



Punjab

Lecturer Cadre

Political Science

Volume - 2



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Punjab Politics

Punjabi Suba Movement

The Punjabi Suba Movement was a political movement in independent India that demanded the creation of a separate Punjabi-speaking state. It was mainly led by the Shiromani Akali Dal and supported largely by sections of the Sikh community. The movement emerged in the 1950s as part of the broader demand for reorganization of states on a linguistic basis. After years of protests and negotiations, the demand was accepted in 1966, leading to the reorganization of Punjab and the creation of Haryana and a new Punjab.

Punjabi Suba Movement Background

- After Independence, India faced several demands for creation of states on a linguistic basis. In Punjab, the demand for a separate Punjabi-speaking state, known as Punjabi Suba, became the main political objective of the Sikh leadership, especially the Shiromani Akali Dal.
- The Sikhs believed that their language (Punjabi) and cultural identity would be better protected in a separate state. Elections to the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee (SGPC) in 1954 showed strong Sikh support for this demand.

Punjabi Suba Movement Demands

- Creation of a Punjabi-speaking state.
- The state should include only Punjabi-speaking areas.
- Its boundaries should not be changed artificially for political reasons.
- The new state would function within the framework of the Indian Constitution.

Role of the States Reorganisation Commission (1953)

- The States Reorganisation Commission (SRC), appointed in 1953, examined various demands for new states. It rejected the demand for Punjabi Suba.
- Instead of recommending the creation of a separate Punjabi-speaking state, the Commission proposed expanding the existing Punjab by merging the Patiala and East Punjab States Union (PEPSU) and Himachal Pradesh with it.
- Sikh leaders felt that this recommendation ignored their genuine concerns. They believed that the decision aimed to keep Sikhs politically in a minority. This rejection increased dissatisfaction and strengthened the movement.

Agitations and Police Action (1955)

- The Punjabi Suba Movement turned into mass protests in 1955. During the Baisakhi festival in Amritsar, the Punjab government banned slogans supporting Punjabi Suba. Thousands of Sikhs courted arrest in protest.
- On 4 July 1955, police entered the Golden Temple and used tear gas to disperse protesters. This incident deeply hurt Sikh religious sentiments and increased tensions between the government and the Sikh community. Although the ban was later withdrawn.
- To solve the issue, a “Regional Formula” was introduced. It divided Punjab into Punjabi-speaking and Hindi-speaking regions for administrative purposes. However, it was not effectively implemented and failed to satisfy both sides.

- Over time, language differences started taking a communal shape. The demand for Punjabi Suba continued through peaceful protests and political negotiations.
- Leaders like Master Tara Singh and Sant Fateh Singh used hunger strikes and mass agitations to press the demand. Thousands of supporters courted arrest. The issue remained politically sensitive and emotionally charged.

- The **Sachar Formula** was a linguistic agreement introduced on **October 2, 1949**, by then-Punjab Chief Minister *Bhim Sen Sachar* to resolve language disputes in undivided East Punjab. It divided the state into Hindi and Punjabi zones, mandating respective regional languages as the medium of instruction while offering the other as a compulsory second language.
- **key provisions of the Sachar Formula**
- **Punjabi Zone:** Punjabi (in Gurmukhi script) was made the medium of instruction at all stages in government schools. Hindi was introduced as a compulsory second language starting from the fourth class
- **Hindi Zone:** Hindi (in Devanagari script) was made the medium of instruction. Punjabi was introduced as a compulsory language from the fourth class.
- **English:** English was taught as a compulsory third language from the sixth class onward in both zones.
- The formula effectively declared Punjab a bilingual state and gave parents the right to choose their child's medium of instruction. However, it ultimately failed to satisfy extremist factions. Sikh leaders (like Master Tara Singh) felt it did not go far enough to establish a separate Punjabi-speaking state, while Hindu organizations (like the Arya Samaj and Jan Sangh) heavily protested the mandatory teaching of Punjabi in Hindi-speaking area

Creation and Reorganisation of Punjab (1966)

The 1966 Shah Commission, also known as the Punjab Boundary Commission, was appointed by the Government of India on **April 23, 1966**, to divide the erstwhile state of Punjab on linguistic lines. Headed by former Chief Justice of India Justice J.C. Shah, the commission submitted its report on May 31, 1966.

Based on the commission's report, the Punjab Reorganisation Act, 1966, was passed, leading to the following key changes

- After the 1965 India-Pakistan War, the central government reconsidered the long-pending demand for a Punjabi-speaking state. A Parliamentary Committee examined the issue and recommended the creation of Punjabi Suba. Accepting this recommendation, the government passed the Punjab Reorganisation Act, 1966.
 - The Act came into effect on 1 November 1966, and Punjab was reorganised mainly on a linguistic basis. As a result:
 - Punjab was reconstituted as a Punjabi-speaking state.
 - Haryana was created as a separate Hindi-speaking state and became the 17th state of India.
 - Some hill areas of the old Punjab were transferred to Himachal Pradesh (which was then a Union Territory and became a full state in 1971).
 - Chandigarh was made a Union Territory and declared the joint capital of both Punjab and Haryana.
- Thus, the long-standing Punjabi Suba Movement demand was fulfilled through constitutional means under Article 3 of the Indian Constitution. The reorganisation of 1966 became an important example of linguistic state formation in post-Independence India.

Anandpur Sahib Resolution 1973

- The working committee of the Shiromani Akali Dal constituted a 12-member sub-committee on December 11, 1972 to formulate comprehensive policies and programmes.

