

B.H.I.E.-107

MODERN EUROPE FROM MID 18TH TO MID 20TH CENTURY

By: Gaurav Sahni

Question Bank cum Chapterwise Reference Book Including Many Solved Question Papers



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CONTENTS

MODERN EUROPE FROM MID 18th TO MID 20th CENTURY

Question Bank – (Previous Year Solved Question Papers)

Question Bank – (Previous Year Solvea Question P	apers)
Question Paper—June, 2019 (Solved)	1-2
Question Paper—December, 2018 (Solved)	1
Question Paper—June, 2018 (Solved)	1
Question Paper—June, 2017 (Solved)	1-2
Sample Question Paper—1 (Solved)	1
Sample Question Paper—2 (Solved)	1
S.No. Chapterwise Reference Book	Z Page
THE ORIGINS OF MODERN POLITIC	S-I
1. The Modern State and Political Culture	1
2. Radical Action by the Masses	6
3. Formation of Modern French State	10
THE ORIGINS OF MODERN POLITICS	S-11
4. Intellectual Trends	14
5. Political Transition in Britain: 1780-1850	20
6. European Political Systems	27
INDUSTRIALIZATION IN EUROPE	
7. Rise of Industrial Capitalism	33
8. Industrialization 1750-1850	36

S.No	. Chapter Page		
9.	Industrialization 1851-191446		
10.	Industry and Urbanization54		
	MODERN INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY		
11.	Peasants, Artisans and Workers60		
12.	The Middle Class64		
13.	Transforming World of Women69		
14.	Education, Health and Leisure76		
	THE NATION-STATE SYSTEM		
15.	Nationalism and the Nation-State80		
16.	Formation of Nation-States-1: British and French89		
17.	Formation of Nation-States-2: Germany and Italy94		
18.	Empires and Nation-States-1:		
	Ottoman and Habsburg Empires100		
19.	Empires and Nation-States-2:		
	The Russian Empire and Soviet Union105		
COLONIALISM AND IMPERIALISM			
20.	Colonialism and Imperialism110		
21.	Patterns of Colonial Domination-I115		
22.	Patterns of Colonial Domination-II119		

S.No	o. Chapter	Page		
23.	Cultural Dimensions of Imperialism	122		
THE CRISIS OF THE 20TH CENTURY-I				
24.	Liberal Democracy	126		
25.	Counter Revolution-I:	130		
	Fascism to Conservative Dictatorship			
26.	Counter Revolution-II: National Socialism in Germany	135		
27.	The Socialist World-I	140		
28.	The Socialist World-II	145		
THE CRISIS OF THE 20TH CENTURY-II				
29.	The Crisis of Capitalism	150		
30.	Two World Wars	155		
31.	Glimpse of Post-War World-I	159		
32.	Glimpse of Post-War World-II	162		

Sample Preview of the Solved Sample Question Papers

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QUESTION PAPER

(June - 2019)

(Solved)

MODERN EUROPE FROM MID 18TH CENTURY TO MID 20TH CENTURY

Time: 3 Hours | Maximum Marks: 100

Note: This question paper has **three** sections. Attempt any **two** questions from **Section-I**, any **four** questions from **Section II** and any **two** short notes from **Section III**.

SECTION-I

Q. 1. Discuss the paradoxes of democratic politics in modern times.

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-1, Page No. 2, 'Democratic Polity'.

Q. 2. Describe the revolutionary movements in Europe in the 1820s and 1830s.

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-6, Page No. 27, 'Revolutionary Movements of the 1820s and the 1830s'.

Q. 3. 'Nationalism can support both movements of unification and separation.' Explain this with reference to the nationalist mobilizations in Europe.

Ans. Nationalism can support both movements of unification and separation. In Italy and Germany, nationalism and the state created a new nation state. In Scandinavia, nationalism produced the separation of Norway from Sweden. In the case of Poland, there was both separation and unification which created the Polish nation state. In the late 19th century the doctrine of national self-determination was the basis for creating new nation-states based on language, on an invented national language, ethnicity or common culture and tradition. The nationalism of Greece, Czechoslovakia and Ireland emerged before the emergence of these nation states which gained their freedom from the multi-national empires within which they had blossomed. These new nation states were carved out of the Ottoman Empire, Austria-Hungary and Britain respectively. As the idea of nationalism spread to Central and Eastern Europe - in regions with little industrialization and weak bourgeoisies the role of the lower middle class and the peasantry in the shaping of nationalism increased. As a result of the growth of industrialization, of the

rise of the working class and socialism, and of interimperialist rivalries, nationalism became associated with conservative and right-wing ideologies not just with the republican ideas of the French Revolution.

