriculture in India.

(2) National Commision for women was set up to protect rights for women in India.

Q.3 Explain the co-relation between the following.

(1) Women Empowerment and Sustainable Development

(2) Poverty and Development

Q.4 Answer the following questions in 80 to 100 words.

(1) Explain the traditional and non-traditional perception of poverty.

(2) From 1960's to 21 century what efforts has India taken to achieve development?

Q.5 Answer the following question in detail with help of given points.

Explain conditions of women in India.
(a) Economic inequality (b) trafficking and exploration (c) Literary rate (d) Political representation

Activity

(1) Find out percentage of handicapped voters in 17th Lok Sabha suggest measures to increase their percentage.

(2) Find out information on international agreements on environmental balance.

4. Contemporary India : Challenges to Peace, Stability and National Integration

A democratic society is likely to have a diversity of views. Such a diversity arises from a variety of socio-economic, political and cultural factors. In India, the situation is further complicated by factors such as caste, religion, poverty, illiteracy, demographic pressures, ethnic and linguistic diversity. The country has witnessed many disturbances – agrarian unrest, labour and student agitations, communal riots and caste related violence. A lack of good governance and poor implementation of laws are the major factors for public disorder.

Public order, stability and peace implies a harmonious state of society. It implies the absence of disturbance, riot, revolt, and lawlessness. Maintenance of law and order is universally recognised as the prime function of the State. Peace and stability are one of the crucial requirements for the political, economic and socio-cultural development of the State. The lack of it is likely to lead to divisive tendencies in the state. It is the function of the State to ensure that there is peace and stability and that the nation remains united. In any state there are likely to be diverse groups in the society, establishment of a dialogue between them is also an initiative that the State would be expected to take. This is the process of nation building and national integration.

Nation, Nationalism and State, are among the foundational concepts in political science. We have studied these in Std. XI. Let us revise a few important points regarding these:

- Nation is a community that is bound together by a feeling of unity and oneness based on certain factors. They are people who identify socially, culturally, politically and want to establish a separate identity for themselves. There is a sense of oneness that is psychological and born out of commonness of culture, ethnicity, religion, language, history, etc.

- Nationalism is a sense of political identity. They gain a sense of identity and self-esteem by this identification. It is a force that creates the feeling of oneness in a community based on ethnicity, race, religion, language or any other factors.

- When people of a nation want to become a sovereign country, it means they are demanding the right to self-determination. It is this urge for political self-determination that leads a nation in the direction of statehood. When does a nation become a state? A State must have the following characteristics to qualify for statehood : sovereignty; independent government, territory and population.

- A State may have people belonging to different ethnicity, race, religion, language, etc. These people may have a sense of their own identity. But they desire to come together to create a State. Most of the States in the world are multi-ethnic, multi-religious, multi-racial, etc. They are multi-cultural pluralist entities. The basic problem that any state would face therefore, is the problem of national unity, integrity and consolidation. This problem is the problem of national integration.

What is the role of the State? The values of nationalism, secularism, and democracy and goals, economic development and social change are the ones that determine the role of the State. This role may be described as follows:

(i) **Peace and Order :** The State ensures peace and order in the society. The core

purpose of the State is protection. This role has also been described as 'state building'. The survival of the political system may be threatened from international or domestic environment. The maintenance of security and survival of the state, its constitution and political order is one of the key roles of the State.

(ii) **Economic Development :** The State is expected to intervene in the economic life for the purpose of promoting industrial and agricultural growth and economic development. Economic stability and growth would ensure the economic wellbeing of the people. This does not imply creating a Socialist System and Planning. It implies that the State must be a facilitator of economic development.

(iii) **Nation Building :** This refers to the problem of ensuring that the diversity in a society does not lead to disintegration of the State. Nation Building is closely associated with the idea of national integration.

(iv) **Governance :** Involvement of the members of the society in the decision-making process of the State is good governance. This is sometimes referred to as 'democratisation' or the creation of a 'participatory state'.

(v) **Welfare :** This refers to the application of the principles of social justice, fairness and equality. The State is expected to rectify the imbalances in the society so that the marginalised sections of the society do not suffer.

The values of nationalism, secularism, and democracy and goals economic development and social change are essentially those associated with nation building.

The problem of national integration is universal. It involves a dialogue and reconciliation of all diversities to build up a common national identity. These diversities may be of socio-cultural, regional, religious, linguistic and economic nature. Such an identity may be labelled as nationalism. In its effort of creating a common national identity nationalism tries to promote the forces of unity in the nation. It seeks to reconcile the differences and forge a national rather than a sectoral perspective.

> 'National integration cannot be built by brick and mortar; it cannot be built by chisel and hammer; it has to grow silently in the minds and hearts of men.'
>
> **- Dr Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan**

National integration does not wipe out the individual or group identities of various sections of the society. It does not try to create a homogeneous society. It only believes in creating a territorial nationality which overshadows subordinate group identities. For example, when we say we are Indians, it is a territorial nationality of being an Indian in the country of India. The subordinate identities of being a Marathi, Tamil, Punjabi, Hindu, Sikh, Muslim, Christian, etc are not eliminated. They remain subordinate to the territorial national identity of being an Indian. The American use the word 'salad bowl' to describe their socio-political system. The task of a nation, thus, is to recognise the regional, ethnic, linguistic, religious, etc. diversity and seek to preserve, consolidate and strengthen its unity. This in essence is the problem of national integration.

National Integration

'Melting Pot' and 'Salad Bowl'

The concept of Melting Pot was used to describe the American society. Its basic idea presents the whole nation as one large pot. Anyone who enters the United States is automatically thrown into this "pot" where, over a period of years, a process of assimilation into the American belief systems takes place. All the cultural aspects of individual cultures of the migrants (Italian, French, German, African, Asia, etc.) are melted, to form a new 'American' culture. The concept of Salad Bowl does not talk of melting of cultural identities. It argues that every distinctive culture or belief is considered to be one of the tastes or ingredients that contributes in forming the whole; therefore, its original shape and characteristics are maintained. Salad Bowl is a description of a multicultural or a plural society.

Discuss.

Is India a Melting Pot or a Salad Bowl?

The common values associated with national integration may be identified as follows:

(i) Common citizenship,

(ii) Unity in diversity,

(iii) Feeling of loyalty to the Nation,

(iv) A sense of fraternity among all diverse communities,

(v) Secularism,

(vi) Socio- economic and political justice and

(vii) Equality.

What is the role of the State in the context of national integration? This role has to be understood in the context of the following: Forging of national unity; strive for nation building to promote the values that the State stands for; strive to maintain peace and harmony in society; ensure socio-political stability; promote economic development and protect the citizens from external or internal crisis situations.

The role of the State in the process of national integration involves the following:

(i) Promote unity among the culturally and socially diverse groups living in single territorial unit

(ii) Establish a national authority over subordinate political units or regions, with distinct cultural and social groups.

(iii) Establish a dialogue between the State authority and the people to understand their aspirations and life conditions.

(iv) Evolve certain values and goals that would help maintain social order

Nations stay together when citizens share enough common or shared values and preferences and can communicate with each other. National unity is the solidarity within citizens of a nation and adherence to law and order. National unity is not homogeneity. It advocates a 'community of communities' which respect to diversity and shared values, experiences and geographical relativity. It is a form of ethnic, racial, linguistic and religious tolerance. It is an incremental step towards societal peace. National unity is essential in maintaining a harmonious and functional society. National unity and subsequently societal stability contribute to nation-building.

India

In 1947 when India became independent it faced several problems, they included economic underdevelopment, poverty, illiteracy, social inequality, etc. The national movement for independence had provided India with certain values and goals that were

to be the basis of nation building after independence. These values were of nationalism, secularism, and democracy and goals were the economic development and social change. The first task of India after independence was to preserve, consolidate and strengthen India's unity. Indian unity could not be taken for granted, it had to be strengthened by recognising India's regional, ethnic, linguistic diversity. This was the problem of national integration or integration of Indian people as a political community.

Democracy was considered essential for promoting national integration and bringing about social change. It was believed that economic development and democratic political order with social change would help in reducing poverty and removing caste and gender inequality.

The newly independent state of India had to take deliberate steps to integrate the nascent nation. One was the structural aspect of national integration. This was done through the constitutional process. The Constitution of India provided some key features that promoted national unity and national identity. The second was the psychological dimension that sought to promote the feeling of Indian nationalism. People who had various types of identities began to be united under the common umbrella of Indian nationalism from the latter part of the nineteenth century. This is the time when people with diverse identities began to develop the identity of being "Indian". The 'civilisational' entity called India began to be transformed into a political entity called the Indian nation during the freedom struggle.

Structural Dimension

The structural aspect of the balance between national unity and regional and sectional aspirations are seen in some of the following features:

(i) The core of the structural aspect of national consolidation was the creation of a democratic system of governance with universal adult franchise. Democracy and national integration were compatible. The participation of diverse groups in the process of governance was possible only through the representative democratic system.

(ii) The constitution also provided a federal structure with a strong central government, thus balancing the needs of the regions with that of the nation as a whole. The participation of local bodies was further strengthened through the Panchayat Raj amendments in the 1990s. (73rd and 74th Amendments)

(iii) Language is an important part of cultural identity. The Indian constitution grants recognition to various regional languages as official languages. The reorganisation of states in India was also done on the basis of language.

(iv) At the administrative level, there exists the All India Administrative cadre (IAS, IPS, IFS, IRS, etc.) This provides for a unified central bureaucratic system. At the same time there is also the State cadre that provides for the state bureaucracy.

(v) The National Integration Council was founded in 1961 to find ways and means to combat the evils of communalism, casteism, regionalism, linguism and narrow-mindedness, and to formulate definite conclusions in order to give a lead to the country. This Conference decided to set up a National Integration Council (NIC) to review all matters pertaining to national integration and to make recommendations thereon.

(vi) The Indian Constitution has specified certain Fundamental Duties for Indian citizens.

Do you know?

National Integration Council (NIC) (1961) : National Integration Council (NIC) was constituted to review all matters pertaining to national integration. The NIC held its first meeting in 1962.

The objectives of the NIC: The foundation of our national life is common citizenship, unity in diversity, freedom of religions, secularism, equality, justice-social-economic and political, and fraternity among all communities. The National Integration Council reiterates its faith in these values and dedicates itself to their achievement.

Do you know?

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar talked about the concept of Democracy and the importance of the Constitution in the Indian context. He said: The first thing in my judgement we must do is to hold fast to constitutional methods of achieving social and economic objectives. It means we must abandon bloody methods of revolution.

Psychological Dimension

India is a geographical and economic entity, having a cultural unity amidst diversity, held together by a civilisational perspective that binds the people together.

The national freedom movement played an important role in bringing Indians together politically and emotionally into a nation and integrating them in a common framework of political identity and loyalty.

The emotional or psychological integration is also promoted through such symbols like the National Song, National Flag, National Anthem, National Emblem, National Bird, National Animal and so on.

Do this.

Read and Discuss the Section 'Bharat Mata' in Chapter III: India's Quest, in : Jawaharlal Nehru, *Discovery of India*.

Do you know?

'Some kind of a dream of unity has occupied the mind of India since the dawn of civilisation. That unity was not conceived as something imposed from outside, a standardisation of externals or even beliefs. It was something deeper and, within its fold, the widest tolerance of belief and custom was practiced and every variety acknowledged and even encouraged'. Jawaharlal Nehru, *Discovery of India*.

