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Introductory:

Democracy and Equality

“The more sensitive you are about Equality, the more is the Inequality you see around in Society.” Professor Andre Betielle, Sociologist.

1. **Democracy as a new form of Government** of the people, was adopted in place of monarchy. **In a Monarchy**, the ‘will of the king’ is final. **In a Democracy**, the ‘will of the people’ is final.
2. But, so far even after 122 countries having adopted Democratic form of government, **no democracy has been found to be providing Equality, in full measure**. The Scandinavian countries of Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, top the list in development and no poverty, Yet in all countries, there are always a few groups that remain unequal.

3. 'Equality' as a political idea, is about 200 years old, while 'Inequality' in society has existed from the beginning of human history. Equality was a part of the slogan adopted during the French Revolution from 1789 to 1799 "Liberty, Fraternity, Equality"ⁱ. During this Revolution, for the first time in known History, the King and his royal family was overthrown by the ordinary people. Thereafter, 'Democracy' as a new form of government, by the representatives elected by the people was established.
4. Before the French Revolution democracy had been established in the United States of America. But during the American War of Independence, from 1775 to 1783, the King of England was neither overthrown nor killed. Only his Right to rule over the colonies in America was discontinued. The colonies signed their own 'Declaration of Independence', and refused to pay any taxes to the King of England. Through this they established their independence from England.
5. In India, the Right to equal access to public places for the Disabled has been given only in 1995. In the USA, though Slavery was abolished in 1865, the Slaves did not get any Civil Right to Equality in Public Places till 1964. Even equal political right to men and women were given in different times in different democracies. In the USA also wide differences in social status of Negro- American exist even today. In India, the Right to equal access to public places for the Disabled has been given only in 1995.
6. Democracies have special features of 'Equality before Law' and the 'Rule of Law'. This means that all people in a democratic country are 'equal' or same in the eyes of the law. This also means that in a court, everyone is treated equally, and the law does not recognize and difference between a man and a woman, a rich or a poor, a fair skin or a dark complexion. So, the Law of the democratic country gives 'equal rights' to all. In India, also Right to Equality is a Fundamental Right given by the Constitution of India. This is the Political aspect.

7. In reality, despite Political Right to Equality, there is a Social status based on unequal distribution of wealth and income among all people. This is a critical Inequality. It creates the differences between the rich and the poor, the educated and the uneducated.

8. On basis of wealth, a few people can live in luxurious big houses and use expensive cars for transportation. The majority, who do not have wealth are viewed as 'poor' and they have to spend a life without many of the necessities , such as food and clean water, and other essential services of health and education. It is the responsibility of the Government, elected by a majority of the people, including the poor, to create service delivery systems and laws for reducing poverty and improving their living standards

Chapter 2 What is Democracy? Why Democracy?

The Chapter states that only the simple definition of democratic form of government and building on the basic features of democratic form of government, for the purpose of distinguishing it from non democratic government is required.

What is Democracy?

1. The simple definition of democratic form of government:
 - 1.1 Democracy is a form of government in which the **rulers are elected** by the people.
 - 1.2 Therefore, **the people are the real rulers** as they can replace and change the elected rulers in the next election.
 - 1.3 The election must be **free and fair**, and give choices to people, through more than one or two candidates.

1.4 All adult citizens should have the right to vote on the principle of 'one person, one vote' .

1.5 Citizens must also have the right to contest elections. The power of governance and of making final decisions must be with the elected representatives.

Why Democracy?

1. Democracy enhances the freedoms and dignity of citizens through equality before law.
2. Democratic Government is accountable to the people who elect them.
3. Before final decision or policy, a democratic government is able to consider various views on an issue, and this improves decision making. The government works as a team that has members from different parts of the country. This generates a sense of unity for the country.

EXERCISES

1. **Page 25 Cartoon:** The cartoon is conveying how the flag like banner of democracy is being hoisted up by the USA soldiers only. Not a single Iraqi citizen is in sight in the cartoon. Democracy is written with a very large 'M' to indicate the 'Military'. It is the American Military that is trying to impose democracy by force. The people of Iraq may not be ready for a democratic system of government or the institutions of Parliament, Judiciary, Rule of Law etc., may not be in existence. Without institutions no democracy can survive. It certainly cannot survive if it is imposed by the military of another country.
2. **Page 26:** In this Cartoon democracy is represented as a tree with wooden brown scales held in the hand of a delicate plant. The plant is not yet a firmly rooted tree because its green dress represents the

green branches of a tender plant. The crown of leaves on this plant signify the few features of democracy that have sprouted and need to be nurtured. The leaves are so few that they could easily be plucked or may wither away, if they are not protected.

A multi-party system is needed for strengthening of a democracy. But in Syria there is only one dominant party. Its allies are a few break away groups of the single party, and therefore, technically there is only one party in the country. The cartoon is demanding that people become members of that single party, before the iron door is opened to let democracy in the form of a timid lady. The cartoon can easily apply to China and Mexico also where there is only one dominant party each.

3. **Page 27:** The cartoon shows that elections have been held in an atmosphere of threat by the military. For a democracy elections should be fair and free, with more than one candidate from more than one national party, contesting to get elected. Yes, I think the cartoon applies for Pakistan, where the military claims to hold elections.
4. **Page 28** In the given Cartoon, the money bags signify the use of money on a large scale during elections. The money is meant to influence the voters to vote for a particular party that pays cash, just before or soon after the casting of the vote. The cartoon can be applied to India where charges of vote purchase are made in every election. However, the difference is that India being a very large democracy with millions of voters, all cannot be purchased by any single party.