The case of Italy the only basis for unification and nationalism was the Italian language. In 1860 when Italian unification was achieved only two and a half percent of the population used the language for everyday purposes. The prophet of Italian nationalism, the leader of Young Italy. Mazzini. believed that the popular sovereignty of the nation must be indivisible and that various proposals for a federal Italy were mere mechanisms for ensuring the longevity of local ruling classes. Mazzini also believed that the Italian people had to be 'formed' so as to overcome the division of Italy, although he had a mystical faith in the sanctity and unity of the popular will. Mazzini argued that writers must "Explore the needs" of the peoples" so that Italian literature could inspire and revive the nation. Literature could precede and help to shape political development.

Nationalism as an ideal began to grow in the 19th century based on the ideas of the French revolution and the consequences of Napoleonic military victories and the political realignments which these victories produced. The simplification of the political map of Europe by the reduction in the number of states within the German Empire; the quickening of the pulse of Spanish nationalism during the military campaigns of the Peninsular War; and the rise of Italian and German nationalism based on the inspiration of the French armies, the Napoleonic role in nation-state building and the contagion of revolutionary and democratic ideas helped to spread the gospel of nationalism in Europe. It appealed to the intel-

2 / NEERAJ: MODERN EUROPE FROM MID 18TH CENTURY TO MID 20TH CENTURY (JUNE-2019)

ligentsia and the bourgeoisie which spearheaded the movement for Italian and German unification. Mass politics in the late 19th century was to give an additional fillip to nationalism specially in Eastern Europe. a region which was relatively backward compared to the more industrialized parts of Western Europe.

Three ways in which nationalism has shaped the modern state have been identified. In the older states like England and France the rise of nationalism was linked to the development of more democratic relationships between the state and civil society. Secondly, nationalism furthers the internal unification of culturally and economically diverse regions into a more homogenous state territory. Finally, nationalism divides one political community or nation from another and even determines the geographical boundaries of the nation in many cases.

Q. 4. How did the Russian Government try to build socialism in Russia?

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-27, Page No. 141, 'Socialist Construction or Building Socialism'.

SECTION-II

Q. 5. How did the economic crisis precipitate the 1789 revolution in France?

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-16, Page No. 91, 'The Making of Class Identities and Page No. 92, Q. No. 3.

Q. 6. In what ways did growth in agriculture and commerce help industrialization in Britain.

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-8, Page No. 37, 'Industrialization in Britain'.

Q. 7. Write a note on the contributions of the Enlightenment thinkers.

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-4, Page No. 17, Q. No. 2.

Q. 8. How did industrialization bring change in women's position in Europe?

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-13, Page No. 70, 'Communal Suffrage', 'Economic Empowerment', and Page No. 71, 'Women and Society'.

Q. 9. 'Bismarck was the architect of German unification.' Discuss.

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-17, Page No. 99, Q. No. 3. Q. 10. Discuss what is meant by colonialism.

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-20, Page No. 110, 'What is Colonialism?' and Page No. 111, 'Stages of Colonialism'.

Q. 11. How did Fascism rise in Italy?

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-25, Page No. 130, 'Foundation of Fascist State in Italy'.

Q. 12. Write in brief on the crises in the Post-World war capitalist economy.

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-29, Page No. 151, 'Crisis in the Post-war Capitalist Economy'.

SECTION-III

Q. 13. Write short notes on the following:

(a) Cultural imperialism

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-23, Page No. 125, Q. No. 5.

(b) Middle classes

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-12, Page No. 64, 'Understanding the Middle Class'.