Challenges

One of the first challenges that India faced after independence was of the integration of Princely States into the Indian Union. There were some problems with the states of Jammu and Kashmir, Hyderabad and Junagadh. Eventually, these came to be resolved. The issue of Jammu and Kashmir experienced the first conflict with Pakistan (1947-48) and it continues to remain a challenge to peace and stability in the region. In the North East Nagaland had posed a problem that was eventually resolved. Some of the other colonial areas controlled by the Portuguese and the French eventually became part of the Indian Union.

India crafted its policy of political and socio-cultural development within the framework of the Indian constitution. The Indian constitution recognised the diversity of India in terms of regions and language; and

the need for a social transformation by the incorporating social welfare provisions. On the economic front, the path to development was laid out with a predominant role of the government in the industrial sector within a policy of mixed economy. The Planning Commission was set up to prepare five-year plans which would indicate directions in which the Indian economy should move. The basic focus of Indian planning was on economic growth, generation of employment opportunities and removal of poverty. Today, the NITI Aayog has replaced the Planning Commission.

New challenges emerged in the 1960s. The Nehru era of Indian politics ended with Lal Bahadur Shastri taking over the Premiership, to be followed by Mrs. Indira Gandhi. This decade saw the growth of regional parties on the political scene. The 1960s also saw the beginning of a protest movement by the peasant class labelled as Naxalism. This movement grew in the sixties but was curbed by the State in the early seventies. However, it came back in a more violent form in the 1980s. It was described as one of the biggest challenges faced by India.

The North Eastern Region which comprises of eight States is culturally and ethnically diverse having more than 200 ethnic groups which have distinct languages, dialects and sociocultural identities. The maintenance of peace and stability and ensuring the implementation of economic and industrial development has been a challenge for the Indian political system. States like Nagaland have seen a state of conflict since Indian independence, while Manipur, Mizoram, Meghalaya and Tripura have witnessed militancy since the sixties. In Assam the problem was about the lack of development of the region with its resources being diverted elsewhere. The Assam oil blockade (1980) was one of the first agitation that focused on the demand for economic development of the region. Later, the Jharkhand agitation followed the same logic.

The democratic system of governance of India was suspended for a brief period of time in 1970s when Emergency was declared. The influx of refugees from East Pakistan had begun in the late sixties, it escalated in the 1970s eventually leading to a conflict and the creation of a new state of Bangladesh. The other crisis that grew into a major confrontation was the demand for Khalistan in the state of Punjab. This agitation forced the Indian government to use force against the separatist movement. The assassination of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi was the first such political assassination, a direct result of the use of force to tackle the Punjab agitation. A second such assassination was of Rajiv Gandhi who lost his life to a suicide attack by the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) for having taken decisions on the Tamil question in Sri Lanka. The religious conflict in India escalated in the 1980s. The events at Ayodhya (Ram Janmabhoomi/ Mandir-Babri Masjid dispute) and its repercussions in 1992 in the form of Mumbai riots brought in new dimensions to militancy in India.

The late 1980s and the 1990s once again brought the problem of Jammu and Kashmir in the forefront. The agitation saw a change in the nature of militancy that shifted from a state centric terrorist activity to a modern abstract terrorist struggle. Militancy started in the Kashmir Valley with the movement for 'Azadi'. India went into an economic transformation in the 1990s. It slowly abandoned the socialist pattern of economic development and opted for economic liberalisation. This was a new approach to tackle the problem of economic development in India, an approach that led to economic recovery and a relatively high and stable economic growth.

Over the last decade and more there have been several issues that have posed a challenge to peace and stability in India. These issues have been in the areas of economic development, social and cultural problems, etc. Challenges are also faced due to caste and religious unrest, extreme form of regionalism, economic disparities, etc.

This chapter looks at some of the issues that have continued to be a matter of concern for the peace and stability and therefore affect the process of socio-economic development in India. These issues have also posed a challenge to the process of nation building and national integration of the country. These issues include the following: (i) Cross Border Terrorism in Jammu and Kashmir (ii) Left Wing Extremism in certain areas (iii) Terrorism.

Cross Border Terrorism in Jammu and Kashmir

The Indian Independence Act, 1947 provided that the rulers of the princely states had to take the final decision whether they wished to join India or Pakistan. The problem in Jammu and Kashmir began with Pakistan sending tribal raiders with the support of the army to force Maharaja Hari Singh of Jammu and Kashmir to join Pakistan. Hari Singh signed the Instrument of Accession making the State a part of the Indian union after which India sent troops to protect Kashmir. This resulted in the first India-Pakistan war of 1947-48. Again in 1965 Pakistan sent in infiltrators with a hope that they would lead the people of Jammu and Kashmir to rise against India. However, when Pakistan actually attacked in 1965, the local population did not support Pakistan.

In 1965 Amanullah Khan created the Plebiscite Front in Pakistan Occupied Kashmir. The organisation had an unofficial armed wing called National Liberation Front, which carried out sabotage activities in Jammu and Kashmir. In 1977 the Plebiscite Front was given a new name, Jammu Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF). In 1989 a National Conference worker was shot dead and Jammu Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF) kidnaped Rubia Sayeed, daughter of the then Home Minister. The main demand of the JKLF was to create an independent state of Kashmir.

Pakistan decided to use the Mujahideen to back the pro-Pakistan guerrilla groups such as the Hizb-ul-Mujahideen in Kashmir. The entry of the pan-Islamist fighters into the Valley from Pakistan changed the colour of the insurgency. The growth of Islamic militancy in Kashmir in the 1990s, resulted in the migration of the Pandit population from Kashmir.

The Indian government has maintained that terrorism emanating from across Indian borders remains the core concern in India's relationship with Pakistan. The government argues that infiltration from across the border is mainly in Jammu and Kashmir which is affected by terrorist violence, sponsored and supported from across-the border. The Ministry of Home, Government of India in its Annual Report of 2016-17 states : The State of Jammu and Kashmir has been affected by terrorist and secessionist violence, sponsored and supported from across the border, for more than two and a half decades. It also says that Pakistan has tried to radicalise the people through vested social groups and the use of social media. Jammu and Kashmir has seen a continuous period of instability fostered by cross border intervention in form of militancy or political support to separatist groups like the Hurriyat. The disturbing feature of the conflict is the use of children for stone throwing and burning of schools by the militants.

Burning of Schools : Kashmir
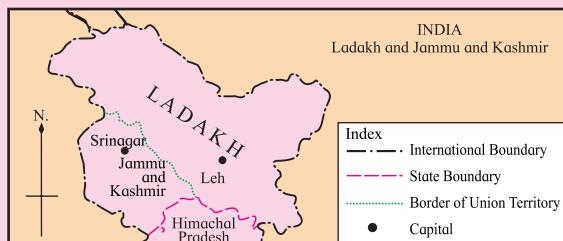

Stone Throwing in Kashmir

Information given by the Government in the Lok Sabha : Several terrorist attacks in India, including in Jammu and Kashmir are perpetrated by infiltrators from Pakistan or Pakistan Occupied Kashmir, benefitting from the terrorist infrastructure existing there….

Listing of several Pakistan-based individuals including Hafiz Saeed and Zaki- ur Rahman Lakhvi, and entities including Lashkar-e-Taiba/Jamaat-ud-Dawaa under the relevant provisions of the United Nations Security Council's Resolution No. 1267 was successfully pursued….

Our concerns regarding anti-India terrorism emanating from Pakistan have been taken up with international community and also bilaterally with Pakistan on a number of occasions.

(The Minister of State in the Ministry of External Affairs Question No.2041, Pakistan Sponsored Terrorism, March 09, 2016, LOK SABHA)

Discuss :

In August 2019, the 'Special' status granted to the state of Jammu and Kashmir under the Art.370 of the Indian Constitution was revoked. The State was bifurcated in two Union Territories:

(i) Jammu and Kashmir (with a Legislative Assembly) and

(ii) Ladakh (without a Legislative Assembly).

What are the implications of the change?

Left Wing Extremism in certain areas

The Naxalite movement that is now referred to as Maoist movement or Left-Wing Extremism has its main support base amongst certain sections of landless agricultural labour, dalits and tribal communities. It is also spreading into urban centers, especially the blue-collar workers. It succeeds where there is a sense of injustice, exploitation, oppression and a feeling of neglect by the State.

The roots of the Naxalite movement can be traced to the Telangana movement (1946-51). It was the first serious attempt to promote a peasant struggle by the Indian communists. The movement did gain an initial success but the momentum of the movement ended with the land reforms initiated by the Indian government. Naxalism began as a protest against the feudal order in 1967 at Naxalbari in West Bengal. At an ideological level the roots may be traced in the writings of Charu Majumdar whose articles were based on the ideology of Marx-Lenin-Mao. This movement lost its momentum in the seventies after the arrest of Muzumdar and the government policies of non-tolerance of the agitation. Later in 1980s it was revived once again and has eventually taken a militant turn.

In 2004, the Naxalite groups, the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) and other similar groups like PW and MCCI joined together to form the Communist Party of India (Maoist). This unified CPI (Maoist) party represented a unified organisational network based on the ideological foundations of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism.

The Ministry of Home Affairs observes that efforts are made by Left Wing Extremists to prevent execution and implementation of development works including infrastructure like railways, roads, power and telecom through violence and terror. The purpose of

What is Left Wing Extremism?

In 2004, the People's War (PW), then operating in Andhra Pradesh, and the Maoist Communist Centre of India (MCCI), then operating in Bihar and adjoining areas, merged to form the CPI (Maoist) Party. The CPI (Maoist) Party, is the major Left-Wing Extremist outfit that has been included in the Schedule of Terrorist Organisations along with all its formations and front organisations under the Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act, 1967. The CPI (Maoist) philosophy is to use armed insurgency to overthrow the Government.

Naxal attacks, Gadchiroli

this is to show the governance structures at field levels as being ineffective. Maoist operations are based primarily in the rural and under-developed areas of India. Areas that lack communication facilities, are generally forested or have difficult terrain where the security forces cannot operate with impunity, are the areas of operation of the Naxal groups.

Some of their broad tactics are as follows:

(i) Use of propaganda slogans

(ii) Establishment of a mass movement

(iii) Mobilisation of women, tribals and minorities into the revolution.

(iv) Mobilisation of urban population on mass issues

(v) Develop appropriate forms of military organisations

The United Nations reports the recruitment and use of children as young as 6 years of age by armed groups, including the Naxalites. Children were coerced to join children's units ("Bal Dasta"), where they were trained and used as couriers and informants, to plant improvised explosive devices and in front-line operations against national security forces. The report also noted that the abduction of children, especially girls, by armed groups was a serious concern.

Terrorism

Terrorism has been looked at as a threat to use violence with an intention to create panic in the society. It is a deliberate, politically motivated violence against civilian targets. These targets are called 'soft targets'. Attacks on buses, trains, train or bus stations, airports, cinema theatres, markets, malls, etc. are the tactics used. The purpose is usually to create panic in the public.

Terrorism is a form of warfare. It is called 'asymmetric warfare' because there is no pattern to the nature of violent attacks that are conducted. The traditional form of terrorism was state-centric. The fight was for a specific people fighting for their rights against the State. For example, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) were fighting for the rights of Tamils in Sri Lanka, Irish Republican Army (IRA) fought for the rights of the Irish people, Basque Fatherland and Liberty (ETA) separatists fought for their rights against the Spanish government.