The voter of India is also believed to be smart. The cash or kind offered is taken, and vote is cast as per voter's wish. During Therefore, only a very small proportion of the poor voters are influenced through money in Indian elections. In contrast the population of Latin American countries is very small compared to India. Therefore, use of money in their case can bring a party to power as a simple majority of those the total votes cast is needed.

5. **Page 29** Here the cartoon is conveying joy of the ordinary Iraqi people at the holding of elections on basis of adult franchise. 'Adult franchise' or 'universal franchise' means that every citizen has an equal right to vote on basis of the principle 'one man one vote'. There is a pun¹ on this phrase because while the ordinary people on the streets are happy at getting the right of 'one man one vote' meaning choice to each and every citizen, Saddam Hussein is using the phrase to convey his remorse at having lost his dictatorship of having himself as the only choice for all the citizens of Iraq. During his rule he was the only man whose 'vote' meaning 'voice' or decision was valid. So he is calling his rule as 'one man' (himself) with 'one vote' (all choices) for the country. So while the people are referring to the present situation, Saddam is referring to his past rule by using the same phrase.

This cartoon is very different from the first cartoon on page 25 because in the first cartoon it is only the US military in an open and a desolate ground, hoisting the banner of democracy. No Iraqi citizen or city is in sight in that cartoon. In this cartoon action is happening within the walled city with ordinary citizens on the streets and the former dictator in prison. Here democracy is shown as having been accepted by the people of Iraq as a victory for equality.

6. **Page 30:** Cartoon the is based on one of the most well known photographs of 1990s published on the cover of an international magazine. As the Government of China was changing its economic policy by liberalizing it to attract foreign investment, the students thought that social and religious life in China could also be liberalized. To demand for greater freedom in social life, thousands of students from all leading universities of China gathered at Tiananmen Square in Beijing to press for their demands. They

¹ Pun is a figure of speech in English Grammar. It occurs when the same phrase or sentence is made to convey two meanings in a jocular tone. It conveys harmless fun with playful use of words to convey the double meaning.

continued their blockade for a few days and refused to move out. Eventually the military moved in to clear the Square of all students. One student refused to move and the photograph was taken seconds before the tank rolled on over him². The given cartoon is based on that photograph.

7. The photograph conveyed was one of the most brutal and barbarous acts of display of power of the state over violence. Earlier it was known that tanks were rolled over enemy soldiers in a war, but never before was such a state action against unarmed civilians ever recorded in modern history. Most of the other protesting students were put in prison or killed. Not much is known about the facts as total censorship was imposed and all foreign journalists were made to leave. However, it sent the clear message to the world that the Communist Party of China was in no hurry to give up its power for making the country more democratic. You can find out more about the Tiananmen Square incident from any encyclopaedia or the internet though I would not advise it as it is too brutal even for adults.

8. [Page 32](#) The cartoon 'Hidden Side of Dictatorship' depicts the hidden side through which all opposition to the dictator is silenced. Any one speaking against the dictator is either put in to prison or is killed without keeping any record or any trial in court of law. The

² In the military in all countries, discipline lies in obeying the command of the next superior officer. The soldier is not required to question the command of his officer. This aspect is essential for discipline in a war situation. Therefore, in civil situation of public chaos the army is called in as the last resort after the police has failed to restore law and order. Once the army moves in it conducts a 'flag march' in the riot affected area during which a white flag is displayed on a jeep and announcements of army having moved in are made. All citizens are advised to stay indoors. Anyone who disobeys is 'shot at sight' meaning without being asked any reason or given any chance to explain his action. In this instance perhaps the students were not aware of the power of violence of the state, or they were not expecting their 'liberalizing' leaders to use such violence on unarmed students making a 'just' demand for more freedom. This aspect of monopoly of the state over power of violence needs to be read and discussed later on in more detail. Here it is sufficient to note that among the various powers exercised by the State in any part of the world, its power over violence (meaning putting its citizen's to death) is undisputed. The challenge of world terrorism today is that the terrorist is challenging this monopoly of the State over violence. The terrorists use the threat to kill innocent civilians without any warning or without any due process of law, to make the state meet their illegal demands. That is why all governments are cooperating to check terrorism as it is not only unjust to those killed, but it also challenges the State's power and its established Rule of Law.

families of such persons are never informed about their death, and they are mostly recorded as ‘missing’. Yes, it is necessary for every dictatorship to have a hidden side³ because in modern times opposition is inevitable in any rule that is arbitrary and based on the whims of a single person.

9. **Page 34** the cartoon is for democracy but it uses sarcasm to make its point. In the first four sentences it gives four reasons for change of the ruling party. Then in the next two sentences, it gives the sarcastic reason why the ruling party will not be changed by Canadians despite its failures. It is the sarcasm of the last two sentences that carries the entire weight of convincing the voter that the ruling party should not be voted back. It was as if the cartoonist was reading the mind of every voter and expressing his / her fear about the results of the on-coming election.