(c) The League of Nations

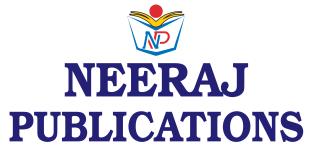
Ans. The League of Nations was an international diplomatic group developed after World War I as a way to solve disputes between countries before they erupted into open warfare. A precursor to the United Nations, the League achieved some victories but had a mixed record of success, sometimes putting selfinterest before becoming involved with conflict resolution, while also contending with governments that did not recognize its authority. The League effectively ceased operations during World War II. The League of Nations has its origins in the Fourteen Points speech of President Woodrow Wilson, part of a presentation given in January 1918 outlining of his ideas for peace after the carnage of World War I. Wilson envisioned an organization that was charged with resolving conflicts before they exploded into bloodshed and warfare. By December of the same year, Wilson left for Paris to transform his 14 Points into what would become the Treaty of Versailles. Seven months later, he returned to the United States with a treaty that included the idea for what became the League of Nations.

(d) Contradictions of Globalisations.

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-29, Page No. 153, Q. No. 5.

Sample Preview of The Chapter

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MODERN EUROPE FROM MID 18th TO MID 20th CENTURY

The Origins of Modern Politics-I

The Modern State and Political Culture



INTRODUCTION

The modem European states had a distinct form of exercise of power which differed from the previous eras, particularly regarding the absolute power of the modern state, and the enormous mobilization of the population over which power was exercised. Here, absolute power means not mere dictatorship or tyranny but almost unlimited powers which could include any area. Thus, in sharp contrast to the pre-modern states, in modern states both the powers and the spheres of action were unlimited and expanding. The capacity of the pre-modern states to act was limited but when they did act, it was spectacular and designed to impress and terrify the public. Moreover, the areas of activity in which the states acted were few and mainly included military and fiscal, or warfare and taxation.

CHAPTER AT A GLANCE

DIRECT RULE AND BUREAUCRACY

Direct rule was the most important foundation of the modern European state. With the advent of the 15th century the European monarchs imposed the direct rule and have all the power in their hands. The era between 15 and 18th centuries is full of struggles and hardships. The most renowned state builders of that era are Ivan-IV, Peter I, Frederick William, Frederick II, Cardinal Richelieu and Louis XIV, Henry VIII and Thomas Cromwell.

Bureaucracy is an administrative hierarchy of officials with the following features as ideals: Bureaucracy is rule of the officials in a system of government. Herman Finer also described bureaucracy as rule by officials. Max Weber described bureaucracy as one class of ruling elites whose rule is absolute. According to Weber this is the model of bureaucracy and this particular manner of acting has been called rational-legal. The way we live in bureaucracy we expect the government to live in such manner. And moreover when we encounter the other things we termed them as corrupt. Anything which is not modern

we tend to call it additional. Bureaucracy as a Rationallegal authority is a form of leadership in which the authority of an organization or a ruling regime is largely tied to legal rationality, legal legitimacy and bureaucracy. The majority of the modern states of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries are rational-legal authorities, according to those who use this form of classification.

In the pre-modern era the actions of the rulers are termed as immensely dramatic. Displays of power in the pre-modern era used to take the manner of personal opulence in the costume and life-styles of rulers. On the other hand, the modern bureaucracy had been dispensed with such routine displays while showing them in public gatherings. The modern state is more perfect that any old tyranny or autocracy meanwhile it co-exits with democracy and rests universally on the democratic agendas. Previously the states would act on rich and powerful persons and tax the rest of the masses. The state needs to hunt the problems and search the sedition to solve those problems. The modern state's capacity for violence and repression in greater than that of the famous tyrants in history of the modern Europe. The very substance of violent action is ruled by the question of means and ends, whose chief characteristic, if applied to human affairs, has always been that the end is in danger of being overwhelmed by the means, which it both justifies and needs. Since the end of human action, in contrast with the products of fabrication, can never be reliably predicted, the means used to achieve political goals are more often than not of greater relevance to the future world than the intended goals.

The French Revolution shows us what the modern army and total war could be by calling up all able-bodied citizens to the army. Previously the feudal nobles could maintain armies of hundreds and now in the modern era the state now maintain the armies of thousands. The 20th century witness the two new innovations the tanks and mastery of the skies which was earlier the monopoly of the state. These mobilizations and insurgencies have become frequent for this reason in the 20th century.