Modern form of terrorism is not state-centric. The modern-day terrorist fights for abstract ideological goals or beliefs. These goals may be religious in nature. They are usually part of some organisation that fights at a global level. The New York attack of 11 September 2001 (popularly called 9/11) is considered the beginning of modern-day terrorism. The Nigerian terrorist group Boko Haram, the Afghan Taliban are some examples of such groups.

Some examples of terrorist attacks in India

- On 12 March 1993, a total of 12 bomb explosions rocked Mumbai in succession on one day resulting in 257 fatalities and 717 injuries. The explosions were caused at Commercial Centers and other landmarks of Mumbai like Air India building, Stock Exchange building, Hotel Sea Rock, Hotel Juhu Centaur, Hotel Airport Centaur, Plaza Theatre etc. Besides, hand grenades were also thrown at Hindu Fishermen Colony in Mahim and Sahar Airport, Mumbai.

- On 14 February 1998, bomb blasts were carried out at 11 separate locations in Coimbatore, killing 58 people and injuring over 200 others.

- On 13 December 2001, five terrorists belonging to Jaish-e-Mohammad (JeM) and Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT) targeted the Indian Parliament .

- On 24 September 2004, the Akshardham Temple complex at Gandhinagar, Gujarat, came under attack by two armed terrorists. As many as 30 people were killed and more than 80 injured in the attack.

- On 11 July 2006, a series of seven blasts took place in Mumbai's local trains over a period of 11 minutes during evening rush hour. The bombs were set off in pressure cookers on trains plying the Western line of the Suburban Railway network. A total of 209 people were killed and over 700 were injured.

- On 8 February 2007, bombs were set off in two carriages in the Samjhauta Express which runs twice a week connecting Delhi and Lahore, 68 people were killed in the attack while dozens were left injured.
- On 26 November 2008 a series of terrorist attacks took place in Mumbai. The places where the attacks took place included the Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj Railway Terminal, the Oberoi Trident and Taj Palace Hotels, Leopold Café, Cama Hospital, Nariman House. Metro Cinema, and some other places. The attacks were conducted by members of the Laskar-e-Taiba, an organisation based in Pakistan

- On 18 September 2016, the militant group Jaish-e-Mohammed was involved in the planning and execution of the attack on security forces at Uri in Kashmir.
- On 14 February 2019, a convoy of vehicles carrying CRPF security personnel on the Jammu Srinagar National Highway was attacked by a vehicle-borne suicide bomber in the Pulwama district, Jammu and Kashmir, India.
- On 1 May 2019, a landmine killed 15 Indian police and their driver in Gadchiroli. Police have blamed the blast on Naxalite groups.

Terrorist attacks, Mumbai : July 2006 and November 2008

Role of the State

Public order, peace and stability are a critical necessity for progress. An unruly society would lead to economic disaster. The quality of life of our citizens is in great measure dependent upon the maintenance of public order. There is an inextricable link between the maintenance of order and conflict resolution. If conflicts are managed properly, the likelihood of breaches of peace, order and stability is minimised.

Look at the chart to understand the role of the state in maintaining peace, stability and national integration. The first level is of basic goals that are given in the Indian Constitution. The second level deals with what the State is expected to do in case of problems in their early stages. The third level is when there is a crisis and the State has to deal with it.

Role of the State

State Goals / Role : Basic Level

The State has to ensure Political Stability by using constitutional machinery of representation; Economic Prosperity through integrated and all-round development of all regions and Socio-Cultural development through Welfare State. All these are goals and values that have been enshrined in the Indian Constitution.

State Goals / Role : Second Level

(This is when problems start to occur. Examples: demand for political identity by regions based on language, ethnicity, etc.; demand for decentralisation of economic decision making; demand for reservations; etc.)

The State has to deescalate the momentum of the demands by providing increased representation through Councils, Boards, etc. Open industries in backward areas; start employment generation schemes; promote private sector investment and public-private partnership in rural areas.

State Goals / Role : Third Level

(This is when the issue becomes violent. Examples: Gorkhaland agitation, Jharkhand agitation, etc.)

The State has to manage and resolve the conflict. This is done by the use of force as necessary (police or armed forces), Create Development Boards; provide direct Central (Union) assistance; grant regional autonomy through Autonomous Councils; etc.

In the next chapter we will be looking at another aspect of contemporary India. We will study the concept of citizen centric administration that is part of good governance.

See the following website for additional information:

1. Second Administrative Reforms Commission Reports:
   5th Report: Public Order
   8th Report: Combating Terrorism – Protecting by Righteousness.
   https://darpg.gov.in/arc-reports

2. Background Note on National Integration Council
   https://mha.gov.in/sites/default/files/NICBackG-171013.pdf
   https://www.niti.gov.in/writereaddata/files/India%20VNR_Final.pdf

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Exercise

Q.1 (A) Choose the correct alternative and complete the following statements.

(1) Rajiv Gandhi was assassinated for having taken decision of the Tamil question in ....
(Tamilnadu, Bangladesh, Srilanka, Pakistan)

(2) The first national integration conference was held in ....
(1961, 1962, 1963, 1964)

(B) Identify incorrect pair in every set, correct it and rewrite.

1. (i) LTTE - Sri Lanka
   (ii) Irish Republican Army - Ireland

(iii) Basque Fatherland and Liberty (CTA) - Portugal

2. (i) Bako Haram - Bangladesh
   (ii) Afgan Taliban - Afghanistan
   (iii) Jaish-e-Mohammad - Pakistan

(C) Complete the following statements by using appropriate reason.

(1) The left wing extemists prevent execution and implementation of developmental work, because -
   (i) they are against government.
   (ii) the opposition parties ask them to do so.
   (iii) they want to show that the government structure at field level is ineffective.

(2) In 1990's Kashmiri Pandits migrated from Kashmir valley, because -
   (i) they weren't from Kashmir.
   (ii) there was growth in Islamic militancy.
   (iii) there were no job opportunities for them.
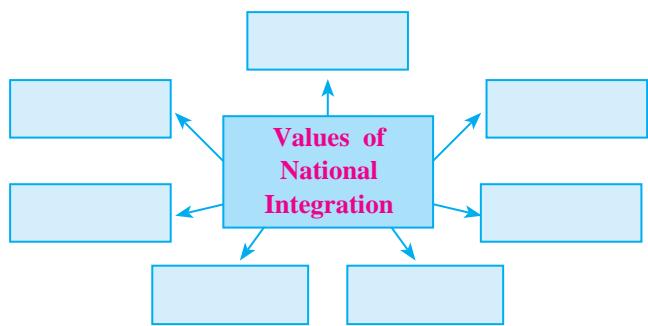
Q.2 (A) Find the odd word in the given set.
Terrorism, Naxalism, Nationalism, Extremism

(B) State the appropriate concept for the given statement.
(1) Threat use violence with an intention to create panic in the society -
(2) Involvement of people in decision making process of state -

Q.3 (A) Complete the concept map.

(B) State whether the following statements are true or false with reason.
(1) Democracy is required to establish national integration and social transformation.
(2) National movement in India played an important role in national integration.

Q.4 Explain the co-relation between the following.
National Unity and Regional Aspirations

Q.5 Express your opinion.
Peace and stability are needed for the nation's progress.

Q.6 Answer the following in 80 to 100 words.
(1) What is left wing extremism in India?
(2) Explain cross border terrorism in Jammu and Kashmir.

Q.7 Answer the following in 150 to 200 words.
Explain the role of the State with help of given points.
(a) Peace and order (b) Economic development (c) National Building (d) Governance (e) Welfare

Activity
Trace the changes that have taken place in Art 370 of the Indian constitution.

ⱷ ⱷ ⱷ

5. Contemporary India : Good Governance

In this chapter we will explore the concept of good governance and citizen centric administration which has become an important aspect of changing nature of public administration particularly in the era of globalisation.

Let us begin with few questions. What is government? What is governance? What should be the role of government in civic administration? Should they play any role and how they can play that role?

We as citizens come in contact with the government's administrative machinery on a daily basis. For instance, you may need a birth certificate, death certificate, Aadhar Card, PAN Card, Ration Card etc. We may have complaints against the local government for not repairing or maintaining roads, clearing the garbage, etc.. How the government's administrative agencies respond to these various demands, need and requirements of citizens will determine the success or failure of the government administration.

Since early 1980s there has been an increasing focus on the performance of the public administration institutions. To ensure performance it is necessary that values like accountability, responsibility, transparency and citizen's feedback need to be introduced in the realm of public administration.

What is the role of the State towards its citizens? In the 11th standard we saw the role of public administration. We saw that there was a 'narrow' role described as POSDCORB and a broader role that included all the three branches of the government.

We also saw how the concept of development administration brought in changes in this traditional role. We noted that in development administration the citizens play an important role in public administration.

Today, besides the government, various non-state actors (Non-Governmental Organisations and Voluntary Organisations) play an important supportive role in public administration. The word used to describe this cooperative effort of the government and non-governmental bodies in public administration is 'governance'. This is a broader view of public administration. Thus governance is broader than government. It includes not only the formal institutions of government (E.g. Legislature, Executive, Bureaucrats, etc.) but also informal institutions (E.g. NGO's, Civil Society Organisations, Private sector organisations). The concept of governance also aims to improve the performance of public institutions with a focus on citizens.

Do this.

Identify NGO's that are working in your Area/City/State. Look at the issues and work done by them. In which NGO would you like to work?

Evolution and Meaning

Several changes took place in the world in 1990s. These changes include the following:

(i) **Globalisation of the world economy :** Globalisation had several dimensions: (a) The technological revolution in the sector of communication brought in the internet, mobile communications, TV, etc. These developments and the growth of social networking brought in instant connectivity and transparency in the administrative system. (b) International economic relations changed, trade and investment became an important economic issue. This made international funding agencies more influential.

(ii) **International Institutions :** There is a

growing influence of international funding agencies like International Monetary Fund, World Bank, Asian Development Bank, United Nations Development Programme, United Nations Environment Programme, United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund etc.: These donor agencies now influenced the policies of the Third World countries. They wanted reforms in the traditional administrative setup of the countries that were seeking aid.

(iii) Non-state actors : Voluntary Organisations and Non-Governmental Organisations started to play a greater role in public administration.
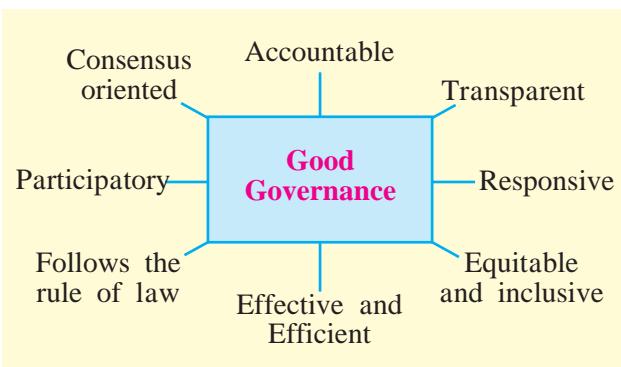
These changes brought in a rethinking in approaches to public administration. It was felt that the traditional approaches of public administration would not satisfy the requirements of the citizens. This brought in a shift from public administration as an approach to governance. Governance approach is a break from the traditional model of public administration.