10. **Page 35** In the cartoon the pictures on the wall are all of former Prime Ministers (from left) Jawaharlal Nehru, Lal Bahadur Shastri, Gulzari Lal Nanda, Morarji Desai, Choudhary Charan Singh, Indira Gandhi, Rajiv Gandhi, V.P. Singh, Chandrashekhar, Narasimha Rao, Deva Gowda, Atal Bihari Vajpayee. Yes, many common people feel the way the common man in the cartoon is feeling because after fifty years the essential needs of the common man for

³ It is now well known that there is a ‘hidden side’ even in democratic states. The hidden side of a democratic state is called the ‘rhizome state’. Please recall that ‘rhizomes’ are plants that bear fruits under the ground, such as ginger, potato, sweet potato, onion, garlic, turnip, beetroot, turmeric and so on. The term ‘rhizome state’ is taken from such plants to describe such state activities that are hidden from public debate and discussion in the name of ‘national security’. All the secret services of democratic states’, gathering of military, industrial, political and various forms of intelligence, through diplomats and other recognized means – all constitute a part of the ‘rhizome state’ in a democracy. The expenditure incurred on such state services is not voted upon by parliament, but is part of the ‘non-voted’ expenditure. You can watch the ‘Mission Impossible’ (Tom Cruise) Parts 2, and 3 or movies such as ‘Clear and Present Danger’ (Harrison Ford) to get an introduction on the work of the secret services such as the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) of America and the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). In India we have the Central Bureau of Intelligence (CBI) and Research and Analysis Wing (RAW). In addition there are ‘Special Tasks Force’ in the Indian Police and where ever needed. When a hidden side is needed even in a democratic state, you can, by now, well understand the need for a ‘hidden side’ in a dictatorship. This is partly because who ever wields power with out any constraint or accountability is bound to misuse. It is only rarely that we come across an extraordinary person such as Mahatma Gandhi who wielded enormous political power and yet remained uninfluenced by it. You must watch the English version of Attenborough’s Mahatma Gandhi as many times as possible to understand the power of the state as well as the history of freedom struggle to some extent.

drinking water, food, shelter, schools, hospitals are being promised as something for the future by saying that ‘now we are determined to remove poverty’. All the claims of spectacular progress made in the press and the media, are for the rich and upper middle classes. The common man’s immediate needs were not given the required priority for fifty years since Independence.

11. Exercises on pages 37 to 39

Only answers are given here. In Questions 1 and 2 in the book reasons are not asked for. But reasons should be clearly understood as they could be asked for in higher classes. Also the fundamental concepts of democracy will not be clear without knowing the reasons.

Q1. a) Country A is ‘undemocratic’ – because religious belief is made a condition for the political right to vote

b) Country B is ‘democratic’ – because regular elections are being held even though the same party is winning. It also implies that more than one party is contesting the elections.

c) Country C is ‘undemocratic’ - because the ‘Ruling party’ that has lost in the last three elections is still the ‘ruling party’. This makes it undemocratic and also implies that only one party exists or is contesting elections.

d) Country D is ‘undemocratic’ – because for conduction fair and free elections the essential requirement is that the Election Commission should be independent. As there is no independent

election commission in country D it cannot be said to be democratic. Therefore, it is classified as undemocratic.

Q2 a) Country P is 'undemocratic' because the Army is controlling the Parliament. In a democratic country the parliament should be free to pass laws it deems appropriate. For this it should not require the permission of any other authority in the state

b) Country Q is democratic because power in a democracy is separated between the three pillars of the state by the constitution of the country. This separation of power, clearly spells out the limits of the power of each 'pillar'. In a democracy the judiciary is made independent of the legislature as well as the executive. Its powers are also clearly stated in the constitution. No law or amendment that changes the fundamental nature of the constitution can be passed by the parliament. This is the limitation on the legislature's power to pass laws. Therefore, country Q is 'democratic'

c) Country R is 'undemocratic' because an independent democratic country has full powers to sign treaties with any country in the world. It does not need its neighbour's permission to do so. The information given in the question is that the country has to take such a permission. Therefore it cannot be said to be an independent democratic country. It is probably a colony of its neighbour.

d) Country S is 'democratic' because the Central Bank of a democratic country is an independent entity. It is empowered to take all major decision about the economy to keep it stable and growing. Generally, ministers do not have any power to interfere in the functioning of the Central Bank.

Q 3. Which of these is not a good argument in favour of democracy? Why?

a) 'People feel free and equal in a democracy'.

Yes, this is a good argument in favour of democracy because freedom and equality before law are the two fundamental principles of a democratic state.

- b) ‘Democracies resolve conflict in a better way than others’.

Yes, this is a good argument for democracy because different opinions on any issue can be expressed in a democratic society. By hearing different points of views, the views that emerge as the best solution to a conflict are accepted more easily because the majority tends to agree with the more acceptable views. Therefore through freedom of expression, democracies resolve conflicts in a better way through discussion rather than through other means that cause more damage.

- c) ‘Democratic government is more accountable to people’.

Yes, this is a good argument for democracy because in a democracy elections are held at regular intervals when the citizens elect their representatives who form the government. During the elections different parties make various promises that are to be fulfilled if the party is voted to power. Citizens weigh and consider the offers of promises made by different parties. If a ruling party does not fulfil its promises significantly, the citizens can question them at the next election time and choose not to vote for that party again. In this way a democratic government knows that if it does not function well it is likely to be voted out in the next elections. Therefore it is more accountable to the people.

- d) ‘Democracies are more prosperous than others.’

Yes, it has been generally observed that democracies are more prosperous than dictatorships. This is because a democracy with a good law and order situation and freedom of profession, industry, trade etc is able to provide an environment that is conducive to the growth of wealth. It is the best motivator for citizens to work hard to increase their personal income and prosperity. The sum total of individual prosperity increases the national economic growth as well. Therefore, democracies are more prosperous than others.

Q 4. Separate the democratic and undemocratic elements

	Democratic element	Undemocratic element
a	A minister said that some laws have to be passed by the parliament	Regulations decided by the World Trade Organization
b	The Election Commission ordered re-polling in a constituency	Where large scale rigging was reported
c	This led women's organization to demand one third seats for women	Women's representation in the parliament has never reached 10 per cent.

Q 5 Which of the following is not a good reason for the argument :

Reason (d) is not a valid reason for arguing that there is a lesser possibility of famine in a democratic country. The freedom to practice any religion has no connection to the efficient functioning of the government. The other three reasons given namely, the opposition parties drawing attention to the famine, the reporting of suffering by free press and the government's fear of defeat in the next elections are valid reasons in a democracy.