2 / NEERAJ: MODERN EUROPE FROM MID 18th TO MID 20th CENTURY

NATIONALISM AND NATION STATE

In the modern European State, the large accumulation of resources was accompanied by the imposition of uniformity on its citizens. This in turn gave rise to nation and nationalism. Nation-State describes a context in which a geographical area is the homeland for people who identify themselves as a community because of shared culture, history, and language and ethnic character and is governed by one political system. It may be noted that a divided people meant a fragmented state or a number of different centres of power as was the case under feudalism. This multiple centre of power was overcome by royal absolutism imposing the will of a single centre. Thus, a single state implied a single people. The people were now called citizens who were required to submit themselves to the same set of principles. Now, there was equality of all before the law, knowledge was equally available to all, one person's labour was equal in value to another's, one person's vote was equal to another's, universal suffrage, and equal opportunity to education and career for all. Education is regarded as perhaps the most powerful instrument of creating uniformities required for nationalism and hence we find that the modern European state was singularly active in the field of education. When we discuss about the uniformities taking the example of British people and a British nation we must realize that it consists of at least the English, the Welsh and the Scots. Moreover, we find that within these there are regions with pronounced identities such as Cornwall in England and the Highlands in Scotland. Further, it was only during the 18th century that the English language became universal to all these countries of Great Britain. France was another distinct and successful nation-state. This also consisted of many identifiable regions with their own languages such as Brittany in the north-west and Gascony in the south. In the case of states such as Russia and Austro-Hungary, the rule was over multi-national empires in themselves and hence they could not afford to promote any nationalism lest the empire break up. Finally, Europe came to be composed of a series of nation-states, sovereign within their own territories. In theory, they were equal to every other, and related to each other in a system of international relations. Thus, modern politics in Europe meant a peculiar structure of international relations which has since been accepted as a universal model. The decay of feudalism, the growth of cities, and the development of trade and commerce were contributing causes increase in the spirit of nationalism.

Nationalism in Europe mainly drew inspiration from two revolutionary developments—the French Revolution and the Industrial Revolution. While the former provided the political base the latter created the economic framework of the modern nation-state. In this respect France and England provided models of modern nations. The modern form of nationalism received its greatest boost during the French revolutionary and Napoleonic period. In order to survive the onslaught of the old regimes of Europe the revolutionary leaders were forced

to mobilize national armies—armies of politically conscious citizens ready and eager to fight for their fatherland.

DEMOCRATIC POLITY

The politics of the nation became democratic ironically at a time when the modem state concentrated enormous powers in its hands. At the theoretical level, the people were now sovereign, as reflected in the electoral system and hence no paradox since the state claimed to represent the "popular will" and to rest on the "sovereignty of the people". The modern state took birth from the revolutionary developments in America, Britain and France in the late 18th century and claimed to represent the people. It may be noted that such democratic politics meant something other than the people being the rulers. The people could never be the real rulers. Thus, the solution has been found, since the 18th century in Europe and America, of the people electing their representatives who then choose their rulers. In this system, the people surrendered their powers to representatives who acted on their own judgement; and the representatives surrendered their powers to a government which also acted at its discretion. The system brought multiple ideologies and parties as an essential part of the democratic politics of changing rulers. We call this multiplicity as pluralism. We know that between elections, both the act of representation and that of governing were independent of the people.

Revolutionaries on the left and counter-revolutionaries on the right repudiated the above model which represents liberal democratic politics subscribed by the socialists on the left and conservatives on the right. Thus, logic of democratic politics was followed by the revolutionaries and counter-revolutionaries. Similar to the situation in liberal democratic politics, they derived their power and legitimacy from popular support and choice; hence these were demonstrated, as usual, through elections and votes. However, whether it was Stalin or Hitler, the important point remains that they sought to demonstrate their popularity through all the procedures of election. In this manner, dictatorships could be imposed through perfectly democratic means.

This democratic legitimation proved popularity of the ruler; and the most effective instrument for achieving it was an election. In the modern politics, hereditary monarchs were increasingly replaced by elected rulers as the real centres of power; but the state continued to concentrate power. In this manner, even while the foundations of the state became more democratic, its absolute power grew through the process of bureaucratization. After the French Revolution, politicians discovered that they could acquire and exercise more power by mobilizing the people than by mobilizing God, custom, an individual, or even an army. As compared to any other source like tradition (for a hereditary monarch), force of personality (for a charismatic leader), or physical force (for a military dictator), more power to a ruler was always provided by the support of the people.