These reforms sought to revamp the traditional, archaic, elephantine sized public administration riddled with delays, red tape, and corruption. It aimed to replace these old systems with responsive, responsible, participative, equitable public administration. The new model is popularly called as 'Good Governance' model. This model also looks at the inter-linkages between state (government), and civil society. This model wanted to make administration citizen centered and not rule bound.

> **What is civil society?**
>
> Civil society refers to a wide range of organisations. They include community groups, non-governmental organisations [NGOs], labour unions, indigenous groups, charitable organisations, faith-based organisations, professional associations, foundations, etc. .

Following chart gives us a clear idea of the values that are part of this model

> **Maharashtra State Good Governance Framework**
> - Right to Information Act and Rules, 2005
> - Maharashtra Public Records Act, 2005
> - Maharashtra Prevention of Delay in Discharge of Official Duty Act, 2005
> - Maharashtra Guarantee of Services to Citizens Act, 2015

In the following section we try to understand the core values of good governance.

Values of Good Governance:

Participatory:

It is one of the most essential aspects of good governance. Effective functioning of any democratic system requires people's participation. It ensures that voices and choices of people are heard. People get an opportunity to participate in the process of decision making and its implementation.

Rule of law:

The supremacy of the law of the land i.e. constitution, is another core value of good governance. The constitutional values are the guiding posts for the administration. All are treated equally in front of the law. It ensures a just and fair polity where rights of the people are safeguarded.

Transparency

The culture of secrecy has been challenged by the value of transparency. This enables the people to keep the government under public scrutiny. In India since 2005 the Right to Information Act has been giving the citizens the right to seek information related to the functioning of the government.

Responsiveness

Good governance requires that institutions and processes try to serve all stakeholders within a reasonable timeframe. The government is prompt in taking decisions and specially pays heed to the problems and designs the policies accordingly.

Consensus Oriented

There are several view-points in a given society. Good governance requires a dialogue between various segments of the society. This can help to reach a broad consensus on what is in the best interest of the whole community and how this can be achieved. It also requires a broad and long-term perspective on what is needed for sustainable human development and how to achieve the goals of such development.

Equity and Inclusiveness

A society's well-being depends on ensuring that all its members feel that they have a stake in it. No one should feel excluded from the mainstream of society. This requires all groups, but particularly the most vulnerable, have opportunities to improve or maintain their well-being.

Effectiveness and Efficiency

Good governance means that processes and institutions produce results that meet the needs of society while making the best use of resources at their disposal. The concept of efficiency in the context of good governance also covers the sustainable use of natural resources and the protection of the environment.

Accountability

Accountability is a key requirement of good governance. Not only governmental institutions but also the private sector and civil society organisations must be accountable to the public and to their institutional stakeholders. Who is accountable to whom depends on whether decisions or actions taken are internal or external to an organisation or institution. In general an organisation or an institution is accountable to those who will be affected by its decisions or actions. Accountability cannot be enforced without transparency and the rule of law.

Initiatives for good governance and citizen centric administration in India:

In the post-independence period India adopted a socialist and welfare model of development. The development administration approach had a focus on people's participation. However, despite periodic efforts and programmes, genuine participation of people in the process of governance was not able to be achieved.

The Department of Administrative Reforms and Public Grievances under the Ministry of Personnel, Public Grievances and Pensions, Government of India, looks after administrative reforms in India. Its objectives are to (i) promote administrative reforms in government policies, structures and processes, (ii) Promote citizen-centric governance with emphasis on grievance redressal, and (iii) Conduct innovations in e-governance.

The Second Administrative Reforms Commission (ARC) was set up with a mandate to prepare a blue print for revamping the public administration system in India. It was expected to suggest measures to achieve a pro-active, responsive, accountable, sustainable and efficient administration for the country at all levels of government. One of the main tasks of the Commission was concerned with Citizen Centric Administration.

The commission maintained that governance, in order to be citizen centric, should be participative and transparent. It should be effective, efficient and responsive to the citizens. Furthermore, an ethos of serving the citizens should permeate all government organisations. Government organisations should also be accountable to the people. One of the primary functions of the State is to promote the welfare of its citizens. Therefore an evaluation of the functioning of the institutions of governance will ultimately have to be based on the satisfaction they provide to the citizens. In this regard, prominence would need to be attached to the voice of the citizens themselves.

In particular the Second Administrative Reforms Commission looked at the following issues to revamp the traditional public administration in India:

(i) Accountable and Transparent Government: The focus was on creating a system of accountability and transparency in administration. There was also a need to avoid delays in the service provided.

(ii) Make administration more result-oriented: Various administrative processes were to be simplified made user-friendly.

(iii) Citizen centric administration: Ensure greater involvement of people's representatives and community at large in the conceptualisation and execution of programmes.

Reforms that aimed at changing public administration in India:

There have been a large number of reform measures which have sought to bring administration closer to the people. Broadly these initiatives include:

(i) Enacting laws giving certain rights to people

(ii) Setting up of new institutional mechanisms to redress citizens' grievances

(iii) Improving accessibility to citizens by setting up units closer to people

(iv) Simplifying procedures to reduce bureaucratic delays

(v) Using technology to improve internal efficiency

(vi) Rewarding government employees who perform well

(vii) Improving discipline within the organisation

(viii) Reducing regulatory control

(ix) Holding public contact programmes etc.

Do this.

Find out examples of the reforms that have been initiated for each of the above.

E.g. (i) Enacting laws giving rights to people: Reform initiated - Right to Information (2005).

Administrative Reforms in India: Dialogue with citizens in a District Collector's Office at the Janata Darbar

Administrative Reforms in India : Corrections in Aadhar Card being made at a District Collector's Office

Administrative Reforms in India

Let us discuss some of the specific programmes that aimed at bringing good governance in India.

1) Lokpal and Lokayukta

The Lokpal and Lokayuktas Act, 2013 came into force in 2014. The Act provides for the establishment of a body of Lokpal for the Union and Lokayukta for States. This office would inquire into allegations of corruption against public functionaries. It shows the Government's commitment to clean and responsive governance.

The concept of Lokpal has been taken from Sweden where the office is called the Ombudsman. The typical duties of an ombudsman are to investigate complaints against government officials and attempt to resolve them.

The State of Maharashtra was the first and pioneer State in India to introduce the concept of Lokayukta. The Maharashtra Lokayukta Institution came into being in 1972. The Lokayukta can investigate allegations or grievances arising out of the conduct of public servants including political executives, legislators, officers of the State Government, local bodies, public enterprises and other instrumentalities of Government. A member of the public can file specific allegations with the Lokayukta against any public servant for enquiry. The Lokayukta can also initiate suo-moto inquiry into the conduct of public servants. The Government of India appointed Pinaki Chandra Ghose as the first Lokpal in 2019.

Do you know?

Suo moto is a Latin term. It means 'on its own motion'. It is used where a government agency acts on its own.

2) Citizens' Charters

Citizens' Charter is based on the premise that the Citizen is "King" and government organisations exist to serve the citizens. In order to ensure that both, the service providers as well as citizens realise that public agencies are meant to provide service, each organisation should spell out the services it has to perform and then specify the standards/norms for these services. Once this is done then the organisation can be held accountable if the service standards are not met. Government of India commenced the exercise to formulate Citizens' Charters in 1996.

नागरिकांची सनद

नोंदणी व मुद्रांक विभागातर्फे नागरिकांना देण्यात येणाऱ्या सेवांबाबतची सनद

अ. क्र.	सेवेचा तपशील	अर्ज कोणत्या कार्यालयात सादर करावा	अर्ज मंजूर करणारे/ निर्णय घेणारे अधिकारी	सेवा पुरवण्यास लागणारा कालावधी
दुय्यम निबंधक कार्यालयामार्फत पुरवण्यात येणाऱ्या सेवा				
१.	दस्त नोंदणी करणे.	दुय्यम निबंधक	दुय्यम निबंधक	30 मिनिटे
२.	दस्ताच्या सूचीची प्रमाणित नक्कल देणे. (अ) फेब्रु. 2002 नंतरच्या दस्ताबाबत (ब) फेब्रु. 2002 पूर्वींच्या दस्ताबाबत	दुय्यम निबंधक	दुय्यम निबंधक	5 दिवस 15 दिवस
३.	दस्ताची प्रमाणित नक्कल देणे. (अ) फेब्रु. 2002 नंतरच्या दस्ताबाबत (ब) फेब्रु. 2002 पूर्वींच्या दस्ताबाबत	दुय्यम निबंधक	दुय्यम निबंधक	5 दिवस 15 दिवस
४.	शोध उपलब्ध करणे.	दुय्यम निबंधक	दुय्यम निबंधक	त्याच दिवशी
५.	नोटीस ऑफ इंटिमेशन फाईल करून घेणे.	दुय्यम निबंधक	दुय्यम निबंधक	2 तास
६.	जुना मूळ दस्त नोंदणी करून परत देणे.	दुय्यम निबंधक	दुय्यम निबंधक	5 दिवस
७.	मुद्रांक शुल्क भरण्याचे प्रयोजनार्थ मूल्यांकन अहवाल देणे.	दुय्यम निबंधक	दुय्यम निबंधक	3 दिवस
८.	दस्त नोंदणी संदर्भात गृहभेट देणे.	दुय्यम निबंधक	दुय्यम निबंधक	3 दिवस
९.	विशेष कुलमुखत्यारपत्राचे अधिप्रमाणन करून देणे.	दुय्यम निबंधक	दुय्यम निबंधक	त्याच दिवशी
१०.	मृत्युकर्त्याच्या मृत्यूनंतर मृत्यूपत्र नोंदणी करणे.	दुय्यम निबंधक	दुय्यम निबंधक	त्याच दिवशी
सह जिल्हा निबंधक कार्यालयामार्फत देण्यात येणाऱ्या सेवा				
११.	नोंदणी झालेल्या दस्तविषयक अभिलेख दुरुस्तीस परवानगी देणे.	दुय्यम निबंधक	सह जिल्हा निबंधक	14 दिवस
१२.	दस्त नोंदणीस सादर करण्यासाठी किंवा कबुलीजबाब देण्यासाठी झालेला विलंब क्षमापित करणे.	दुय्यम निबंधक	सह जिल्हा निबंधक	30 दिवस
१३.	दस्त नोंदणीदरम्यान खोटे निवेदन किंवा तोतयेगिरी संदर्भातील तक्रारींवरील कार्यवाही करणे.	सह जिल्हा निबंधक	सह जिल्हा निबंधक	45 दिवस
१४.	दस्त नोंदणी नाकारण्याच्या आदेशाविरुद्ध अपिलावरील कार्यवाही करणे.	सह जिल्हा निबंधक	सह जिल्हा निबंधक	45 दिवस (सुनावणीनुसार)
१५.	सह जिल्हा निबंधक कार्यालयात नोंदणी झालेल्या दस्ताची/त्या दस्ताच्या सूचीची प्रमाणित नक्कल देणे.	सह जिल्हा निबंधक	सह जिल्हा निबंधक	15 दिवस
१६.	दस्त नोंदणी न केलेल्या प्रकरणांमध्ये, ई-पेमेंट पद्धतीने भरलेल्या नोंदणी फी चा परतावा देणे.	दुय्यम निबंधक	सह जिल्हा निबंधक	22 दिवस
१७.	नोंदणी झालेल्या दस्तास जादा भरलेल्या नोंदणी फी चा परतावा देणे.	दुय्यम निबंधक	सह जिल्हा निबंधक	30 दिवस
१८.	मृत्युपत्राचा सीलबंद लखोटा जमा करणे, परत घेणे किंवा उघडणे.	सह जिल्हा निबंधक	सह जिल्हा निबंधक	त्याच दिवशी
मुद्रांक जिल्हाधिकारी कार्यालयामार्फत देण्यात येणाऱ्या सेवा				
१९.	दस्ताचे मुद्रांक शुल्काबाबत अभिनिर्णय करणे.	मुद्रांक जिल्हाधिकारी	मुद्रांक जिल्हाधिकारी	45 दिवस
२०.	मुद्रांक शुल्काचा परतावा देणे.	मुद्रांक जिल्हाधिकारी	मुद्रांक जिल्हाधिकारी	35 दिवस