Q6 Reason (d) is not a democratic method of forcing the government to respond to their demands. Paying money to officials to get water is not correct because it will add to corrupt practices. Such corrupt practices weaken the democratic rights of citizens as all government officials are expected to do their duty as required without any corrupt practices. The

citizens should demand supply of water as their right through democratic methods only as given in (a) (b) and (c).

Q7 Argument (a) It is true that Army is the most disciplined organization but it is not true that it is corruption free. Most army dictatorships have been found to have highly corrupt administrations. Whatever the Army does in behind the curtain of secrecy and it always has a hidden side where those opposing the army decisions and actions are eliminated without any judicial process of the law. The citizens have no freedom and army dictatorships have been found to be very exploitative. Therefore, army should not rule the country.

Q7 Argument (b) It is not logical to say that rule of majority means the rule of ignorant people. Ignorance and wisdom does not come from education and high social status only. Even the poor and illiterate citizens have common sense and intelligence to lead their ordinary lives and make free choices. They can assess between options and proposals made by various parties during elections in order to make their free choice for voting. The wise invariably are in smaller numbers in any country, but democracy is more about rule of law and the functioning of democratic institutions, than about wisdom.

Q7. Argument (c) A country cannot be ruled by religious leaders as politics is not about faith, or god or goodwill. It is about implementing the law of the land and the constitution of the country. It is about planning the long term development of the economy and providing for the nitty-gritty of infrastructure etc. The religious leaders who tend to renounce the worldly comforts etc. cannot be expected to involve themselves in the day to day functioning of government. Therefore the country cannot be ruled by religious leaders.

Q 8 Statement (a) is not in keeping with democracy as a value because a daughter of marriageable age is an adult and has a separate legal identity. As an adult citizen of a democratic country she has a right to live the kind of life she wants by choosing her own life-partner. It is undemocratic for the father to impose his will on his daughter in the name of family tradition because as a free

adult citizen she has the fundamental right to free choice in every matter that effect her directly.

Statement (b) is not in keeping with democracy as a value because in a class it is the student's right to ask questions to clarify all their doubts, and it is the teacher's duty to reply to all the queries raised by the students.

Statement (c) is in keeping with democracy as a value because working hours of employees are required to be regulated as per law. In case an employee is made to work for extra hours, then he should be paid extra allowances as per the law.

Q 9 Consider the given facts about a country and decide if you would call it a democracy or not. Give reasons for your answer.

- a) In a country where all citizens have the right to vote, and elections are held regularly, would be called a democracy because the citizens elect the representatives who form the government. The citizens are the actual rulers.
- b) If the country is willing to reduce its expenditure due to conditions set by another country or an external agency, it cannot be called a democracy. A country cannot be called a democracy if it is obstructing its own future and its growth through education and health, and complying with the dictates of another country. A democratic government has to assert its independence in decision making.
- c) Such a country cannot be a democracy even though 52 per cent of the people speak the language in which education is provided. This is because in a democracy people of all languages and cultures should get equal opportunities and be treated as equal by the state. Here by giving preference to one language for providing education the country is showing a bias for one particular group of its citizens. It is not treating all citizens as equal and therefore it cannot be called a democracy.
- d) In statement (d) the country is a democracy because arrest of leaders who have given a call for peaceful demonstration is legally accepted in the interest of maintaining law and order. The leaders are likely to have been released soon after their arrest.

Answer to Q. 10 is not included here

CHAPTER 1 DEMOCRACY IN CONTEMPORARY WORLD

1. Page 3 Comments on 1.1 ‘Two Tales of Democracy’
(Please note the pun on the title word ‘tales’ and tails. The first is about people in power who have and get everything they want to, and the other tale is of those who do not have any power and are always struggling to get it. It is taken from the classic novel title of ‘A Tale of Two Cities’ by Charles Dickens. Try reading it during summer holidays). The comments cover the two questions asked by Unni.
2. In the introduction we have tried to understand the power of the state that includes control over all resources. In every country there is a ‘power struggle’ that goes on continuously between various forces or groups attempting to control the resources. As soon as a political party gains control and forms a government, it makes policies that are better suited for the groups that helped them to come in to power. Within the period the party is in power it develops a ‘vested’ or a ‘selfish’ interest in continuing to be in power. In this, ‘big money’ plays a critical role. Members of the party try to make higher gains from control of state resources so that they continue to retain control of political power.
3. In the example of Chile, the groups put out of power by Salvador Allende included the Church, the rich landlords, and the Multinational Companies (MNC) owned mainly by USA citizens. The MNCs were exploiting the natural resources of Chile for their own profits because they were purchasing the minerals at very cheap prices and making high profits through their trade and manufacture. Allende was against this exploitation of Chilean resources by the American MNC. This was not liked by the USA because MNCs are known to fund the political parties in the USA. Next, the Church has always been active politically because it stands to gain through patronage of political parties. The ordinary citizens have great respect for religious institutions of their country and their decisions during elections are influenced by their preaching.

Because Allende made policies that limited the extent of land holding by the Church and rich landlords, he alienated them. Land holdings by Church and landlords also means that either the land is left uncultivated, or is cultivated through a system of tenants, that is generally exploits the farmer. Allende was re-distributing the 'surplus' land to the landless, to increase national agricultural income as well as give direct employment to the landless. The workers supported him because his policies that were against the MNC who were the owners, were in favour of the workers.

4. But Allende forgot or overlooked the fundamental rule of control of power through the army. He should either have made the military 'powerless' by enacting appropriate laws for the purpose and creating a proper chain of command of the armed forces by the political leaders.