This does not mean that all the instruments of rule went through the ritual of democracy like elections. For

THE MODERN STATE AND POLITICAL CULTURE / 3

instance, the bureaucracy most obviously did not pretend to be democratic any more than did the armed forces, paramilitary forces, and the police; yet they were jointly the omnipotent instruments of the modern democratic state. Another such important instrument was the judiciary and the entire legal profession. While the state claimed to represent the people, judges could decide in favour of individuals against the state. Thus, sometimes the elected leaders have denounced the judiciary as reactionary because it opposed the will of democratically elected leaders. However, it may be said that in doing so, the judiciary could also be defending individuals against oppression by the bureaucracy. Another reason why such a judiciary is deemed essential to democracy is the power of judicial review. Thus, the highest court of the land, generally called the Supreme Court, could examine legislation to decide whether it violated the Constitution or not. Therefore, if the people's representatives enact a law, judges of such Supreme Courts may reject the law. Here, it may be said that the judgements of the people's representatives are considered unreliable and that democratic procedure is inadequate to the protection of democracy; and a small body of virtually self-appointing persons are seen to be one of the best means of protecting democracy of a

It is interesting to find that modern democratic politics is not democratic in many essential respects even in the countries always proclaimed as model democracies. It is a fact that the people do not rule; the administration of justice and judicial review is in the hands of a group of persons responsible to nobody but themselves; and the state exercises almost unlimited and continually expanding powers through its vast bureaucracy and military establishment. Thus, we can hardly see a trace of democracy in it all; yet it is this very combination of electoral politics and bureaucratic absolutism that has been described a democracy in modern politics. It may be noted here that these powers are exercised in the name of the people even in dictatorial regimes and the people make a periodic choice of their rulers in electoral regimes. However, more significantly there is another reason and that is the people's involvement or participation in politics at higher levels than ever before. Here, we can say that the people do not rule but they participate through numerous processes, of which elections are merely the most obvious. The participation in politics occurs through mobilization. A new institution called the political party emerged in the course of the revolutionary developments at the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th century. They were now organizations in the modern politics defined by ideology which could embody the interest of a class, a group, a region, a religion, a nation, etc; but it was a view of the world of the future. These political parties now sought to mobilize support among the people for their particular ideological position and therewith for the parties themselves. With a number of political parties actively seeking support among the people, the mass of the population increasingly came to be involved in politics. The participation in politics could take the form of asking citizens to vote, to join a union, to sign a petition, to march in a demonstration, to subscribe to a newspaper, to attend a meeting, and numerous other such activities. Thus, each interest group drummed up support and formed political parties which represented a major ideological position. It was such ceaseless activity of demanding from the population that they participate in politics and take position that made politics democratic.

Another important feature demonstrated by modern politics consists of political ideologies ranged as left, centre, and right, and political parties taking positions recognizably somewhere along this line from left to right. In the left were included all those ideologies which demanded change, continuous innovation, and moving from the past and tradition into the future. Thus, revolution belongs to ideologies of the left such as socialism and communism. On the other hand, the centre seeks to moderate the rate of innovation even while accepting the process of change. It is fearful of excess and refuses to be revolutionary. Ideologically, the French revolutionary movements were liberal not socialist; but they were revolutionary since they wished to overthrow tradition itself. The ideologies of calling a halt to revolution and of consolidating what had already come into existence were represented by the right which sought to use tradition, improve it, change it piecemeal, but not to overthrow it. The right included the conservatives, best represented by Christian Democracy in Europe and the Tories or Conservatism in Britain.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q. 1. Explain the important features of bureaucracy.

Ans. The characteristics of bureaucracy were first formulated in a systematic manner by the German sociologist Max Weber (1864-1920), whose definition and theories set the foundations for all subsequent work on the subject they refer to: (i) the division of labour in the organization; (ii) its authority structure; (iii) the position and the role of the individual member, and (iv) the type of rules that regulate the relations between organizational members.

A highly developed division of labour and specialization of tasks is one of the most fundamental features of bureaucracy. The allocation of a limited number of tasks to each office operates according to the principle of fixed jurisdictional areas that are determined by administrative regulations. The bureaucratic organization is characterized by a "rational" and impersonal regulation of inferior-superior relationships. In traditional types of administration (feudal, patrimonial), the inferior-superior relationship is personal, and the legitimation of authority is based on a belief in the sacredness of tradition. In a bureaucracy, on the other hand, authority is legitimized by a belief in the correctness of the process by which administrative rules were enacted; and the loyalty of

4 / NEERAJ: MODERN EUROPE FROM MID 18th TO MID 20th CENTURY

the bureaucrat is oriented to an impersonal order, to a superior position, not to the specific person who holds it.