- नागरिकांच्या सविस्तर माहितीसाठी सनदेची संपूर्ण प्रत सह जिल्हा निबंधक यांच्याकडे पाहणीसाठी उपलब्ध आहे.
- 'नागरिकांची सनद' व 'सारथी' ही पुस्तके www.igrmahhelpline.gov.in या वेबसाईटवर उपलब्ध आहेत.
- सनदेच्या अंमलबजावणीबाबत प्रतिक्रिया नोंदवण्यासाठी feedback@igrmaharashtra.gov.in या ई-मेल चा वापर करा.
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नोंदणी महानिरीक्षक व मुद्रांक नियंत्रक,
महाराष्ट्र राज्य, पुणे

3) E-Governance

Revolution in Information and Communications Technology (ICT) has the potential of elevating the governance process to new levels. That is the reason why countries around the world are increasingly opting for 'e-Governance'. Governance has become more complex and varied in the last few decades. Citizens' expectations from government have also increased manifold. ICT facilitates efficient storing and retrieval of data, instantaneous transmission of information, processing information and data faster than the earlier manual systems. This helps in speeding up governmental processes, taking decisions expeditiously and judiciously, increasing transparency and enforcing accountability. It also helps in increasing the reach of government – both geographically and demographically.

Over the years, a large number of initiatives have been undertaken by various State Governments and Central Ministries to bring in an era of e-Government. Efforts have been made at various levels to improve the delivery of public services and simplify the process of accessing them. e-Governance in India has evolved from computerisation of Government Departments to such initiatives in Governance, such as citizen centricity, service orientation and transparency.

The objective of the National e-Governance Plan of the Government of India is to bring public services closer home to citizens. This is to be achieved by building a countrywide infrastructure reaching down to the remotest of villages and large-scale digitisation of records to enable easy, reliable access over the internet. Today application for a birth certificate, death certificate, PAN card or even a Passport can be done online. This has brought administration closer to people.

Website of the Regional Transport Office (RTO).

4) Right to Information

Right to information is one of the most important aspects of good governance. It provides access to information about public policies and actions. It is the key to strengthening participatory democracy and ushering in people centred governance. Transparency in government organisations makes them function more objectively, predictably and also enables citizens to participate in the governance process effectively. In a fundamental sense, right to information is a basic necessity of good governance. The Right to Information Act, 2005 has enabled citizens to seek important public information from the government.
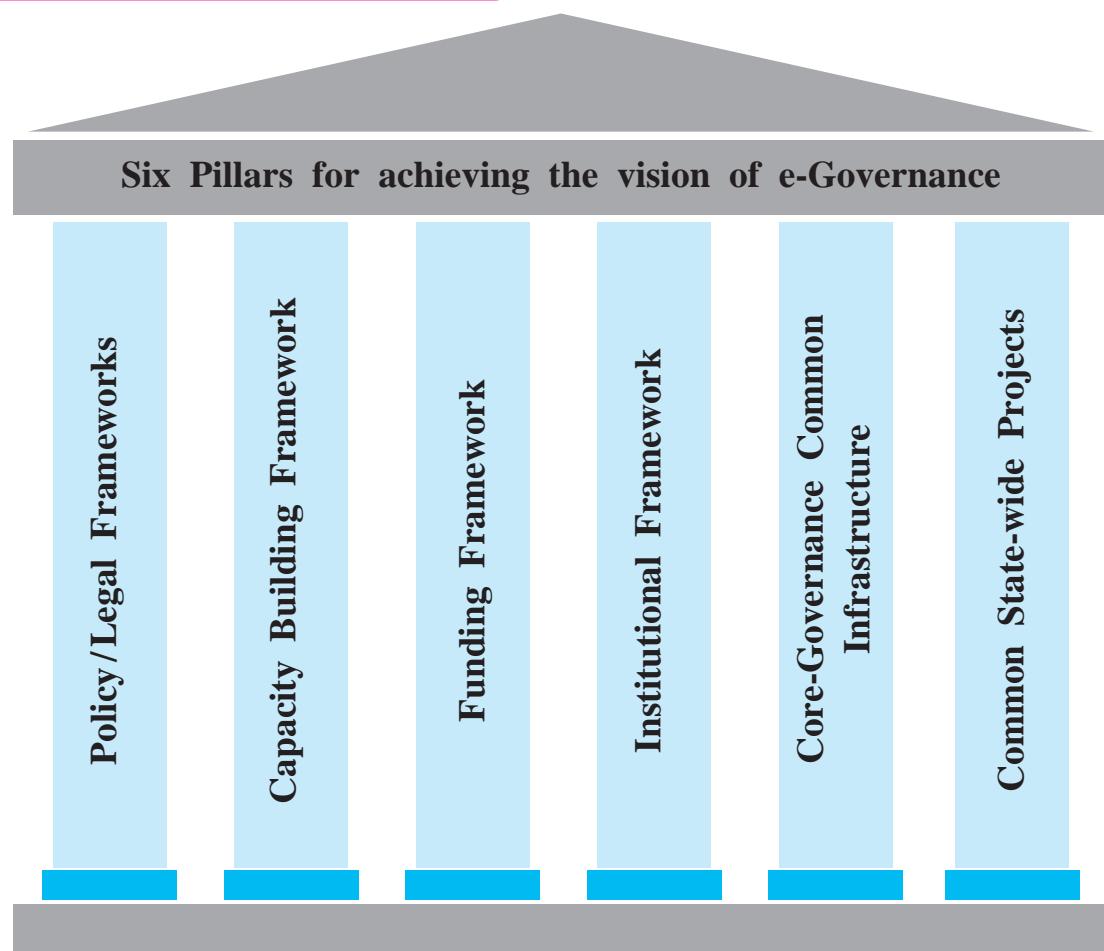
Do this.

Find out how an application for the Right to Information is prepared. Prepare a sample application for getting information from a government office.

5) Citizen participation

Citizen participation in governance is seen as contributing to a healthy democracy. It enhances and improves upon the traditional form of representative democracy to transform it into more responsive and thus a participative democracy.

All the above programmes ensure citizens participation in governance. Citizens are not to be considered as recipients of development but as participants in the development process. It is essentially a 'bottom- up' approach and not a 'top- down' approach. It refers to the modalities by which citizens can influence and take control over resources and decision making about development. It accepts that the citizens have a legitimate right in making decisions about their future.

Six Pillars for achieving the vision of e-Governance

- Policy/Legal Frameworks
- Capacity Building Framework
- Funding Framework
- Institutional Framework
- Core-Governance Common Infrastructure
- Common State-wide Projects

Special Institutional Mechanisms

The benefits of good governance must be available to all the sections of the society. The constitution provides for socio-economic and political safeguards to certain disadvantaged sections of the society. Besides the safeguards provided for them the government has created several commissions to safeguard the rights of different sections of the society. These include the following:

(i) **National Commission for Scheduled Castes :** Deals with matters related to the safeguards provided under the constitution and inquire into specific complaints relating to deprivation of rights of the Scheduled Caste community.

(ii) **National Commission for Scheduled Tribes :** Deals with matters related to the safeguards provided under the constitution and inquire into specific complaints relating to deprivation of rights of the Scheduled Tribe community.

(iii) **National Human Rights Commission :** It deals with protection of rights relating to life, liberty, equality and dignity guaranteed by the constitution.

(iv) **National Commission for Women :** This was created to facilitate the redressal of grievances and accelerate socio-economic development of women.

(v) **National Commission for the Protection of Child Rights :** It seeks to protect, promote and defend child rights in the country. The Commission defines a child as a person in the 0 to 18 years of age group.

(vi) National Commission for Backward Classes : The focus is welfare of socially and economically backward classes.

(vii) National Commission for Minorities : It monitors the working of the safeguards for minorities provided in the Constitution and by laws enacted by the Parliament and the State Legislatures.

(viii) National Consumer Disputes Redressal Commission : This provides for a consumer disputes redressal mechanism.

Discuss :

Discuss the organisation and role of any one of the above commissions.

The Indian constitution has laid down the framework of good governance through the Fundamental Rights and Directive Principles of State Policy. Based on these the government has tried to develop an institutional framework for good governance. The core of good governance is a citizen centric approach to administration. It creates an environment wherein all classes of people can develop to their full potential. A responsive, accountable, sustainable and efficient administration for the country is what India seeks to achieve.

See the following website for additional information:

1. Ministry of Electronics and Information Technology, Government of India.
https://meity.gov.in/divisions/national-e-governance-plan

2. Citizen Centric Administration (12th Report), 2009, Second Administrative Commission: Reports. Department of Administrative Reforms and Grievances, Government of India
https://darpg.gov.in/arc-reports

3. Government of Maharashtra, E Governance Policy, 23 September 2011
https://www.maharashtra.gov.in/PDF/e_governance_policy.pdf

Exercise
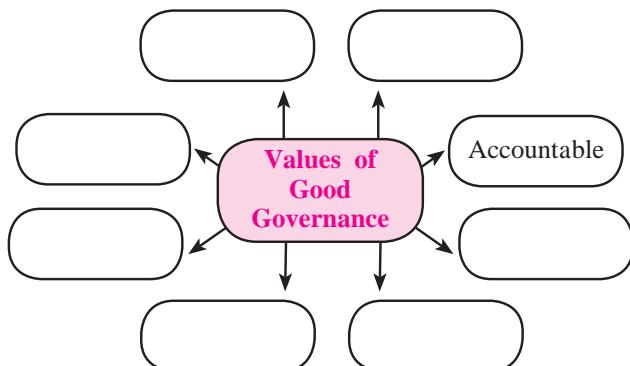
**Q.1 (A) Choose the correct alternative and complete the following statements.**

(1) The concept of Lokpal has been taken from ……………… .
(Finland, Sweden, Norway, Germany)

(2) Right to information is one of the imporetent aspects of ……………… .
(Good governance, democracy, decentralisation, development)

(B) State the appropriate concept for the given concept.
Person investigating complaints against government officials -

Q.2 (A) Compete the concept map.

(B) State whether the following statements are true or false with reason.

(1) Lokayukta can investigate complaints against political executives.

(2) Good Governance aims at efficient use of natural resources.

Q.3 Explain co-relation between the following.
Good Governance and E-Governance.

Q.4 Express your opinion.
(1) E-governance speeds up governmental processes.
(2) E-governance brought administration closer to people.

