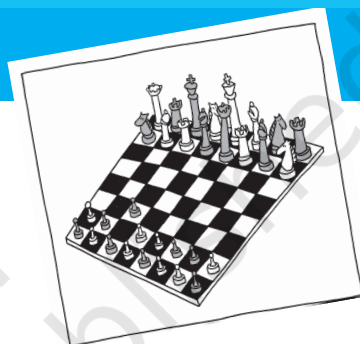


Political Theory

Textbook for Class XI



11117



राष्ट्रीय शैक्षिक अनुसंधान और प्रशिक्षण परिषद्
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH AND TRAINING

ISBN 81-7450-613-6

First Edition

September 2006 Asvina 1928

Reprinted

February 2007 Pausa 1928
January 2008 Pausa 1929
January 2009 Pausa 1930
January 2010 Pausa 1931
January 2011 Pausa 1932
March 2012 Phalguna 1933
April 2013 Chaitra 1935
October 2013 Asvina 1935
December 2014 Pausa 1936
January 2016 Pausa 1937
January 2017 Pausa 1938
December 2017 Pausa 1939
February 2019 Magha 1940
December 2019 Agrahayana 1941

PD 140T BS

© **National Council of Educational Research and Training, 2006**

₹ 80.00

Cartoon on the cover page is by Mr. Fish

Printed on 80 GSM paper with NCERT watermark

Published at the Publication Division by the Secretary, National Council of Educational Research and Training, Sri Aurobindo Marg, New Delhi 110 016 and printed at Amar Ujala Publications Ltd., C-21-22, Sector-59, Noida - 201 301 (U.P.)

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

- ❑ No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise without the prior permission of the publisher.
- ❑ This book is sold subject to the condition that it shall not, by way of trade, be lent, re-sold, hired out or otherwise disposed of without the publisher's consent, in any form of binding or cover other than that in which it is published.
- ❑ The correct price of this publication is the price printed on this page, Any revised price indicated by a rubber stamp or by a sticker or by any other means is incorrect and should be unacceptable.

OFFICES OF THE PUBLICATION DIVISION, NCERT

NCERT Campus
Sri Aurobindo Marg
New Delhi 110 016

Phone : 011-26562708

108, 100 Feet Road
Hosdakere Halli Extension
Banashankari III Stage
Bangaluru 560 085

Phone : 080-26725740

Navjivan Trust Building
P.O.Navjivan
Ahmedabad 380 014

Phone : 079-27541446

CWC Campus
Opp. Dhankal Bus Stop
Panihati
Kolkata 700 114

Phone : 033-25530454

CWC Complex
Maligaon
Guwahati 781 021

Phone : 0361-2674869

Publication Team

Head, Publication Division : *Anup Kumar Rajput*
Chief Editor : *Shweta Uppal*
Chief Production Officer : *Arun Chitkara*
Chief Business Manager : *Bibash Kumar Das*
Assistant Editor : *Shashi Chaddha*
Production Assistant : *Prakash Veer Singh*

Cover and Layout

Shweta Rao

Illustrations

Rajeev Kumar

Cartoons

Irfaan Khan

Foreword

The National Curriculum Framework (NCF), 2005, recommends that children's life at school must be linked to their life outside the school. This principle marks a departure from the legacy of bookish learning which continues to shape our system and causes a gap between the school, home and community. The syllabi and textbooks developed on the basis of NCF signify an attempt to implement this basic idea. They also attempt to discourage rote learning and the maintenance of sharp boundaries between different subject areas. We hope these measures will take us significantly further in the direction of a child-centred system of education outlined in the National Policy on Education (1986).

The success of this effort depends on the steps that school principals and teachers will take to encourage children to reflect on their own learning and to pursue imaginative activities and questions. We must recognise that given space, time and freedom, children generate new knowledge by engaging with the information passed on to them by adults. Treating the prescribed textbook as the sole basis of examination is one of the key reasons why other resources and sites of learning are ignored. Inculcating creativity and initiative is possible if we perceive and treat children as participants in learning, not as receivers of a fixed body of knowledge.

These aims imply considerable change in school routines and mode of functioning. Flexibility in the daily time-table is as necessary as rigour in implementing the annual calendar so that the required number of teaching days is actually devoted to teaching. The methods used for teaching and evaluation will also determine how effective this textbook proves for making children's life at school a happy experience, rather than a source of stress or boredom. Syllabus designers have tried to address the problem of curricular burden by restructuring and reorienting knowledge at different stages with greater consideration for child

psychology and the time available for teaching. The textbook attempts to enhance this endeavour by giving higher priority and space to opportunities for contemplation and wondering, discussion in small groups, and activities requiring hands-on experience.