- The sub-committee comprised S. Surjit Singh Barnala, S. Gurcharan Singh Tohra, S. Jiwan Singh Umranangal, the late S. Gurmeet Singh Muktsar, Dr. Bhagat Singh, S. Balwant Singh, the late S. Gian Singh Rarewala, S. Prem Singh Lalpura. S. Jaswinder Singh Brar, S. Bhag Singh, Maj-General Gurbakhash Singh and S. Amar Singh Ambalavi.
- The committee after serious deliberations at several meetings submitted a comprehensive report which was adopted by the working committee through a unanimous resolution at Shri Anandpur Sahib on October 17, 1973. The general house of the Akali Dal endorsed the resolution at Amritsar on August 28, 1977 and it was then endorsed by the open session of the 18th All-India
- Akali Conference on October 28 and 29, 1978 at Ludhiana. The Akali Dal contested the 1977 elections to Parliament and the state Assembly on an election manifesto based on this resolution.

The Resolution text follows

General Aims

- The Akali Dal shall be active and committed to the realisation of the following aims: Propagation of the Sikh way of life and removal of atheism and un-Sikh thinking.
- Maintaining the feeling of a separate independent entity of the Sikh Panth and creation of an environment in which the “National Expression” of the Sikhs can be full and satisfactory.
- Banishing illiteracy, untouchability, social inequities and caste-based discrimination which are contrary to the great teachings of the great Gurus.

Religious Aims

- The following are some of the religious aims of the Dal: Bringing about a new all-India gur-udwara law which will ensure a more efficient and meaningful management of places of worship and community centres than at present and helping in the achievement of re-integration of ancient Sikh preaching orders (such as Udasis and Nirmalas) into a dynamic Sikh society without encroaching upon their financial resources and property.
- Bringing all the gurudwaras of the world under the banner of one organisation to make the Sikh religious procedures and proceedings uniform throughout the world and pooling and making effective the aggregate resources of religious propagation.
- Obtain free and self-regulated access to and control of Sri Nankana Sahib and other Sikh sacred places from which Sikhs have been torn asunder in the recent past.

Political Aims

- The political aims of the Panth are definitely ingrained in the orders of the 10th Guru in the pages of Sikh history and in the perspective of the Khalsa Panth, the purpose of which is the preeminence of the Khalsa. To give this “birthright” of the Khalsa a practical shape, creation of the necessary environment and achievement of a political constitution are necessary steps. To achieve this end the Dal will use all possible means. The resolution says: The areas which have deliberately and intentionally been kept out of Punjab-Dalhousie in Gurdaspur district, Chandigarh, Pinjore, Kalka and Ambala, Una tehsil (Hoshiarpur district), the Nalagarh region. Shahbad and Guhla blocks of Karnal district, Sirsa tehsil, Tohana sub-tehsil and Ratia block of Hissar district, six tehsils of Ganganagar district in Rajasthan and other contiguous Punjabi-speaking and Sikh areas should be immediately included in Punjab and made into a single administrative unit wherein Sikhism and the interests of the Sikhs “can be especially protected”.
- In this new Punjab the authority of the Centre should be confined only to the defence of the country, foreign relations, communications, railways and currency. All the residuary subjects (departments) should be under the jurisdiction of Punjab which should have the right to frame its own constitution for these subjects. Punjab would contribute its share of the necessary finances for Central subjects in the ratio of its members in the Lok Sabha-13/541 of the budget.
- The Akali Dal will strive to make the Constitution of India federal in the real sense and ensure that the authority and representation of all the states are equal at the Centre.

Rajiv-Longowal Memorandum of Settlement (Accord), July 24, 1985

The following is the text of the memorandum of settlement signed between Rajiv Gandhi and Harchand Singh Longowal on July 24, 1985.

- 1. Compensation to innocent persons killed:-** Along with ex-gratia payment to the innocent killed in agitation or any action after 1-8-1982, compensation for property damaged will also be paid.
- 2. Army recruitment :-** All citizens of the country have the right to enroll in the Army and merit will remain the criterion for selection.
- 3. Enquiry into November incidents:-** The jurisdiction of Mr. Justice Ranganath Mishra Commission enquiring into the November riots of Delhi would be extended to cover the disturbances at Bokaro and Kanpur also.
- 4. Rehabilitation of those discharged from the Army:-** For all those discharged, efforts will be made to rehabilitate and provide gainful employment.
- 5. All India Gurdwara Act:-** The Government of India agrees to consider that the Legislation will be brought forward for this purpose in consultation with Shiromani Akali Dal, others concerned and after fulfilling all relevant Constitutional requirements.
- 6. Disposal of pending cases**
 - ✓ The notifications applying the Armed Forces Special Powers Act to Punjab will be withdrawn. Existing special courts will try only cases relating to the following types of offences (a) waging war (b) hijacking.
 - ✓ All other cases will be transferred to ordinary courts and enabling legislation if needed will be brought forward in this session of parliament.
- 7. Territorial claims.**
 - ✓ The capital project area of Chandigarh will go to Punjab. Some adjoining areas that were previously part of Hindu or the Punjabi regions were included in the Union Territory. With the capital region going to Punjab the areas which were added to the Union Territory from the Punjabi region of the erstwhile state of Punjab will be transferred to Punjab and those from Hindu region to Haryana. The entire Sukhna Lake will be kept as part of Chandigarh and will thus go to Punjab.
 - ✓ It has always been maintained by Mrs. Indira Gandhi that when Chandigarh is to go to Punjab some Hindi-speaking territories in Punjab will go to Haryana. A commission will be constituted to determine the specific Hindi-speaking areas of Punjab, which should go to Haryana, in lieu of Chandigarh.
 - ✓ The principle of contiguity and linguistic affinity with a village as a unit will be the basis of such determination. The commission will be required to give its findings by 31st December 1985, and these will be binding on both sides.
 - ✓ The actual transfer of Chandigarh to Punjab and areas in lieu thereof to Haryana will take place simultaneously on 26th January 1986.
 - ✓ There are other claims or counter-claims for requirement of the existing Punjab-Haryana boundaries. The government will appoint another commission to consider these matters and give its findings will be binding on the concerned states. The terms of reference will be based on a village as a unit linguistic affinity and contiguity.
- 8. Centre-state relations.**
 - ✓ Shiromani Akali Dal states that the Anandpur Sahib Resolution is entirely within the framework of the Indian Constitution, that it attempts to define the concept of centre-state relations in a manner which may bring out the true federal characteristics of our unitary Constitution, and that the purpose of the resolution is to provide greater autonomy to the state with a view to strengthening the unity and integrity of the country
 - ✓ since unity in diversity forms the cornerstone of our national entity.
 - ✓ In view of the above, the Anandpur Sahib Resolution insofar as it deals with centre-state relations, stands referred to the Sarkaria Commission.