Q.5 Answer the following in 80 to 100 words.
Explain various institutions protecting rights of different sections in India.

Q.6 Answer the following question in detail with help of given points.
Explain in detail the following values of Good Governance.
(a) participation   (b) transparency
(c) responsiveness   (d) accountability

Activity
(1) Find out the information regarding state level commissions working for safeguarding rights of various sections of society.
(2) Find out information on Ombudsman.

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6. India and the World

The evolution of Indian foreign policy can be traced back to the period before independence. It was an actor in international relations even as a British colony. It participated in the Bretton Woods Conference that created the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. It also was a part of the San Francisco Conferences that gave final shape to the Charter of the United Nations. Post-independence Indian foreign policy was a continuation of the legacy of the British policy in some cases; whereas in some others, it took positions which were completely different from the British.

We begin this chapter with understanding the Objectives and Principles, as well as the factors that influence the foreign policy of India.

Objectives of Indian Foreign policy

An important objective of Indian foreign policy is to maintain international peace and security. It has been incorporated as a Directive Principle of State Policy in Part IV Article 51 of the Constitution of India. It states that the Government of India shall strive for the promotion and maintenance of international peace and security. Further, since independence, India aspired to emerge as a major power and play an influential role in international politics.

The objectives of Indian foreign policy include protection of the sovereignty and integrity of the country, promoting economic growth and development, and ensuring national security in a broader sense. Since the 1990s, India has adopted the policy of greater integration with the world economy in order to sustain a high growth rate. As a result, good relations with neighbouring countries, strengthening relations with regional groups (such as ASEAN or EU), ensuring peace and order in the Indian Ocean and the Indo-Pacific regions are also some important objectives of contemporary foreign policy of India.

Principles of India's Foreign policy

There are some fundamental ideas that act as guidelines to foreign policy-makers in India. They are listed below:

- Sovereign Equality of states.
- Respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all states.
- Non-intervention in the internal affairs of any other state .
- Respect for International Law
- Active participation in International and Regional Organisations
- Belief in peaceful co-existence and peaceful resolution of international disputes

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's speech of 7 September 1946, given on the All India Radio spelt out the core features of India's foreign policy. He stated: 'We propose, as far as possible, to keep away from the power politics of groups, aligned against one another, which have led in the past to world wars and which may again lead to disasters on an even wider scale'. He also hoped to have friendly relations with England and invited the United States and the Soviet Union to become friends. He hoped that the past friendship with China would continue in the future. About India's position in Asia he said: 'We are of Asia and people of Asia are nearer and closer to us than others. India's position is important in terms of Western, Southern and South East Asia'.

Non-Alignment

Nonalignment has been an important feature of India's foreign policy. Non-alignment literally means not to be a part of any military alliance. It was India's response to the Cold War politics of the two super powers. The United States and the Soviet Union attempted to extend their respective 'sphere of influence' through promoting military alliances in Europe, Asia and elsewhere in the world.

First Nonaligned Summit Meeting, Belgrade, 1961

Do you know?

Some of the important military alliances during the cold war

American Military Alliances:
- North Atlantic Treaty Organisation in 1949 (NATO)
- ANZUS in 1951 (US, Australia, New Zealand);
- South East Asia Treaty Organisation (SEATO) in 1954
- Central Treaty Organisation (CENTO) in 1955.

Soviet Military Alliances:
- The Soviet Union and China signed a military alliance in 1950.
- Warsaw Pact in 1955.

Unlike many countries in the world that chose to align with an alliance by one of the two super powers; India chose to remain "non-aligned". It followed a policy of maintaining 'equidistance' from both the super powers. The idea and policy of Non-Alignment is the contribution of India's first Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru. After the end of the cold war questions were raised about the relevance of nonalignment. It must be noted that the essential features of nonalignment viz. independent foreign policy and peaceful approach are still relevant today.

Can you find out?

The First Summit Meeting of the Nonaligned countries at Belgrade (1961) finalised the criterion for nonalignment. Find out these criteria.

Factors influencing India's Foreign policy

- **Geographical factors :** Its vast coastline in the South and the presence of Himalayan mountain ranges to the north and the northeast have shaped India's perspective of foreign and security policy. Similarly, the presence of a large country like China across almost the entire north and north-eastern border also affects India's foreign policy. The unique geography of South Asia - while all neighbouring countries share a border with India, none share a border with each other - shapes the foreign policy too. India holds a dominant position in the Indian Ocean. It has an extensive coast line with Lakshdweep Islands in the west and Andaman and Nicobar Islands in the East.

- **Historical factors :** This includes the impact of India's traditional cultural values, such as peace and co-existence. It also includes the influence of historical cultural ties with the neighbouring civilisations in West, Central and Southeast Asia on India's foreign policy. Some of the basic values of Indian foreign policy like anti-colonialism and anti-racialism were laid during the freedom struggle.

- **Economcal factors :** The policy of Non-Alignment has a political, economic and strategic context. There was a strong urge to come out of poverty and backwardness that had emerged from the colonial period. India refused to accept financial aid from various donor countries, if it came with conditions unacceptable to India. The policy of import-substitution and giving importance to public sector enterprises had a tremendous impact on India's foreign policy. Many fundamental changes have occurred in foreign policy of India after adopting the policy of Liberalisation, Privatisation and Globalisation in the post 1991 era.

- **Political factors :** The Executive organ of Government plays an important role in making and implementing the foreign policy in India. Parliament plays the role of watchdog. Political leadership makes significant impact on foreign relations of India. Prime Ministers Jawaharlal Nehru, Lal Bahadur Shastri, Indira Gandhi, Rajiv Gandhi, P.V. Narasimha Rao, Atal Bihari Vajpayee, Manmohan Singh and Narendra Modi have played a decisive role in determining the foreign policy of India. The Ministry of External Affairs plays a pivotal role in drafting the foreign policy and giving advice to the political executive. Besides this, the National Security Advisor plays an important role in making foreign policy.

- **International System :** During the Cold War, the bipolar system and super power politics had impacted the foreign policy of India. Similarly, there were major changes in Indian foreign policy when the Cold War ended. Besides the international system, the regional system has also made a deep impact on India's foreign policy. Thus, Indo-US dialogue in the post-cold war era, China-Pakistan dialogue since the 1960s and improved Russia-China relations since the late 1990s have influenced foreign policy.

India's Relations with the World

Foreign policy is the instrument of a country to establish, maintain and develop relations with the rest of the world. Since independence, India has established relations with nearly all the countries in the world. It is not necessary, nor possible, to have equally good or close relations with all countries. With some countries, the relations are closer or better than with some others. Usually, relations with neighbouring countries are important for the foreign policy of every country. Relations with major world powers are important for all countries.

In this section, we will take a broad survey of relations of India with all the three major powers and India's neighbours.

Major Powers

The United States was one of the two super powers during the Cold War and is arguably the only super power in the post-Cold War period. The Soviet Union was the other super power during the Cold War. Its successor state Russia has emerged as a major influential power in world affairs in the twenty-first century. In the same period, China too has emerged as a major power. It is said that India is one of the emerging powers in world affairs in the twenty-first century.

The United States : Relations between India and the United States were cordial when India became independent. US President F.D. Roosevelt had supported the case of India's independence during his negotiations for the Atlantic Charter with the British Prime Minister Winston Churchill. However, India and the United States had quite different views of events during the Cold War. As a result, relations between the two remained estranged for most of the Cold War period.

India's independent position on the crises in Hungary and Czechoslovakia, and its criticism of American intervention in Vietnam, were some reasons for the American displeasure. On the other hand, the American

position on the Kashmir dispute was a constant irritation for India. Since the 1970s, America's close relations with Pakistan and China created problems for India.

When the Cold War ended and the Soviet Union disintegrated, the relations between India and the United States did not improve immediately. The United States brought pressure on the new state of Russia to stop the supply of space technology to India. Following India's second nuclear test in 1998, the United States imposed sanctions on India.

Nature of Indo-American relations began to change towards the end of the twentieth century. India supported President Bush's War on Terrorism. The American position on Kashmir gradually became more favourable to India. After the terrorist attack on the Parliament of India in 2001 by terrorist groups based in Pakistan, the American government demanded that Pakistan stop supporting such cross-border terrorism. The real turning point in bilateral relations was the signing of the India-US Civilian Nuclear Cooperation Agreement in the year 2008.

US Postal Service - Diwali postage stamp

Do you know?

Under Civil Nuclear Co-operation framework in 2008, India agreed to separate civil from military use nuclear facilities and place all its civil resources under IAEA safeguards. In exchange, the US agreed to work towards full civil nuclear cooperation with India making India the only country outside NPT that has nuclear capabilities and allowed to participate in nuclear commerce.

The US regards India as a major partner in the Indo-Pacific. For India, the US is a major source of investment and a partner in trade. Defence partnership between the two countries is consistently growing. The two are also partners in multilateral fora like the India-US-Japan, or India-US-Japan-Australia.

Soviet Union/ Russia : Relationship with the Soviet Union was perhaps the most enduring relationship of India during the Cold War period. Soviet Union provided aid in the form of technology and low-interest credit to India's heavy industry projects in the public sector. It also provided major weapons to the Indian defence forces and made agreements for licensed-production of some of these weapons in India. Indo-Soviet Friendship Treaty of 1971 was an important milestone in the bilateral relations.

Joint issue of postage stamp between India - Russia

During the first few years after the disintegration of the Soviet Union, relations between India and the new state of Russia were not good. They began to improve in the late 1990s. Russia made agreements for a joint venture to produce Sukhoi fighter aircraft and Brahmos missiles. It also agreed to provide reactors for India's Kudankulam nuclear power plant. Russia sold its aircraft carrier "Admiral Gorshkov" to India, which is now known as "INS Vikramaditya".

Transfer of Russian weapons systems to India continues to be the main foundation of bilateral relations. Besides, both countries have major stakes in Russian oil fields such Sakhalin-1 highlighting importance of energy security.

China : The Chinese Communist revolution took place in 1949. India was among the first few countries to recognise the People's Republic of China. The two countries went ahead to evolve friendly relations. They signed a treaty in 1954 for trade and co-operation that also recognised Chinese sovereignty on Tibet.

However, the relations between India and China began to worsen towards the end of the 1950s. One important reason for it was the question of border between the two, both in Aksai Chin in Ladakh, and North East Frontier Agency (NEFA), which is now the state of Arunachal Pradesh in the Indian Union. A war on the border in 1962 resulted in India's defeat. Diplomatic relations were cut off after that. Another important reason was the difference of opinion regarding the status of Tibet. China has been critical of the Indian decision to give political asylum to the Dalai Lama.

India and China resumed their full-scale diplomatic relations in 1976. India made attempts to improve relations with China under Prime Ministers Morarji Desai and Rajiv Gandhi. The two countries established Joint Working Groups to discuss the long-disputed border and made the Agreement on Maintenance of Peace and Tranquility along the Line of Actual Control (LAC).

Relations between China and India in the twenty-first century are quite complex in nature. On the one hand, the border dispute between the two countries has not been resolved and continues to create tensions. On the other hand, the two have opened the Nathu La in Sikkim for cross-border trade. Trade relations between the two countries

India China Border Trade, Nathu La

have grown in the last two decades and China is today among the three largest trading partners of India. India continues to have apprehensions and legitimate claims against China's ambitious Belt and Road Initiative (BRI). However, China and India partner with each other in multilateral fora such as the World Trade Organisation and on issues of Climate Change. Chinese support to Pakistan also continues to be one of the important reasons for problems between the two countries.