The National Council of Educational Research and Training (NCERT) appreciates the hard work done by the textbook development committee responsible for this book. We wish to thank the Chairperson of the advisory group in Social Sciences, Professor Hari Vasudevan and the Chief Advisors for this book, Professor Suhas Palshikar and Professor Yogendra Yadav for guiding the work of this committee. Several teachers contributed to the development of this textbook; we are grateful to their principals for making this possible. We are indebted to the institutions and organisations which have generously permitted us to draw upon their resources, material and personnel. We are especially grateful to the members of the National Monitoring Committee, appointed by the Department of Secondary and Higher Education, Ministry of Human Resource Development under the Chairmanship of Professor Mrinal Miri and Professor G.P. Deshpande, for their valuable time and contribution. As an organisation committed to systemic reform and continuous improvement in the quality of its products, NCERT welcomes comments and suggestions which will enable us to undertake further revision and refinement.

New Delhi
20 December 2005

Director
National Council of Educational
Research and Training

Preface

The NCERT this year has introduced a separate paper on Political Theory for students of Class XI. This change has come as a part of the larger project to revise and redesign the school curricula. Previously students were exposed to political ideas and theories primarily through the study of political ideologies, such as, Liberalism, or Marxism, or Fascism. Concepts like freedom and equality entered the picture only indirectly in terms of their place in a given system of ideas. In the new course the central focus is on concepts rather than ideologies. The objective of the course is to introduce students to some of the important ideas and concepts which form a part of the living tradition of political thought in the world.

In the writing of this book the approach which was followed was to try and involve the students in the process of learning, both as recipients and creators of knowledge. The objective was to encourage students to *do* political theory by training them to scrutinise and reflect upon the ways we make sense of and conceptualise our world, as well as to develop and extend their understanding. Hence, even as each chapter begins with some minimum, and at times commonsensical, understanding of a concept, it tries to introduce students to different dimensions of the concept and give them a feel of the range of ideas that can be marshaled while taking positions and offering reasons.

For all of you, the students, who will study political theory and be examined in this subject, we hope will be this approach to the study of political theory more engaging. We wanted you not only to learn about the ideas which have been developed by thinkers over the ages but also to be able to respond to them on the basis of your own experience of the world. As you will see, the concepts included in this book – freedom, equality, rights, nationalism – are used in everyday life not only by politicians and governments but by all of us. We speak frequently of our freedoms and rights, of the fairness and unfairness of things, of our desire to be treated equally, of our sentiments about nationalism or peace, or other such ideals. The concepts that we are going to study in this book are thus already part of our lives. We apply them in our personal life, in the family, in the school, or among our friends, and we also use them when we take positions on public policies or political debates.

The starting point of our study is not therefore unfamiliar. But we hope that through the study of political theory you will be able to refine your

ideas and express them with greater precision and clarity. If, at the end of the year, you are able to critically reflect on your beliefs and ideas and offer reasoned and compelling arguments in defence of your position, we think that this experiment would have been successful. The side comments, suggestions for activities, and exercises in each chapter were designed to indicate how these concepts could help you interpret the often-confusing world in which we live. As with all such new projects, mistakes might have been made but we look forward to feedback from you.

Even though students were the major focus of our thinking when planning the book we recognise the crucial role that teachers play in the learning process. We hope that the book will also empower teachers to use it not as a repository of truths but as a starting point for generating a creative classroom environment. The different exercises and activities included in each chapter were intended not as directions for what the teachers have to do in their classes. Rather they were meant to be indicators of how the ideas in a chapter and the book as a whole could be appropriated and developed.

We might also add that in addition to the main text, boxes have been introduced in each chapter to draw your attention to the political thought and contribution of a particular theorist or of a system of ideas. These too were conceived as ways of enriching and deepening the discussion, without compelling the student to commit to memory who said what, when and why. We do hope that the teachers will assess students in terms of their ability to think for themselves by understanding the different aspects and dimensions of a given concept rather than for their skill in rehearsing and reproducing all the possible arguments and usages of a concept discussed in the text. Such an open-ended approach may present a challenge both for teachers and students but it should become an integral part of our educational system.

In this short preface, rather than prescribing what needs to be done, and how, we have tried to share with you how we approached the writing of the book. From teachers also we would appreciate feedback about the book and its design.

Writing the book was a collective enterprise of a number of people and it involved a continuous dialogue regarding the meaning of concepts and how they could be taught. We recognised both the need to listen to each other as well as to convince others of our point of view. The end result is before you and we will wait to get your response.