9. Sharing of river waters.

- ✓ The farmers of Punjab, Haryana and Rajasthan will continue to get water not less than what they are using from the Ravi-Beas system as on 1-7- 1985. Waters used for consumptive purposes will also remain unaffected.
- ✓ The claims of Punjab and Haryana regarding the shares in their remaining waters will be referred for adjudication to a tribunal to be presided over by a Supreme Court judge. The decision of this tribunal will be rendered within six months and would be binding on both parties. All legal and Constitutional steps required in this respect shall be taken expeditiously.
- ✓ The construction of the SYL canal shall continue. The canal shall be completed by 15th August, 1986.

10. Representation of minorities.

- ✓ Existing instructions regarding protection of interests of minorities will be recalculated to the state chief ministers (PM will write to all chief ministers).

11. Promotion of Punjabi language.

- ✓ The Central Government may take some steps for the promotion of the Punjabi language.
- ✓ This settlement brings to an end a period of confrontation and ushers in an area of amity, goodwill and cooperation, which will promote and strengthen the unity and integrity of India.

Sarkaria Commission

The Sarkaria Commission was established by the Indian government in 1983 to investigate many issues, the most important of which was the relationship between the center and the states. The Sarkaria Commission's most important recommendation was the establishment of a permanent Inter-state council known as the Intergovernmental Council. According to the Commission, this council should be established under Article 263 of the constitution.

Sarkaria Commission - Historical Background

- The Ministry of Home Affairs established a Commission on June 9, 1983, under the chairmanship of Retd. Justice Ranjit Singh Sarkaria, with Shri B. Sivaraman and Dr. S.R. Sen as members, to review the working of the existing arrangements between the Union and the States in the changed socio-economic scenario.
- In all areas, the Commission studied and analyzed the functioning of the current arrangements between the Union and States in terms of powers, functions, and duties, and suggested any changes or other steps that were necessary.
- The commission will take into account the social and economic changes that have occurred over time, as well as the Constitution's scheme and framework, which the founding fathers painstakingly designed to protect the country's independence and ensure the country's unity and integrity, both of which are critical for promoting the people's welfare.

Recommendations of Sarkaria Commission

- In October 1987, the Commission issued its report, which included 247 recommendations. It firmly rejected the call for the center's power to be curtailed, stating that a strong center is necessary to maintain national unity and integrity. Over-centralization, on the other hand, was identified as a preventable problem.

Recommendation on Judiciary

- High Court judges should not be transferred without their will.

Recommendation on Administrative Relation

- Sarkaria made the following observations on administrative relations: "Federalism is more of a functional arrangement for cooperative activity than a static institutional concept."

On selection of a person to the office of the Governor

- The Sarkaria Commission has proposed the following additional criteria for appointing someone to the Governorship.
- A politician from the federal government's dominant party should not be appointed Governor of a state ruled by another party or a coalition of parties.
- After consulting with the Chief Minister of the State in question, he must be nominated.
- He should be a well-known figure in some field.
- He should come from outside the country and be a distant figure who isn't too involved in the country's local politics.
- He should be someone who hasn't been involved in politics in the past, especially in the recent past.
- People who are members of minority groups should be given an opportunity.
- His term in office must be assured, and he should not be removed from office unless there are exceptionally compelling grounds or if disciplinary action is being taken against him. He must be given a reasonable opportunity to demonstrate his case against the grounds for his removal. In the event that the
- Governor is terminated or resigns, the Government should present a statement to both Houses of Parliament detailing the reasons that led to the removal or resignation, as the case may be.
- After he leaves office, he should be barred from holding any other constitutional position other than Governor, Vice-President, or President.
- He is not an agent of the Centre just because he prepared a report pursuant to Article 356. He does so because he swears allegiance to the Constitution, the law, and the people of the state. He must be satisfied that there is a genuine breakdown of constitutional machinery, which he must report in the public interest.
- Reasonable post-retirement benefits should be offered at the end of his service.

On selection of the Chief Minister by the Governor

- The Governor should be guided by the following principles when selecting a Chief Minister:
 - To establish the government, the party or coalition of parties with the most votes in the Legislative Assembly should be called upon.
 - The Governor's job is to make sure that a government is established, not to strive to form a government that will follow policies that he approves of.
 - If a single party has an absolute majority in the legislature, the party's leader shall be invited to become the Chief Minister automatically.
 - If no such party exists, the Governor should choose a Chief Minister from the following party or group of parties by sounding them in the following order of preference:
 - Prior to the elections, a coalition of parties was formed. With the assistance of others, including "independence," the largest single party is making a claim to form the government.
 - A post-election alliance of parties in which all coalition partners join governments.
- A post-election alliance of parties that includes some members of a government and others, including "independents," who support the government from the outside.
- During the above-described process, the Governor should choose a leader who, in his (Governor's) opinion, is most likely to command a majority in the Assembly.
 - A Chief Minister should seek a vote of confidence in the Assembly within 30 days after taking office unless he is the leader of a party with an absolute majority in the Assembly. With the sanctity of a Rule of Law, this practice should be followed faithfully.
 - Outside of the Assembly, the Governor should not take the risk of deciding the question of majority support on his own. It would be prudent for him to put the competing assertions to the test on the House floor.