India - An Emerging Power

China and India are recognized as important powers shaping international affairs in the world today. India is the second largest country in terms of population, and one of the largest economies; besides being the largest democracy in the world.

In terms of technological advances, India has achieved significant progress in areas of nuclear, space and electronics technologies. This position of India has earned itself a place in the G-20 Forum – the group of twenty largest economies in the world. India was one of the four countries (Brazil, Russia, India, China, BRIC) identified as the fastest growing economies in the world. The group also includes South Africa since 2010, and

is since called BRICS. In the late 1990s, then Russian Foreign Minister Yevgeny Primakov mooted the idea of a Trilateral Summit of Russia, China and India, which was a recognition of India's status as a major regional power.

Neighbourhood

All South Asian countries share a border with India. Myanmar, China, Sri Lanka, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Thailand and Indonesia are regarded as India's Neighbours.

In addition, countries in the Indian Ocean Region (IOR), from East Africa, Persian Gulf to Malaysia, Vietnam; and those in Central Asian hinterland of IOR, form the Extended Neighbourhood of India. Maintaining good relations with all these countries has been an objective of Indian foreign policy since independence.

> **Find out on map?**
>
> Does Afghanistan share a broder with India?

Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru promoted the idea of Asian and African regionalism and attempted to unite all newly independent countries. This led to the Asian Relations Conference in 1947 and later the Bandung Conference held in Indonesia in 1955. However, the idea could not sustain itself due to the spread of cold war.

The partition of India in 1947 created Pakistan (East and West Pakistan) as an independent state. There have been tensions between India and Pakistan since independence. The main cause of these tensions has been the status of Kashmir. The first Indo-Pak conflict of 1947-48 took place over Kashmir. This war saw the division of Kashmir take place. Later in 1965 the two countries fought another war over Kashmir. The 1971 war led to the creation of the state of Bangladesh. In the initial years the Kashmir was looked at as a Indo-Pakistan border issue. Later in the decade of 1990s the problem became that of terrorism. The problem of Kashmir remains one of the most important issue of dispute between the two countries even today.

Pakistan's relations with China are also a matter of concern for India. The China-Pakistan Economic Corridor has been the route for Chinese investments in Pakistan.

There have been several efforts made for improving the bilateral relations between India and Pakistan. The 1972 Shimla Agreement and the 1999 Lahore Agreement are some of the examples. However, India has not got the

Lal Chowk, Srinagar : Two different images

desired response for its efforts from Pakistan.

Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan, known as the "Himalayan Kingdoms", were British protectorates during the colonial period. After independence, India made similar treaties with these countries. The landlocked Himalayan Kingdoms got access to sea from the Indian territory and India accepted the responsibility of the defence of these countries. India has mostly followed the policy of non-intervention in the internal affairs of these neighbours.

Sikkim opted to integrate with India in 1975 and is now a State in the Indian Union. India's relations with Nepal have experienced many ups and downs. In 2006, India helped Nepal overcome the crisis of civil war and move towards a constitutional government. Relations with Bhutan have mostly been very cordial. India has helped in Bhutan's recent exercise of moving towards a constitutional monarchy.

India's intervention was very crucial in securing independence for Bangladesh in 1971. Its relations with the new neighbour were very cordial in the beginning. However, after the assassination of Bangladesh's first Prime Minister Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the relations began to worsen. Disputes over land and maritime boundary and over distribution of waters of Teesta were some of the irritants in the relationship. However, the relations between the two countries have remained friendly for the last more than five years. Cross-border terrorism and insurgency are common areas of concern for both. In the recent time, India and Bangladesh have resolved the maritime boundary dispute as well as the problem of land enclaves.

Burma (now Myanmar) and Ceylon (now Sri Lanka) were part of British India. After independence, India developed good relations with both. Both these countries were co-convenors, with India, Pakistan and Indonesia, of the Bandung Conference, 1955.

Relations with Sri Lanka have experienced both good and bad phases. The two countries had a disputed maritime boundary and a related problem of fishermen of both sides crossing into the territory of the other and being captured by the coastal forces. Similarly, the Tamil question in Sri Lanka has often proved to be an irritant for the relations. Sri Lanka had accused India of supporting the

Farakka Barrage: Agreement on sharing of Ganges waters at Farakka was signed between India and Bangladesh in 1996.

Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE – the rebel Tamil group, which later became a terrorist group). India sent a Peacekeeping Force in Sri Lanka in 1987 at the request of the then Sri Lankan President Jayewardene. This led to a prolonged period of bad relations between the two. However, under the current governments in both countries, the relations have improved again.

Myanmar became an inward-looking country and went into a self-imposed isolation after the military coup in 1962, leading to cooling off of India-Myanmar relations. During 1992, India supported the pro-democracy movement and its leader Ms. Aung San Suu Kyi. However, India improved its relations with Myanmar military soon thereafter. Support of the Myanmar military has been important in India's action against many insurgent groups and their leaders hiding in Myanmar.

West Asia has always been an important region for India. Most of the crude oil, which has been crucial engine of growth of the economy, has been coming from countries in the region. However, there are more reasons for India having good relations with countries in West Asia. Iran has been a traditional friend. Cultural and political ties since the middle ages have endured and shaped bilateral relations even in the twentieth century. Similarly, relations with Saudi Arabia go well beyond oil supply and are shaped by historical and religious factors. India has been a strong supporter of the cause of the Palestinian people and the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO). Relations with countries in West Asia are important for another reason. They work as a counter against Pakistan. India has also ensured that it keeps excellent relations with Israel. In fact, Israel is an important supplier of high-tech defence equipment to India.

After independence, Jawaharlal Nehru attempted to weave unity among countries of Asia. One of the major partners in this effort was Indonesia. However, relations with Indonesia began to cool off in the 1960s. India's relations with most of the Southeast Asian countries were very nominal during the Cold War period, as these countries were on the opposite side of the Cold War divide. An exception was Vietnam. India had supported the struggle of Viet Minh and had openly criticised American intervention in Vietnam. Today Vietnam is one of the major partners of India. The two countries have deepened their relations into trade, technology and military areas.

As part of its "Look East" and "Act East" policy, India began to improve relations with the countries in the region. Today, India has very good relations with Singapore, which is its major trade partner as well as an investor in the Indian economy. Similarly, relations with Japan, Thailand, Malaysia and Indonesia have also improved. Security of trade routes, anti-piracy operations, security of ocean resources are among the important areas of co-operation between India and these countries.

After the end of the Cold War, international relations in Southeast Asia began to take a very different shape. The membership of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) enlarged from five to ten and it became a formidable group in the region. ASEAN started building economic partnerships with major countries in the region. India is also a beneficiary of this. It has a Free Trade Agreement with ASEAN. It is also a partner in ASEAN-promoted regional security group, ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF).

India has been an active partner in many regional organisations, including the South Asian Association of Regional Co-operation (SAARC), Shanghai Co-operation Organisation, etc. It has also promoted sub-regional co-operation groups such as the BIMSTEC, Mekong-Ganga Cooperation.

Africa

In the fifties and early sixties India focused on support for anti-colonial and national liberation struggles and the question of the Indian diaspora in Africa. India supported the fight against apartheid, also provided financial and material aid to liberation struggles in Africa through multilateral agencies. The Action for Resisting Invasion, Colonialism and Apartheid Fund (AFRICA Fund) created at the Nonaligned Summit at Harare also helped African counttries.

There are several issues and opportunities in the context of India's relations with Africa:

(i) In the changing world order of the 1990s demands for energy security have come to dominate the world today. Currently about 24 percent of Indian crude oil imports are sourced from the African continent. Indian oil companies are also investing in assets in the region. ONGC Videsh (OVL) has invested in Sudan and Egypt, ONGC-Mittal Energy Ltd. has sought ties in Nigeria, Reliance is negotiating with Nigeria, Angola, Chad, Cameroon and Congo.

(ii) Indian industry has now started to take interest in Africa. Indian industries are likely to offer technological and material services to the developing countries of Africa.

(iii) The third concern is that of the Indian diaspora in Africa which is approximately two million people in Eastern and Southern Africa which are also now considered an asset by the Indian government.

(iv) There is a concern about peace and security of the Indian Ocean area. Countries from Somalia to South Africa fall under the Indian maritime strategic perspective. The increasing cases of piracy in Somalian waters as also the problem of terrorism has made this region sensitive to Indian concerns.

(v) India continues to be one of the destinations for military training in its Defence Establishments including the National Defence Academy, Pune (where the main building 'Sudan Block' is a symbol of cooperation between Sudan and India), the Indian Military Academy, Dehradun and the Staff College at Wellington.

Indian Ocean Region

The Indian Ocean is one of the busiest and most critical maritime transportation links in the world. Almost a hundred thousand ships a year pass through these waters, carrying about half of the world's container shipments, one-third of the world's bulk cargo traffic and two-thirds of the oil shipments. The economies of many of the littoral countries depend heavily on the ports, the shipping, and most importantly, the vast natural resources that enrich these waters with an abundance of marine life.

The Indian coastline presents both, an opportunity and a challenge to India in terms

India Africa Summit, New Delhi, 2015

of its foreign and security perspectives. India has an extensive coastline of about 7500 km and several hundred islands between Lakshadweep in the west and the Andaman and Nicobar Islands in the east. India's southernmost tip is just 90 nautical miles from Indonesia. Its Exclusive Economic Zone is 2.4 million square kilometers and 90% of our trade by volume and almost all of our oil imports come through the sea. It is an opportunity for the enormous ocean wealth that it offers in terms of fishery, minerals, oil, etc. It is a challenge as it opens up India's borders for free entry and exit for a variety of activities that may be detrimental to India's national security.

Indian Navy's first Maritime Vision was expressed in the Naval Plans Paper of 1948. During the 1965 India-Pakistan conflict, the role of the Navy was restricted to the protection of trade routes. It was only in the 1971 conflict that the Navy played a significant role. Indian Navy's Maritime Strategy, today, speaks of the need to project power as a means of supporting foreign policy objectives.

The Indian government sought to harness India's 7,500 km long coastline and 14,500 km of potentially navigable waterways and strategic location on key international maritime trade routes, through the Sagarmala Programme which aimed to promote port-led development in the country. Two programmes, the Bharatmala and Sagarmala are compatible. The Bharatmala project is a more comprehensive road connectivity plan. Sagarlama complements it with port and river transport systems.

Do you know?

The Indian Ocean Rim Association (IORA) : The vision for IORA originated during a visit by late President Nelson Mandela of the Republic of South Africa to India in 1995, where he said: "The natural urge of the facts of history and geography ... should broaden itself to include the concept of an Indian Ocean Rim for socio-economic co-operation and other peaceful endeavours. Recent changes in the international system demand that the countries of the Indian Ocean shall become a single platform." This sentiment and rationale led to the creation of the Indian Ocean Rim Association for Regional Co-operation in March 1997.