Being in power for only three years from 1970 to 1973, perhaps he did not have sufficient time to enact such laws or to create his own loyal groups in the military, who could have backed him against those who opposed him.

Also, workers were his main vote bank. But he did not organize the workers in any form of 'power groups' that would be vigilant against any coup by the military and would be able to oppose the military in such a situation.

Perhaps in 1973, when colonialism was dismantling across the world, Allende he was not expecting the Government of the USA to help overthrow an elected government in another country, to gain colonial like control of its resources.

Such ignorance or 'naivety' (child-like behaviour) in the political world is a major weakness. **In the political world, control of power is everything.** Good and ideal policies of welfare do not help, if effective control of power fails.

In the illustration of power in a family, a similar situation would arise if a non-family member or an outsider began to have greater control over a child, than the parents. This is more of a hypothetical situation as the parents would not allow this to happen because they would ensure their control to safeguard the future of child and their own. Similarly, a political leader also has to make

sure that he / she has effective control over the country. Here is where Allende failed.⁴

5. Please also note that the military began by taking over the sea ports. The seaport workers unions are believed to be the toughest unions in any country. Ports have been, and continue to be, a sort of 'wild region' outside the 'law of the land', where 'muscle power' alone controls everything. Once the seaport workers are brought 'under control' other areas are easier to take over. Also the ports have huge consignments of goods stored, both for import and export. Gaining control over them means an instant source of wealth for the military in case of any such need.
6. To the question raised by Munki 'Did the army have any legal right to arrest the defence minister of the country? Should the army have the power to arrest any citizen?' it is said that as soon as there is a military coup in a country, the constitution and the law of the land are suspended with 'immediate effect'.
7. This means that the law as per the Constitution is no longer recognized as valid. Whatever the military group that comes to power says becomes the 'law' for the period. The citizens no longer have any fundamental or legal rights. Because the military itself becomes the 'law' in such situations, everything it does is 'legal'. As the law of land is 'non-existent' there is no question of any 'legal right' of the army to arrest the defence minister or any citizen. In the case Chile, it is reported that thousands of workers and followers loyal to Allende went 'missing'. This is because to gain control of power, the military in a coup, always rounds up all

⁴ Nearer home in Pakistan recently Benazir Bhutto was killed by the Army in a political rally, because her husband struck a deal with the army and the fundamentalists to come to power himself. Pakistan has been declared a 'failed state' because since 2009 the religious fundamentalists have taken over, and even the army is no longer in full control. There has been no development because due to high corruption most funding has been diverted to personal accounts or for drug smuggling. The Army's control of drug smuggling had been its source of power so far. Now with chaos and the USA army in Afghanistan this source of funds has dried out. Therefore the army lost to the fundamentalists and the politicians. However, it is expected to come back to power soon, most probably be declaring a war against India for Kashmir.

For understanding political power play you need to read as much as possible. Go to the library in the weekend and read analysis on various current issues in as many magazines as possible. Also hear TV analysis on select channels, particularly economic channels. During summer holidays try reading like a story book, at least one political theory book prescribed for BA level.

those loyal to the overthrown leader, and shoots them dead. No 'records' of the names, age, place or time of shooting of such persons are made or kept. Therefore, they continue to be 'missing'.

8. **Page 4:** The main difference between the photograph of the election rally on page 4 is that the rally is taking place as an informal gathering on a street. There is no separate stage for the speaker with a fixed mike and banners. The citizens are gathered closely around their leader and are not distanced from them as is done in arranged rallies in India.

9. **Activity on page 6:** Today Poland is surrounded by Baltic sea in its north, and a total of six countries : (a) Germany in its north-west, (b) Czech Republic and (c) Slovakia in its southwest, and (d) to its north east is Lithuania, (e) to its east is Belarus and to its (f) south east is Ukraine.

10. In the 1980s, Poland, Romania, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Bulgaria were ruled by communist parties.

11. Political activities that I could not have done in Poland in 1980s but could have done in India include:
 - a) form a political party
 - b) Become a member of any political party
 - c) Vote in an election
 - d) Speak freely against political leaders
 - e) form a trade union and be its member
 - f) Go on a strike for demanding higher pay
 - g) demand for end of censorship on press
 - h) Organize rallies to protest against the government
 - i) Express my opinion freely on any matter
 - j) Stand as a candidate to contest an election

12. **Page 10 :** In Map 1.1 some of the countries that became democracies between 1900 and 1950 are Ecuador, Brazil, Egypt, Sweden, Finland, Italy, Australia, India Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Myanmar (Burma) and Thailand.

13. Some of the countries that became democracies between 1950 and 1975 include Argentina, Columbia, Venezuela, Guyana, Botswana, Papua New Guinea, Malaysia, Japan
14. European countries that were democratic in 1975 and 2000 are United Kingdom (England) France, Spain, Portugal, Germany, Netherlands, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Finland, Italy, Greece, Turkey
15. Some Latin American countries that became democracies after 1975 are Paraguay, Uruguay, Surinam and French Guiana.
16. Big countries that were not democracies in 2000 are China, Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Tajikistan, Saudi Arabia, Oman, Yemen, Libya, Algeria, Morocco, Ethiopia, Somalia, Congo, Angola, Peru.

17. Page 11: Why were women given voting rights much later than men in most countries? Why did this not happen in India?

Ans. Up to the 1919 ownership of property and being educated were essential qualifications for exercising the voting rights. As women were not allowed to own any property and were not allowed to get formal education in schools and Universities, they did not qualify as citizens who could vote. As such, only men had the Right to vote.