Recommendations on Article 356

- According to the Commission, this item has been utilized for political reasons in 90% of the cases. As a result, it was suggested that:
- The reasons why the state cannot be managed according to the Constitution's normal provisions should be included in the President's declaration.
- Before resorting to Article 356 as a last resort, the federal government should give a warning to the state administration.
- It should not be exploited for political gain.
- Article 356 should be changed so that the President can only dissolve the State Legislature with Parliament's permission.

Sarkaria Commission's Recommendation on Legislative Matters

Recommendation on Article 258:

- According to the report, the President should delegate some executive functions of the Union in consultation with the states. This will aid in the promotion of "cooperative federalism."

Recommendation on Concurrent List:

- The federal government should relinquish jurisdiction over items on the concurrent list and consult with state governments before implementing legislation on them.

Recommendation on Article 252:

- If parliament passes legislation under Article 252 (with mutual consent of two or more nations), it should only be in effect for three years.
- Although the States have given Parliament the right to legislate, such laws can currently only be repealed by Parliament at any time.

Recommendation On Inter-State River Water Tribunals:

- The award of the Inter-State River Water Tribunals should be made automatically binding three months after the judgment is made, not after the center notifies the parties.

Recommendation On Inter-State Council:

- Article 263 requires the center to form an "Inter-State Council," which should be renamed "Intergovernmental Council" to avoid political concerns.

Recommendation On Tax Sharing

- In light of the necessity for states to mobilize more resources, taxation power, which was previously on the union list, should be moved to the concurrent list.
- The surcharge must only be in place for a short time.

Conclusion

- The central government has implemented 180 of the Sarkaria Commission's recommendations (out of 247).
- Some of the recommendations have been implemented, such as having the governor come from outside the state.
- The significance of putting the Sarkaria commission's recommendations on governor selection and appointment into implementation has been repeatedly emphasized by the Supreme Court.
- The government has agreed to a couple of the Sarkaria Commission's recommendations on Articles 356 and legislative matters. The Inter-State
- Council's name, however, has not been altered to 'Intergovernmental Council,' as the Commission advised.

Emerging trends in Punjab Politics with special reference to Congress, BJP, AAP, BSP, SAD

Emerging trends in Punjab politics show a transition from bipolar hegemony (Congress vs. SAD) toward a multi-cornered contest involving AAP, Congress, BJP, and SAD. Parties are aggressively reshaping their strategies through aggressive urban outreach, alliance realignments, and intense internal factionalism as they prepare for the upcoming 2027 assembly elections.

Aam Aadmi Party (AAP): The Dominant Incumbent

Since its historic landslide victory in 2022, AAP has successfully transitioned from an "outsider challenger" into a deeply entrenched political force.

- **Consolidated Grassroots Hold:** AAP solidifies its grip on the state through localized performance. In the May 2026 Punjab municipal elections, AAP swept the state, winning 954 out of 2,019 contested wards across 105 urban local bodies, comprehensively breaking into traditional opposition strongholds like Jalalabad.
- **Welfare Economics :** Chief Minister Bhagwant Mann's governance strategy relies heavily on highly popular subsidy models, including 600 units of free monthly electricity (resulting in zero power bills for nearly 90% of households) and the Mukh Mantri Mawan Dhian Satikar Yojana providing monthly cash transfers to women.
- **The Panthic Balancing Act:** The party faces its steepest challenge navigating religious and sacrilege-related issues. The state government finds itself under pressure from the Akal Takht (the supreme temporal seat of Sikhs) to align legislative amendments with Sikh sentiments, forcing AAP to carefully balance its secular developmental pitch with Panthic sensitivities.

Indian National Congress: The Fragmented Challenger

The Congress party remains the primary opposition in Punjab, but it is trapped in a defensive cycle.

- **Urban-Rural Retention:** Congress managed to finish second in the 2026 local body elections, capturing 393 seats. While it maintains a resilient voter base, it has lost massive ground to AAP in rural areas and small municipal towns.
- **Chronic Leadership Rifts:** Despite public assertions of unity by Punjab Congress President Amrinder Singh Raja Warring, internal factionalism continues to hobble the party. Hidden rivalries and a clear lack of central direction mean that senior leaders like former CM Charanjit Singh Channi frequently pull the party in differing ideological directions.
- **The Anti-Incumbency Strategy:** Lacking a distinct state-level economic roadmap, the Congress strategy relies primarily on targeting Chief Minister Bhagwant Mann directly, attempting to forge an alliance of opinion around alleged governance failures and administrative overreach.

Shiromani Akali Dal (SAD): Fighting for Survival

SAD, historically the premier regional champion of Punjab and Panthic politics, is experiencing a profound existential crisis.

- **Diminishing Electoral Returns:** The party's decline since 2022 was underscored by its performance in the 2026 civic body polls, where its seat count dropped to 192. It has increasingly lost its grip on historical family bastions to AAP and independent candidates.
- **Identity Crisis:** Under Sukhbir Singh Badal, SAD is struggling to reclaim its core identity. It is caught between appealing to its traditional Sikh religious base and trying to project a modern, development-focused image. Internal rebel factions within the Akali camp have further diluted the party's cohesion.
- **Loss of the Panthic Monopoly:** The rise of hardline, radical independent figures has fragmented the panthic vote bank, stripping SAD of its absolute monopoly over regional religious sentiments.

Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP): The Urban Expansionist

Since parting ways with long-time ally SAD over the farm laws controversy, the BJP has embarked on an ambitious solo journey in Punjab.

- **Growth from the Bottom Up:** Operating without a regional crutch, the BJP has significantly increased its presence. In the 2026 civic elections, the party increased its tally from 49 seats to 172 seats. This represents a substantial leap, primarily driven by consolidation in urban, Hindu-dominated pockets.
- **A "Congress-Infused" Leadership:** The BJP's state leadership relies heavily on high-profile turncoats from the Congress (such as Sunil Jakhar, Captain Amarinder Singh's family, and Kewal Singh Dhillon). While this brings immediate state-wide recognition, it has triggered friction with the BJP's traditional, old-guard cadre.
- **The Agrarian Barrier:** While the BJP is successfully building an urban base, it faces a steep uphill battle in rural Punjab, where deep-seated memories of the farm agitations continue to pose a barrier for the party's rural outreach.

Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP): The Marginalized Force

The BSP remains a marginal player in a state that, paradoxically, has India's highest percentage of Scheduled Caste (SC) population (around 32%).

- **Alliance Dependencies:** The BSP's independent strength is confined to specific pockets of the Doaba region (like Jalandhar and Hoshiarpur). Lacking the organizational machinery to win on its own, it is perpetually looking for regional pre-poll alliances to remain viable.
- **Sub-Categorization Fragmentations:** Recent nationwide debates on SC sub-categorization and the AAP government's targeted welfare schemes (which provide enhanced cash transfers specifically to SC women) have successfully fractured the Dalit vote bank, preventing the BSP from consolidating this crucial demographic under one banner.

ToppersNotes
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Political Theory

Concept of Liberty

Freedom, in fact, is a suitable environment which is necessary for the development of the individual and the rules of the society and the laws of the state determine the limits of freedom.

Origin of the word Liberty

Freedom which is called (Liber) in English language, is derived from the Latin word 'Liber', which means 'Absence of all Restraints'. Thus, the literal meaning of freedom is the freedom to do everything according to one's desire and the absence of all kinds of restrictions. But this freedom has a negative aspect. In fact, freedom can be enjoyed only by living in restraints. According to Macneil, freedom is not the absence of all restrictions, but the establishment of restrictions in place of the invalid."

Definitions of Liberty

1. Acc. to G.D.H. Cole, "Liberty is the freedom of the individual to express without external hindrances to his personality"
2. Acc. to Burns, "Liberty is to grow to one's natural height and to develop one's ability"

Different Forms of Liberty

1. **Natural Liberty** –Compromisers preached natural liberty for the individual. They believe that man is born free. So he should have more freedom for his development. According to Rousseau, "Man is born free, but everywhere he is bound in chains." Compromise scholars Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau are of the opinion that the original freedom was enjoyed by the individual in the state of nature, but with the advent of the state, the individual has lost his natural freedom. In the natural state he used to live according to his will like the birds. But in a civilized society a person cannot be given the freedom to live at will. Freedom is not a license. Rather, freedom can be enjoyed only by living in the state and society.
2. **Civil Liberty** -The facilities that a person gets as a member of society are called civil liberties. This freedom is contrary to the concept of natural freedom. It does not give the leisure person an unlimited right to do as he pleases, rather he enjoys this freedom within the constraints imposed by the individual, society and the state. Gatell, Anusat "Civil liberties consist in the rights and privileges which the state creates and secures for its citizens. "
 - ✓ According to Laskey, "There is no real freedom unless the government can be held accountable and stopped whenever it violates rights."
 - ✓ Civil liberties depend on the nature and capacity of the state. So it is not same in all states.
3. **Political Liberty**–Political freedom means the acquisition of rights to take an active part in the administration of the state.
 - ✓ In short, political freedom is the constitutional freedom through which the people get the right to choose their own government, whichever comes before them. It includes the following rights-
 - I. The right to vote
 - II. Right to contest elections
 - III. Right to get public office based on merit
 - IV. Right to constructively criticize Sarkak's policies etc.

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4. **Economic Liberty**—Economic freedom is the basis of all other freedoms because in its absence one cannot enjoy other freedoms properly. Lenin said, "Civil liberties are meaningless without economic liberties. "Economic liberties are the protection of the individual from poverty, unemployment and poverty. This freedom frees the worker from the oppression of the employer and provides adequate opportunities for the individual to earn a living.
- ✓ According to Laskey, "Economic independence means the security and opportunity for a person to earn his living."
 - ✓ In Lasky's words, "Economic freedom means the establishment of democracy in industry."
5. **National Liberty** —National independence is the opposite of colonialism and imperialism. Accordingly, every nation has the right to 'self-determination' and 'self-government'. According to Jefferson, "National liberty means the right of every individual and every group of individuals on this earth to self-government. "
- ✓ Under this freedom every nation has the right to form a sovereign state and to keep itself free from all kinds of internal and external control. Under national independence, the people of the nation have complete freedom to determine their own system of governance, foreign policy, economic and social arrangements, etc. and no other state can impose pressure on it or interfere in its internal affairs. can Indians did not have national independence before 1947, but now India is a state with national independence.
 - ✓ National independence does not give freedom to the states to do as they please. Today, Hap Paz is a member of the international community and this freedom can only be exercised keeping in mind the interest of the international community.
6. **Religious Liberty**—Dharam has great importance in a person's life and he does not tolerate any restrictions on his religion. This is the reason why in many states today a person is given the freedom to believe, practice and propagate any religion. In secular states the state keeps itself neutral from religion.
7. **Moral Liberty** —T.H. Scholars such as Greene, Kant, Hegel and Bosanquet support the individual being given moral freedom. Moral freedom means those states that make individuals rational beings and enable them to distinguish between truth and falsehood, right and wrong, religion and unrighteousness, moral and immoral. Therefore the individual should be morally independent and the state should develop such institutions which ensure the moral independence of the individual.
8. **Individual Liberty**—Personal freedom means giving freedom to a person to do such actions which are limited only to him and do not affect anyone else.
- ✓ J. S. According to Mill, a person should have full independence in his own affairs because, "A person is the master of himself, his body and mind. "