When one shifts the focus of attention from the organization as a whole to the role and status of the individual member, the following features characterize the bureaucrat's position. Starting with the mode of recruitment, the bureaucrat is not selected on the basis of such considerations as family position or political loyalties.

In so far as the mode of remuneration is concerned, the bureaucrat usually receives a salary based not so much on his productivity performance as on the status of his position. Contrary to some forms of traditional administration, in bureaucratic case the civil servant cannot sell his position or pass it on to his sons. There is a clear-cut separation between the private and the public sphere of the bureaucrat's life. These are briefly the major features of Weber's ideal type of bureaucracy. Real organizations can be more or less bureaucratic according to their degrees of proximity to their ideal formulation.

Hierarchy: In a bureaucracy, work activities based on specialization are assigned to specific positions. Power and authority beginning at the top are delegated downward from each supervisor to his subordinates. Each position has its own jurisdiction. There is a clear cut division of work, competence, authority, responsibility and other job components. Each official is accountable to his superior for his and his subordinates' job-related actions and decisions. All are accountable to the highest official at the top of the pyramid-like organization.

Professional Qualities: The top official of the bureaucratic organization is chosen by election or succession since he occupies a political office which may have a limited tenure. All other officials, who are subordinate to him occupy non-political offices. They have professional qualities. Their selection for appointment is based on their technical qualifications and experience which are measured through objective tests.

Career Aspects: Employment is usually the sole occupation of the officials. The work is a career with permanence of tenure and pension rights. Promotion is based on seniority and/or achievement decided by the superiors. Dismissal is only for objective and specific cause. Bureaucracy maximizes professional security.

Rules, Regulations and Procedures: In bureaucracy decisions are governed by a consistent system of abstract rules, regulations and procedures. Behaviour of the officials is subject to systematic discipline and control.

Legal Authority and Power: Authority and power in bureaucracy rest in the institution or office. An individual holds an office. The power he exercises is legitimatised in the office, i.e. the power does not personally belong to the official, it is a part of the office. Since the official has been selected on the basis of his technical ability, he exercises influence because of his expertise.

Q. 2. Do you think that education was used by the modern state to promote nationalism?

Ans. The modern state in Europe increasingly made primary and then secondary education Universal and Compulsory. This type of educational system it ensured a common set of values and single language as taught in schools which could be different from what was available at home or in the region. As a result eduction produced a single people with a single culture and even a single language. Thus, each citizen was a replica of any other, all common products of the same cultural factory. In this manner, a single culture spread over a territory ruled from a single centre of power. This is what is called the nation-state and this sense of belonging to such a common culture in a specific territory is called nationalism. For instance, the Reformation free education from the hands of religion and stimulated development of a national education system. It was also a more socially integrated education system. Children of the gentry, who would previously have been taught in monasteries, now sat side by side with the children of small families in village and grammar schools.

Q. 3. Define international relations?

Ans. International Relations (IR) is the study of relationships between countries, including the roles of states, Inter-Governmental Organizations (IGOs), International Non-Governmental Organizations (INGOs), Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and Multinational Corporations (MNCs). It is both an academic and public policy field, and can be either positive or normative as it both seeks to analyze as well as formulate the foreign policy of particular states.

The history of international relations based on nation-states is often traced back to the Peace of Westphalia of 1648, where the modern state system was developed. Prior to this, the European medieval organization of political authority was based on a vaguely hierarchical religious order. Westphalia instituted the legal concept of sovereignty, that didn't exist in classical and medieval times, which essentially meant that rulers, or the legitimate sovereigns, had no internal equals within a defined territory and no external superiors as the ultimate authority within the territory's sovereign borders.

Q. 4. What do you understand by democratic polity?

Ans. We can represent the central characteristics of a democratic politics from two points of view: from that of the individual citizen, and from that of the political institutions through which the values of democracy are realized in a particular social context. There are several central and defining normative commitments that jointly define the political theory of a democracy. In the briefest possible way, we can offer a preliminary definition of democracy in these terms: A democracy is a polity in which collective decisions (laws, policies, procedures, etc.) are the expression, direct or indirect, of the preferences and choices of the collection of equal citizens of the polity.

Democracy thus pertains to the self-rule of a politically constituted social group—a state or provincial