After the First World War (1914-1918), women began to be seen as equal to men because during the War, they had shown that they could do jobs that were earlier done only by men. Therefore, Russia, Germany and Netherlands were the first countries to give voting rights to women.

By the time India got Independence in 1947, the principles of equality of men and women and equal right to vote were well recognized. Many Indian women had participated in the freedom

struggle also. Therefore, the right to vote was given both to men and women through ‘universal franchise’.⁵

18. Page 12 Do you think it is good to elect someone President for life? Or is it better to hold regular elections after every few years?

Electing someone President for life is undemocratic. This is because it denies others the right to equal opportunity to get elected. Also a person who is in power for life tends to become dictator as he cannot be removed from office. It is more democratic and better to hold regular elections after every few years because it gives the people an opportunity to change their elected representatives. The same person or party remaining in power

⁵ *Additional information:* By law, women were not recognized as legal heirs to property and it was inherited only from father to son. In England property of a nobleman could be inherited only by the eldest son. If a nobleman had more than one son the second would join the Church and the third / fourth would join the Army / Navy. Thus, the professions of sons after the eldest son were also predetermined. So only the eldest son had the right to vote because he alone inherited the property. Later, when educational qualifications were made a criteria to vote, the other sons also became eligible. However, till the 1930s women were not allowed to be educated but could learn to read and write at home. Till the 20th century in all countries, women were treated as a property of their fathers, so long as they were unmarried, and as a property of their husbands after their marriage. At the time of their marriage some money and jewelry was given to them as dowry. This was their only personal possession for the rest of their lives. They had no legal rights of their own. If they did not obey their families they were abandoned by them either to die or survive by themselves by becoming nuns in the Church or taking up the profession of a nurse or a governess. The struggle of women for equality of treatment with men, and legal rights has a history of its own. Nursing was the first profession opened for them after Florence Nightingale organized the Red Cross Society after the Armenian War, in 1850s. Though in the 21st century boys and girls are educated and treated almost equally, in many families the earlier inequality continues to exist. It is partly for the safety and security for the girl child, but even women who go out to work are looked down upon by many. A woman’s right place is still seen to be with in the house and not outside it. The right of a woman to step out of her home to earn through a job or a profession is yet to be fully accepted by society. So though legal equality exists, social equality is yet to come.

develops a vested interest to stay in power. Therefore, regular elections should be held after every few years to safeguard democracy.

Exercises

Chapter 1 Page 19

Note: Answers only are given here. For questions please refer to the book.

1. Invasion by foreign countries does not lead to the spread of democracy
2. Statements a, b, and c are true about today's world
3. Democracy in the international organizations requires that all countries in the world should be treated equally
4. a) Chile = End of military dictatorship
b) Nepal = King agreed to give up powers
c) Poland = End of one party rule
d) Ghana = freedom from British colonial rule
5. The difficulties that people face in non-democratic countries are as follows:
 - i) People in a non-democratic country do not have any say in electing or selecting their government
 - ii) People do not have any Civic and political rights to protect them against misuse of state authority by those in power.
 - iii) Development in a non-democratic state is not for the benefit of the people but for the gains of the rulers
6. Which freedoms are usually taken away when a democracy is overthrown by the military?

The freedom of press, freedom of expression, and all the civic and political rights such as right to vote, protest peacefully, to form or be member of any political party or political organization, and the right to justice through a fair trial in court, protection under the rule of law are the most significant freedoms that are either curtailed or taken away after a military coup.

7. Which of the following can contribute to democracy at the global level? Give reasons for your answer in each case.

a) My country gives more money to international institutions. Therefore, I want to be treated with more respect and exercise more power.

This does not contribute to democracy at the global level because democracy means equality of all members irrespective of their wealth. Richer nations cannot claim more respect for reasons of their wealth

b) My country may be small or poor. But my voice must be heard with equal respect, because these decisions will respect my country.

Yes, this argument contributes to democracy at the global level because it is based on the fundamental democratic value of equality of all nations rich or poor, small or big.

c) Wealthy nations will have a greater say in international affairs. They cannot let their interests suffer just because they are outnumbered by poor nations.

This argument does not contribute to democracy at the global level because democracy means decision making on basis of views of the majority.

d) Big countries like India must have a greater say in international organizations.

This argument does not contribute to democracy at the global level because equality in global democracy is not based on size of a country.

Answers to Questions 8 and 9 are not included here.

19. Page 13: What is the cartoonist saying here? Will the army rulers feel happy with this cartoon?

The cartoon was published in the American press in 2005 on the 60th birthday of Aung San Suu Kyi the popular democratic leader of Myanmar.

She won the elections in 1990, but the military rulers refused to recognize the election results and put her under house arrest. Since 1990 she has been in house arrest.

She has been awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for her courageous fight to restore democracy in her country.

The cartoon represents the jail through the candles that look like iron bars in a jail. The military ruler is shown as offering her the birthday cake that shows her behind the jail bars. It seems to be showing that the military ruler will eat her up as easily as someone eats a cake. This also means that she is already 60 years old and may die soon in her house arrest because she is not likely to be set free by the military rulers till her death. This will figuratively mean that the military has eaten up Suu Kyi like a cake.

20. Page 13 'What should be the policy of the Government of India towards the military rulers of Myanmar?

The policy of Government of India towards another country can only be decided by the Government. In international relations equality of all countries is a fundamental principle. The foreign policy of Government of India includes non-interference in the internal matters of any country as one of its core principles. Restoring of democracy in Myanmar is an internal matter of the existing Government of Myanmar. No other country can restore democracy. It is for the people of Myanmar to combine forces to overthrow the military rulers. But this is an impossible task for the unarmed people against the armed forces. As a democratic country India may have sympathies for Suu Kyi, but nothing can be done

by any other country except bring moral and diplomatic pressure on the military rulers to restore democracy.