Chief Advisors

Suhas Palshikar

Yogendra Yadav

Advisors

Gurpreet Mahajan

Sarah Joseph

Textbook Development Committee

CHAIRPERSON, ADVISORY COMMITTEE FOR TEXTBOOKS AT THE SECONDARY LEVEL

Hari Vasudevan, *Professor*, Department of History, University of Calcutta, Kolkata

CHIEF ADVISORS

Suhas Palshikar, *Professor*, Department of Politics and Public Administration, University of Pune, Maharashtra

Yogendra Yadav, *Senior Fellow*, Centre for the Study of Developing Societies, Delhi

ADVISORS

Gurpreet Mahajan, *Professor*, Centre for Political Studies, School of Social Sciences, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi

Sarah Joseph, (Retd.) *Reader*, Lady Sri Ram College, New Delhi, 2A, Palacina Apts., 43, M.E.G. Officers Colony, Banaswadi Road, Bangalore

MEMBERS

Ashok Acharya, *Professor*, Department of Political Science, Art Faculty Extension, Delhi University, Delhi

Bhagat Oinam, *Associate Professor*, Center of Philosophy, JNU, New Delhi

Lajwanti Chattani, *Associate Professor*, Department of Political Science, MS University Baroda, Vadodara, Gujarat

Mangesh Kulkarni, *Reader*, Department of Politics and Public Administration, University of Pune, Maharashtra

Meenakshi Tandon, *PGT (Pol. Sc.)*, Sardar Patel Vidyalaya, New Delhi

Neeraj Priya, *Lecturer*, N 16, Navin Shahadara, Delhi

Peter R. D'Souza, *Professor and Co-Director Lokniti*, Senior Fellow, CSDS, 29, Rajpur Road, Delhi

Rajeev Bhargava, *Professor and Senior Fellow*, CSDS, 29 Rajpur Road, Delhi

Rajesh Dev, *Lecturer*, Women's College, Laithumkhrach, Shillong, Meghalaya

Rupa Sen, *Principal*, Former PGT (Pol. Sc.) Ajanta Public School, Gurgaon

Satya P. Gautam, *Professor*, Centre for Philosophy, SSS, JNU, New Delhi

Vasanthi Srinivasan, *Associate Professor*, B-20, University of Hyderabad, Gachhi Bowli Campus, Hyderabad

Vipul Mudgal, *Editor*, HT-School edition, Hindustan Times House, New Delhi

MEMBER-COORDINATOR

Sanjay Dubey, *Reader*, DESSH, NCERT, New Delhi

Acknowledgements

We would like to thank all the people who have been associated with this book in different capacities. At the initial stages of planning inputs were provided by a committee which included school teachers, representatives of the NCERT and some State Education Boards in addition to chapter writers. Although it is difficult to mention the names of all the people who helped in the production and preparation of this book, we would like to mention Vasanthi Srinivasan from Hyderabad Central University and Mangesh Kulkarni from Pune University for contributing chapters and willingly offering additional help through editorial and other inputs. We would also like to thank Peter D'Souza, S. Gautam, Rajeev Bhargava, Bhagat Oinam, Ashok Acharya, Nivedita Menon, Lajwanti and Janaki Srinivasan for contributing to the text. Their contributions kick-started this project. Besides them several young teachers and research students provided invaluable help in giving the book its final form. We would in particular like to thank Ankita Pandey, Divya Singh and Navanita Sinha from JNU, Sriranjani from CSDS and Mohinder Singh and Papia SenGupta from Delhi University. We would also like to thank Aarti Sethi and Rafia Zaman in helping the preparation of the box items.

For some of the images used in this book, we would like to thank www.africawithin.com, www.ibiblio.org, www.narmada.org, Sardar Sarovar Narmada Nigam Ltd. and the National Archives and Records Administration, USA. Our special thanks also to P. Sainath, Harikrishna, Deepa Jani and Shweta Rao for allowing us to use their pictures and images. Most of all we would like to thank R.K. Laxman for letting us use Cartoons from his various collections. We are grateful to Mathew John for proof reading and to DTP Operator, Arvind Sharma for assistance in finalising the book.

The design of this book has the stamp of Shweta Rao and if the book has an attractive look that compels you to leaf through it, it is on account of her efforts.

The contribution of M.V.S.V. Prasad, *Assistant Professor*, Department of Curriculum Studies, NCERT, in reviewing and updating the current edition is appreciated.

Contents

Chapter 1 Political Theory: An Introduction	1-16
Chapter 2 Freedom	17-30
Chapter 3 Equality	31-52
Chapter 4 Social Justice	53-66
Chapter 5 Rights	67-78
Chapter 6 Citizenship	79-96
Chapter 7 Nationalism	97-110
Chapter 8 Secularism	111-128
Chapter 9 Peace	129-142
Chapter 10 Development	143-157

THE CONSTITUTION OF INDIA PREAMBLE

WE, THE PEOPLE OF INDIA, having solemnly resolved to constitute India into a ¹**[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 ²[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.**

1. Subs. by the Constitution (Forty-second Amendment) Act, 1976, Sec.2, for "Sovereign Democratic Republic" (w.e.f. 3.1.1977)
2. Subs. by the Constitution (Forty-second Amendment) Act, 1976, Sec.2, for "Unity of the Nation" (w.e.f. 3.1.1977)