Positive theory of freedom

Exponents:Kant, Fichte, T.H. Greene, McIver, Bentham Laskey, Barker, Hobhouse, McPherson, Bosanko, etc. scholars are supporters of the positivist theory of freedom and their views are briefly described below.

1. **Utilitarianists-Bentham & Mill**—In the 18th century, individualists' negative vision of freedom resulted in the ruthless exploitation of workers by capitalists. The freedom of the individual was destroyed. Bentham and Mill, who are advocates of individual liberty, supported the idea of the state performing welfare functions and providing maximum comfort to the individual. Bentham saw law not as an opponent of liberty, but as a supporter.
2. **Idealists-Kant, Fichte & Green**—The idealist scholars of the 19th century also emphasized the positive aspect of freedom and they gave priority to the social interest over the interest of the individual.
 - ✓ According to Kant, the state is not an evil but a means of good, and the laws of the state are not opposed to liberty, but protective.

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3. **views of modern liberalists MacIver, Laski and Barker** -Major liberal scholars of the 20th century have also emphasized the positive side of freedom. McIver considers the state as an instrument of public welfare and the public welfare state cannot give freedom to the people to act arbitrarily. The state has to make various types of laws to promote education, health facilities, economic security etc.
- ✓ **Laski** also believes in the positive form of freedom and does not accept the absence of restrictions on freedom. He also believes in the interrelationship of freedom and equality and believes that freedom cannot be safeguarded without removing economic inequalities.
 - ✓ **Ernest Barker** Ernest Barker also recognizes the positive aspect of freedom. According to his opinion, freedom, equality and justice are closely related. Along with freedom of action of the individual is also connected that he should act responsibly. There are other people besides me in the society. Therefore, no person can be given the freedom to act irresponsibly. In the words of Barker, "Independence and succession always go hand in hand. " ("Liberty and responsibility are always co-related.")
4. **Views of Hobhouse** -According to Hobhouse, a person is free to do whatever he wants as long as he does not harm the interest of the society. But beyond this fixed limit it cannot be left open. Thus, Hobhouse is in favor of balancing the freedom of the individual and the freedom of society. He is of the opinion that the state has to use force to maintain social harmony.

Negative Theory of Liberty –

Meaning of Negative Liberty

The negative theory of liberty is a reaction against the unlimited state and it advocates the freedom of the individual in other spheres and the abolition of all restrictions on man. Supporters of this theory believe that freedom means 'Absence of Restraints' and a person should be free to do everything according to his will.

Exponents

John Locke, Hobbes, Rousseau, Adam Smith, Ricardo, Herbert Spencer, Macaulay and in the 20th century, Koenig, Hoyek and Sir Isaiah Berlin etc. scholars are of the negative theory of freedom.

Locke's Individualism-Locke considered the rights to life, liberty and property to be the natural rights of the individual and believed that the state was created to protect these rights. Therefore, any law of the state which restricts the rights of life, liberty and property of a person cannot be considered as justiciable. Locke considers the state as an instrument which has come into existence not to limit the freedom of the individual, but to protect it. Locke accepts government as a trustee whose purpose is to guard against external aggression, establish internal peace and order, and protect life and property.

Laissez-Faire Theory of Adam Smith & Ricardo -Adam Smith and Ricardo are in favor of the individual being given freedom in the economic sphere. They are of the opinion that if the state does not interfere in the economic sector, it will not only protect the freedom of the individual, but also increase the production. Every individual will try to produce maximum and earn profit and with the development of the individual, the development of the society will happen automatically. Therefore, the state should not make rules regarding production, it should fix wages and working hours.

Individualism of Spencer & Macaulay -Herbert Spencer was a major proponent of the negative theory of liberty. He has considered the state against human freedom in his famous book 'Manvs State'. Spencer is not in favor of giving the state any function other than protecting it from external aggression and maintaining internal peace. He is of the opinion that apart from these two functions, if the state performs any function, it limits the freedom of the individual.

Macay was also in favor of giving complete freedom to the individual in the economic field and making the whole world an 'Open a Free Market'. Accordingly, there should be no restriction on the production and sale of goods and the state should not interfere in it.

Views of J.S Mill –Mill divides the person's functions into two parts-

I. Self-regarding Functions

II. Others regarding Functions

According to Mill, self-related actions are those that affect the individual's self only and other-related actions are those that affect others. The mill has the right to be given complete freedom to the individual in the work related to himself and the state does not tolerate any kind of interference in these.

Concept of Equality

On July 4, 1776, the people of the United States issued a proclamation stating, "We believe in the fact that all human beings are born equal." After this the French revolutionaries also made independence and patriotism the basis of the revolution and the French National issued the 'Declaration of the Rights of Man' in 1789, clearly stating that "human beings are born free and they are free and equal in respect of rights". Since then, in the 19th and 20th centuries, democracy has been emphasizing the development of principle as well as equality and this is the basic principle of the present age.