21. **Page 14** The cartoon is representing the game of football or soccer that is very popular in most of the developed countries. The ball symbolizes the earth that is being kicked about by only two players – one is the United States of America due to its military power and the other is a terrorist wearing a mask and a dynamite belt ready to blow up the earth. The international games here are representing the international terrorism. The USA is claiming to be eradicating terrorism across the globe by sending its military forces to countries such as Iraq and Afghanistan seen as breeding grounds for terrorists.

22. **Page 14** Should there be a world government? Who should elect it? What should be its power?

A world government may emerge in another hundred years or so. But for the present there cannot be a world government because even though all countries in the United Nations are given the right to equality as equal nations, the reality is that the world is clearly divided into developed and undeveloped. There is no equality in real terms. With the existing difference in the power structure of the countries there cannot be a world government for another century.

23. **Page 15** : Should there be the power to veto?

No the permanent members of the UN should not be given the power to veto as this is against the right to equality of all other nations. Veto means that the decision of the majority of members can be overruled by any of the few permanent members. The veto power was also created at the time of creation of the UN after the Second World War when world economies had been shattered by the War and membership of the UN was below 100. At the time the position of ‘permanent members’ and their special power of ‘veto’ were perhaps justified. But today with more than

150 democracies as members of the UN permanent membership should be open to all members and there should not be any veto rights.⁶

24. **Page 16** The cartoon uses sarcasm to convey that in the Pentagon Wolfowitz claimed to be working for peace while he aggressively supported the invasion of Iraq. This was not only against democratic values the USA claims to uphold, but was also against peace in the gulf region. There can be no peace if one country invades another. So after being shifted to the World Bank when he declared that he would work for development his words had little credibility, meaning nobody believed him to be sincere about it.
25. **Page 17** In the cartoon the cactus is in the shape of ‘Statue of Liberty’ that symbolizes democracy and freedom for all in the modern world. An American soldier is giving the cactus to Iraq. It is conveying the paradoxical message that the USA invaded Iraq in the name of democracy, claiming it to be a step to liberate Iraq from dictatorship. Yet the very fact of invasion of another country is against democratic equality of free nations. So the liberty that USA is giving to Iraq is full of thorns as in a cactus. Therefore, the cartoon is appropriately titled ‘Cactus of Democracy’

Chapter 6 Democratic Rights

Exercise on pages 111 to 112 Answers only

⁶ For a view of inside the UN and a glimpse of its security arrangements see the Hollywood movie ‘The Interpreter’ directed by Sydney Pollack – it is available on DVD and also keep getting telecast on Star Movies. It is the only movie where permission to shoot within the premises of UN has been given.

1. In the choices given (d) is not a fundamental right because through a 'Will' the parents may decide how their property will be inherited or distributed. The children do not have a fundamental right to inherit their parent's property. The fundamental Right to property is to own and dispose of movable and immovable property in accordance with law, in any part of the country.
2. Freedom (b) is not available to an Indian citizen.
3. Right to protect one's culture as given in choice (c) is available under the Indian Constitution
4. (a) is under the Fundamental Right to Freedom of Religion
(b) Is under the Fundamental Right to Freedom
(c) Is under the Fundamental Right to Equality
(d) Is under the Fundamental Right Against Exploitation

5. Give reasons:

(a) Sentence (a) is more valid about the relationship between democracy and rights because citizens have statutory rights for certain activities only under a democracy. But rights alone do not make a democracy because the rights given must include political and civic rights also. Without political rights to citizens, no country can be a democracy

6. Give reasons:

- (a) It is justified that Indian citizens need permission to visit some border areas of the country for reasons of security. This is because if citizens are allowed free access to all border areas, the freedom could be misused to spy on defence installations along the border. The borders are under the control of the armed forces as they are responsible for the defence of the country against all external attacks. The need to ask permission to visit border areas enables the armed forces to know who all have visited and for what purpose?
- (b) This is justified because some areas in the country have been declared as Tribal areas in order to safeguard the traditional way of life of the tribes of India. Therefore, non-tribe members from outside that area are not allowed to buy property in such notified areas⁷.

⁷ In 2010 'Vedanta' a multi-national company was given the rights to mine bauxite ore in tribal district of Orissa. Massive protests against this permission were organized to protect the tribal area. Eventually, the Ministry of Environment and Forests, Government of India cancelled the permission given by Government of

- (c) This restriction is not justified, because the ruling party cannot misuse its powers to control freedom of expression merely to regain power in the next election.
7. The Fundamental Right to Equality is being denied to Manoj in the example given in this question. In his letter to the District Collector, Manoj can say that he is a citizen of India by birth. Under the Constitution of India he has a fundamental right to equality and freedom to pursue any profession in any part of the country. Therefore, the clerk who refused to give him an application form for MBA course had violated his fundamental right. In the circumstances, the District Collector should intervene to help him get the application form for MBA course and see that he is not denied admission only for the reason that he is the son of a sweeper.
8. In the example given in this question Madhurima is right. The Registrar was referring to an earlier situation when property of married women had to use the family name of her husband only, for all legal purposes. After the recent amendment to the constitutional right to property daughters have been given an equal right to a share in their parents' property. Earlier only the sons could inherit immovable property from the father. Today women have a choice to register their share of inherited immovable property in their maiden surname, even after their marriage. They also have a choice to continue using their maiden name even after marriage. Therefore, as per the changed legal position Madhurima is right in wanting to register
9. a) Petition on behalf of the tribal, to the National Human Rights Commission:-

To,

The Chairman,
National Human Rights Commission,
New Delhi

Orissa. One reason was that the tribes of the area regarded bauxite ore as a sacred force of nature that protected them. Therefore, they did not want its mining to destroy the forests and their land.