Today, IORA has 22 Member States and 9 Dialogue Partners.
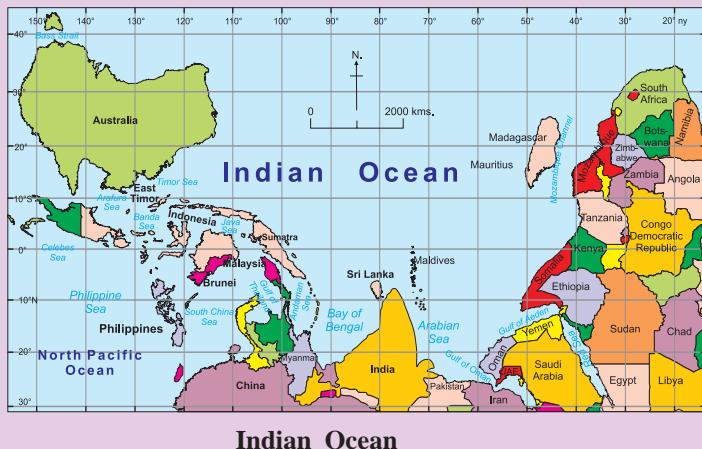
Main objective of IORA is to promote the sustained growth and balanced development of the region and of the Member States, and to create common ground for regional economic co-operation.

Indian foreign policy had evolved around three pillars during the cold war era: nonalignment in the international relations; preservation of autonomy in domestic affairs; and solidarity among developing nations. This world view changed after 1991. Indian economy opened up under the economic liberalisation. India started to develop relations with different powers on the basis of a realist understanding of national interest. During the cold war era, India used to be considered a poor developing country. In the post 1990s India has emerged as a significant economic and technological power. It is now an active participant in world affairs.

Do this. (Look at the World Map from a different perspective.)

Study the map given below. You will be able to understand the importance of the Indian Ocean to India when you see the location of the Indian peninsula in the Indian Ocean region.

Discuss the importance of the Indian Ocean in the classroom on the basis of this map.

Indian Ocean

Q.1 (A) Choose the correct alternative and complete the following statements.

(1) Nepal, Sikkim, Bhutan are known as .... kingdoms.
(Himalayan, India, democratic, constitutional)

(2) The US regards .... as a major partner in the Indo-Pacific region.
(China, Pakistan, India, Russia)

(B) Identify the incorrect pair in the set. Correct it and rewrite.

1. (a) NATO - Europe
   (b) ANZUS - Africa
   (c) SEATO - South East Asia
   (d) CENTO - West Asia

Q.2 State whether the following statements are true or false with reason.

(1) Myanmar has been a traditional friend of India.

(2) In changing world order of 1990s, the issue of terrorism has been dominant.

(3) The Sagarmala project is a more comprehensive road connectivity plan.

Q.3 Express your opinion.

India's role in the Indian Ocean.

Q.4 Answer the following.

(1) Write a note on India's relations with Africa.

(2) Discuss briefly India-China relations.

Q.5 Answer the following question in detail with help of the given points.

Explain the factors influencing Indian foreign policy.

(a) Geography (b) History
(c) International System Economy
(d) Polity

Activity

Read the speech on Indian Foreign Policy given by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru on All India Radio on 7th September 1946 and discuss it in class.

✍ ✍ ✍

ANNEXURE I : ACRONYMS
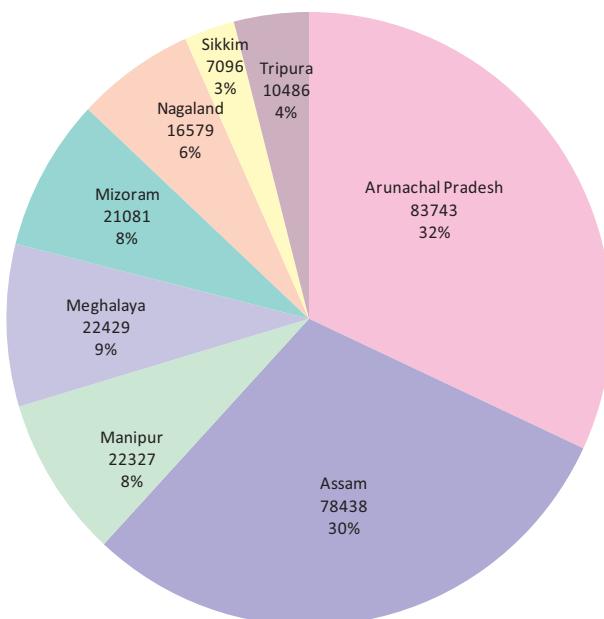
|		
ANZUS	:	Australia New Zealand United States
ARF	:	ASEAN Regional Forum
ASEAN	:	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
BIMSTEC	:	Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-Sectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation
BRICS	:	Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa
CENTO	:	Central Treaty Organisation
ECJ	:	European Court of Justice
ECOSOC	:	Economic and Social Council
ECSC	:	European Coal and Steel Community
EEC	:	European Economic Community
ETA	:	Euskadi Ta Askatasuna (Basque separatist group, Spain)
EU	:	European Union
G 20	:	Group of 20
GATT	:	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
IAEA	:	International Atomic Energy Agency
IORA	:	Indian Ocean Rim Association
IRA	:	Irish Republican Army
JKLF	:	Jammu Kashmir Liberation Front
LTTE	:	Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam
NATO	:	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NPT	:	Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty
PLO	:	Palestine Liberation Organisation
SAARC	:	South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation
SAFTA	:	South Asian Free Trade Area
SAPTA	:	South Asian Preferential Trading Arrangement
SCO	:	Shanghai Cooperation Organisation
SEATO	:	Southeast Asia Treaty Organisation
TRIPS	:	Agreement on Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights
UNCED	:	UN Conference on Environment and Development
WTO	:	World Trade Organisation
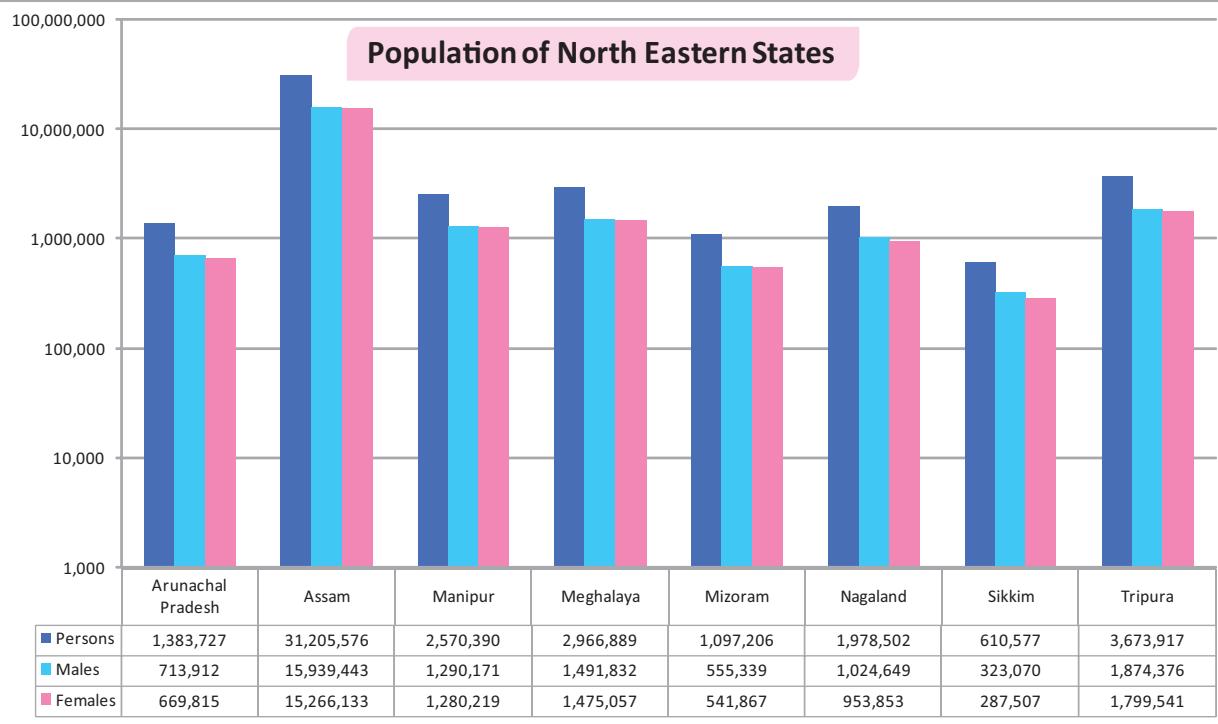
North Eastern Region of India, comprises of the states of Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland, Sikkim and Tripura

DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE

Geographical Area of North Eastern States (in Sq. Km.)

Sikkim
7096
3%

Tripura
10486
4%

Nagaland
16579
6%

Mizoram
21081
8%

Meghalaya
22429
9%

Manipur
22327
8%

Arunachal Pradesh
83743
32%

Assam
78438
30%

Population of North Eastern States

	Arunachal Pradesh	Assam	Manipur	Meghalaya	Mizoram	Nagaland	Sikkim	Tripura
Persons	1,383,727	31,205,576	2,570,390	2,966,889	1,097,206	1,978,502	610,577	3,673,917
Males	713,912	15,939,443	1,290,171	1,491,832	555,339	1,024,649	323,070	1,874,376
Females	669,815	15,266,133	1,280,219	1,475,057	541,867	953,853	287,507	1,799,541

CONSTITUTIONAL PROVISIONS
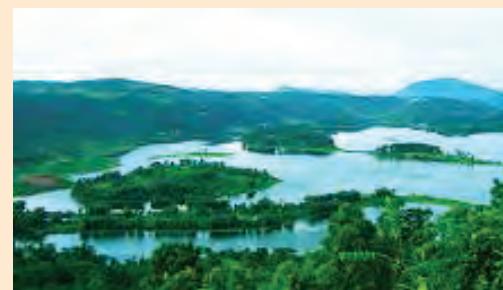
Article	Description
A. Part IX - The Panchayats	
Article 243M	Part not to apply to Certain Areas
Article 243ZC	Part not to apply to Certain Areas
B. Part X - The Scheduled and Tribal Areas	
Article 244	Administration of Scheduled Areas and Tribal Areas
Article 244A	Formation of an autonomous State comprising certain tribal areas in Assam and creation of local Legislature or Council of Ministers or both therefore
C. Part XXI - Temporary, Transitional and Special Provisions	
Article 371A	Special provision with respect to the State of Nagaland
Article 371B	Special provision with respect to the State of Assam
Article 371C	Special provision with respect to the State of Manipur
Article 371F	Special provision with respect to the State of Sikkim
Article 371G	Special provision with respect to the State of Mizoram
Article 371H	Special provision with respect to the State of Arunachal Pradesh
D. Sixth Schedule	
Articles 244(2) and 275(1)	Provisions as to the Administration of Tribal Areas in the States of Assam, Meghalaya, Tripura and Mizoram

Major Religions : Hinduism, Islam, Christianity, Buddhism

Languages spoken : English, Hindi, Assamese, Khasi, Garo, Jaintia, Manipuri, Mizo, Nagamese, Bengali, Nepali, Bhutia (Sikkimese), Bhutia (Tibetan), Lepcha, Limboo, Local dialects.

Source : North Eastern Council, Government of India
http://necouncil.gov.in/northeastindia/constitutional-provisions

Record some international events with the help of this textbook.

Maharashtra State Bureau of Textbook Production and Curriculum Research, Pune 4.

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