Meaning

In common parlance, equality means income, equal distribution of wealth and equal treatment of every person. But this aspect of equality is not correct because not all people are equal. Some are wise and some are foolish, some are industrious, some are idle etc. In the same way, it is not possible to treat all human beings equally, because the patriotic country cannot be treated equally with honest and dishonest and hardworking and industrious. In the same way, not all types of wealth can be distributed equally. In fact, equality means providing equal opportunities for the development of all the people living in the state.

Features of Equality

The main features of equality are as follows:

1. **Provision of Equal Rights** -The first characteristic of equality is that equal rights should be provided to all persons without any distinction and no particular class should be deprived of any rights. In a society where some individuals are deprived of certain rights, equality cannot be imagined.
2. **Absence of special rights** -No one should be discriminated against on the basis of status, wealth, descent, race etc.
3. **Equal Opportunities for Development** -Another characteristic of equality is that every person living in a society should have equal opportunities for development. In this way, everyone will be able to develop to the best of their ability. According to Lasky, "equality means that all individuals have ample opportunity for their own development." (Equality means that adequate opportunities are laid upon all.)
4. **Fulfillment of Basic needs** -Equality is also characterized by the fact that everyone can meet their basic needs and no one has to starve. In addition, the gap between rich and poor should be narrowed. Expressing his views in this regard, Lasky said, "I have no right to eat cake if my neighbor is forced to live without bread." "
5. **Absence of Class Division** -Absence of class division is an essential feature of equality. In any society people will be divided into rich and poor on the basis of wealth. Equality cannot be imagined there.

Various Dimensions of Equality

1. Legal Dimension of Equality

The legal aspect of equality means that everyone living in a state is equal before the law and the law and the courts do not discriminate against any person on the basis of wealth, status, religion, color or race. There should be equal law for every person and there should be 'rule of law' in the country.

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- ✓ **“It vests us with legal personalities or masks _____ for the far deeper reason that we all matter equally before the law whatever differences may be ”.- Earnest Barker**
 - ✓ **The main features of the legal aspect of equality are as follows:**
 1. Equality before Law
 2. Equal Protection of Law
 3. Provision of Equal Law
 4. Equal Rights to All
 5. Equal opportunities in Public appointments
 6. Special provisions for the weaker section of the society
 7. Prohibition of Discrimination
 8. Absence of Special Rights

2. Political Dimension of Equality

The political aspect of equality means that every citizen living in the state should have equal political rights without any discrimination so that he can play his due role in the administration of the state. Political equality is found only in democracies.

- ✓ **In practice the ideal of politics equality has centred on universal suffrage and representative governmentmodern democracy in short.” - Kushman**
- ✓ **The salient features of the political aspect of equality are as follows:**
 1. Right to vote
 2. Right to contest election
 3. Right to hold public office
 4. Right to petition
 5. Right to criticise the government
 6. Right to form Political parties

3. Social Dimension of Equality

The main features of the social aspect of equality are:

1. Absence of special rights
2. Prohibition of Discrimination
3. Free access to public places
4. No discrimination on the basis of Sex
5. Equality of opportunities in Public Employment

4. Economic Dimension of Equality

- ✓ Economic equality is considered the basis of all other equality because social, legal and political equality will not be possible where the poor and the rich are.
- ✓ **“The policy of the government should be such which allows neither rich men nor beggars to increase .” – Rousseau**

Meaning of Economic Equality

- Economic equality does not mean equal distribution of wealth. Economic equality means that every person has a fair and equal opportunity to earn a living, the basic needs of the individual are met and the redistribution of wealth is eliminated.
- **“ There must be sufficiency for all before there can be superfluity for a few.” – Prof. Laski**
- **The main features of the economic aspect of equality are as follows:**
 1. Equal opportunities to earn livelihood
 2. Equal wages for the same job
 3. Fulfilment of basic needs
 4. To reduce economic disparities
 5. Provision of economic security

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6. Just distribution of wealth
 7. Just ownership of means of production
 8. Fixed hours of work

Concept of Justice

Whenever a person makes a reasonable demand, that demand is in fact a demand for justice. Reasonable demand is that which is in accordance with the prevailing and recognized values of the society. Many demands are made by the person, but not every demand is justified. The drunkard demands to drink alcohol or cheat in the student exams. But their demands are not justified, as they do not conform to the prevailing values of the society.

Justice - Dynamic Concept -The values of society change according to time and situation. It is not necessary that what is right will be right tomorrow. For example, in the ancient society the system of polygamy and polygamy was prevalent and it was considered appropriate according to the values of the society at that time. But today's society does not recognize the system of polygamy and polygamy. So this arrangement is not appropriate today.

Etymological Meaning of Justice:

Origin of the word justice - The word justice is a Punjabi variant of the English word Justice which is derived from the Latin word 'Jus' and means 'bondage or binding'. Every person living in the society must be related to each other in some form or another and there are certain rights and duties associated with these relationships. When a person enjoys authority and discharges his duties and treats others fairly, then he is doing justice.

Definition of Justice

Acc. to Salmond – ,“ Justice means giving each person his fair share. ”

“Justice means to provide everybody his share.”

Acc. to Prof. Merriam,

Justice consists in a system of understanding and procedures through which each is accorded what is accepted upon as fair.”