Subject: Appeal for immediate action in preventing the proposed displacement of tribals from Satpura National Park, Bori Wildlife Sanctuary, and Panchmari Wildlife Sanctuary

Sir,

I am sending this appeal to you on behalf of thousands of members of five tribes who are facing the ultimate threat of losing their home as well as known sources of livelihood through the displacement notification given by the Government. The Constitution of India gives every citizen the Fundamental Right to Freedom. Under this Right citizens may reside in any part of the country and carry on any occupation or trade. The tribal groups that are threatened with displacement have been residing in the forest areas since times immemorial. Their known way of life and livelihood is the only way for survival known to them. After displacement from their forest lands their life style will be uprooted. As they do not have any other skills they will have no other means of livelihood. This will deprive them of their right to life as well as with any livelihood they will be forced to starve to death. Also the rich cultural heritage of tribal art and clothing etc will become extinct. So their right to preserve their culture and faith is also affected adversely. You are requested to take all necessary steps urgently to prevent this colossal loss. Looking forward to receiving a speedy response,

Yours faithfully

XYZ Address:

b) Response from Government:

From:

Ministry of Environment and Forests,
Government of India
Pariyavaran Bhawan,

Lodhi Road Complex,
New Delhi

To,

The Chairman,
National Human Rights Commission,
New Delhi

Sir,

With reference to your letter dated xx December 2010, I am directed to state that the Government of India policy on establishment of wildlife sanctuaries for endangered species requires the displacement of tribes residing in the forest areas notified for the sanctuaries. The presence of tribes in these areas has been resulting in environmental damage and deforestation. The traditional way of agriculture followed by the tribes involves cutting down or burning of areas of forests for the purpose of clearing land for growing crops for a few years. Thereafter, the tribes move on to another part of the forest to clear another spot of land. This is a very wasteful way of livelihood and has been causing irreparable environmental damage.

2. The tribes also hunt down and trap several species of birds and animals for food. Due to increase in tribal population, their hunting is resulting in overexploitation. As such many species of birds and animals are fast becoming endangered species or have already become extinct. With a view to preserving the environment, the flora and fauna and the rich diversity of forest life, it has become necessary to displace and re-settle the tribes in small townships. The Government of India has developed a special rehabilitation policy for such tribes. They will not only be allotted residences but will also be trained in vocational skills with which they can earn their livelihood through modern means. A copy of the Rehabilitation scheme and policy guidelines on the matter is enclosed for your reference. A copy of the Report of a study on the adverse impact on environment and forests due to the continued presence of tribes is also enclosed.

Yours faithfully,

1. Report of the National Human Rights Commission on the proposed displacement of tribes from Satpura National Park, Bori Wildlife Sanctuary, and Panchmari Wildlife Sanctuary

REPORT

A petition on behalf of thousands of members of five tribes has been received by the Commission, appealing for action against their proposed displacement from the Satpura National Park, Bori Wildlife Sanctuary, and Panchmari Wildlife Sanctuary. It has been claimed that the displacement is against the Fundamental Rights to Freedom and to protect and preserve their faith, cultural heritage and tradition. The displacement is also likely to result in denying them the right to life as without livelihood the re-settled tribal members will perish.

2. The Commission sought the comments of the Ministry of Environment and Forests, Government of India who had issued the notification on the displacement. In response the Ministry has informed that the presence of tribes in the area is causing environmental damage. This is also adversely impacting several species of birds and animals that have become endangered or are becoming extinct at a rapid pace. For safeguarding the diversity of wildlife and forests the Government has evolved a scheme for resettlement of tribes in small townships. This re-settlement will introduce the tribal people to modern ways of living.
3. They will also be trained in new skills to earn their livelihood in future. Through such a resettlement two benefits will be gained:
 - (a) the rich diversity of forests and wildlife will be preserved and
 - (b) the tribal people will be helped in adopting a modern lifestyle that is more comfortable than forest life.

It will also cause less damage to the environment and help them to earn more through modern skill. It will also improve their standards of living through modern education facilities for their children, and better health and medical care for all.

4. The Commission is satisfied with the response of the Ministry of Environment and Forests. However, it will supervise the displacement and re-settlement process to ensure that all the members of the tribes are re-settled according to the Guidelines and Instructions framed by the Government of India on the matter.
5. The Commission will also inspect and monitor the residential and other facilities to be provided to the re-settled tribes. This close monitoring will continue till the process is completed and all the re-settled members begin to earn livelihood through new skills to be provided by the Government.

ⁱ“Liberty, Fraternity, Equality” was the slogan and battle cry of the poor, during the French Revolution, as they were trying to overthrow the Aristocracy class. All through world history, people have been divided between the Aristocracy comprising of those who ruled in the name of the King , and the ordinary people, who paid taxes in various forms. As such, aristocracy was always highly exploitative, in all countries.

1. Up to the Industrial Revolution in the 18th century, the ordinary people were mostly farmers, who cultivated the land and paid part of their produce to the king, or they were traders. The king controlled the army and therefore, used force to collect taxes. The people had to obey or get punished. In France, the exploitation of the people by the King became too much. The farmers and their families had nothing left for themselves as about 80% of the produce was taken away by the rulers.
2. The people who were left hungry and out in the cold came together under the battle cry of “Liberty, Fraternity, Equality” to rebel against the king. During the French Revolution that continued from 1789 to 1799, every member of the royal family, even most distantly related, were killed or removed by the ‘people’s court’ .
3. After the French Revolution, rulers in other countries modified their policies.