Features of Justice

1. **Human Welfare** -Human welfare is the foremost feature of justice because the purpose of justice is general welfare. That is why we will call any system which is based on general welfare a judicial system.
2. **Ethical concept** -The appropriateness and impropriety of any object depends on the moral values and any action which is based on ethical values is considered to be a just action.
3. **Dynamic Concept** -The concept of justice is variable and changes as social, economic and political conditions change. For example, in ancient times, the practice of untouchability, dowry, sati, etc., were important features of Indian society. Today these provisions are legal offenses and the person who implements them is liable to punishment. Similarly, slavery was justified by the famous Greek scholar Aristotle. Today it is a crime.
4. **Fulfillment of Duties** -Everyone in the community has to fulfill their duties. If people do not fulfill their duties then justice can be imagined in the society.
5. **Justice is related to values prevailing in the society** -justice is related to prevailing values in the society and change of values also changes the concept of justice .

Basic Posulates of Justice-

1. **Truth** -Truth is the truth and justice cannot be imagined without truth. It is not true to present facts in person, but it is true to present facts in real form.
2. **Uniform Values** -Judicial values should be uniform for every person and no one should be discriminated against on the basis of caste, religion, color, race, personal interests etc.

3. **Equality before Law** -Everyone should be equal before the law. And there should be no different laws for different people. All persons should have equal protection of law and no one should be discriminated against on the basis of caste, religion, color or race.
4. **Liberty** -There is a strong link between freedom and justice because without independence it would not be unjust to impose restrictions on individuals based on personal interests.
5. **Respect of Individual's Ability & Capability** Every person's abilities and capabilities vary and work should be taken from him according to his abilities and capabilities. The basic principle of justice is to take work from any person according to his ability and potential and to respect him.

Various Dimensions of Justice

The doctrine of justice is very complex and intricate. This is not only a matter of legal and judicial process but it has many facets like-

I. Legal Dimension of Justice

1. Equality before Law
2. Equal Protection of Law
3. Provision of Equal Law
4. Equal Rights to All
5. Equal opportunities in Public appointments
6. Special provisions for the weaker section of the society
7. Prohibition of Discrimination
8. Absence of Special Rights

II. (Political Dimension of Justice)

1. Right to vote
2. Right to contest election
3. Right to hold public office
4. Right to petition
5. Right to criticise the government
6. Right to form Political parties

III. (Social Dimension of Justice)

1. Absence of special rights
2. Prohibition of Discrimination
3. Free access to public places
4. No discrimination on the basis of Sex
5. Equality of opportunities in Public Employment

IV. (Economic Dimension of Justice)

1. Equal opportunities to earn livelihood
2. Equal wages for the same job
3. Fulfilment of basic needs
4. To reduce economic disparities
5. Provision of economic security
6. Just distribution of wealth
7. Just ownership of means of production
8. Fixed hours of work

Citizen & Citizenship

The concept of citizenship is very old. It first developed in the ancient City. State of Athens. In the ancient Greek City –State of Athens inhabitants came to be divided into two categories:

- I. Those who possessed the rights – both civil and political, and
- II. Those who had no rights.

Definition of Citizen

- **Literal Meaning** –The word citizen literally means the resident in a city, or a resident in a city who enjoys the privileges of such residence.
- **Meaning in Greek Sense** -In the city- states of ancient Greece the active and direct participation in the political functions and offices of the state was considered to be the hallmark of citizenship. As Aristotle said, “He who has the power to take part in the deliberative or judicial administration is said, “He who has the power to take part in the deliberative or judicial administration is said by us to be a citizen of that state.

Characteristics of a citizen

The analysis of the above account reveals the following characteristics of a citizen : X. A citizen must be a member of a State. 2. He owes allegiance and loyalty to the State of which he is a member. 3.He must enjoy civil, economic, political and other rights. 4. He should be inspired by the desire to serve the community of which he is a member.

Kinds of Citizens

There are two kinds of citizens:

1. Citizens by birth or Natural Citizens, and
2. Citizens by adoption or Naturalised Citizens. 1. Natural Citizens. A natural citizen is one who is the citizen of a State by birth. A natural citizen enjoys all the civil and political rights and owes allegiance to the State. 2. Naturalised Citizen. A naturalised citizen, however, is an alien who acquires the citizenship of the State after fulfilling certain conditions. Naturalised citizens come from

Definition of Citizenship

Citizenship is a legal status of a man by virtue of which he gets some rights and performs certain duties. In other words, it is a legal relationship which binds an individual to the State of which he is a member.

According to Gettell, “ Citizenship is that condition of individual due to which he can use national and political rights in his state and is ready to fulfil his obligations.” H.J. Laski has defined citizenship in terms of the performance of duties. According to him, “ Citizenship is the contribution of one’s instructed judgment to public good.” Following Laski’s line, William Boyd has defined citizenship as “ The right ordering of loyalties.”

Kinds of Citizenship

There are two kinds of citizens-Natural and Naturalised. Corresponding to these two kinds of citizens there are two types of citizenship.

- (i) Natural Citizenship and
 - (ii) Naturalized Citizenship.
- (i) **Natural Citizenship.** Natural citizenship is acquired by birth either by being born in the State, on the principle of Jus-soli, or on the basis of descent or Jus-Sanguinis. Anyone born in the State, irrespective of the nationality of parents, is a natural citizen, if in that State citizenship is recognised on the principle of Jus-soli or Jus-loci. He becomes its national with full rights and duties of citizenship and his will be the natural citizenship. In the State in which Jus-Sanguinis or descent is recognised as the basis of citizenship only children of citizen-parents are regarded as natural citizens whether they are born in the country or abroad. The citizenship of such children will also be a natural one.
- (ii) **Naturalised Citizenship.** Naturalised citizenship means that citizenship which is acquired by the citizens of another State through the legal process of naturalization. Such citizens give up their natural citizenship of their State and adopt the naturalised citizenship of the State in which they have decided to reside or settle.