

Chapter 1: Pillars of Democracy

ICE BREAKERS [PAGE 35]

Ice Breakers | Q 1. (i) | Page 35

Discuss with your partner and choose the correct alternative.

'Government of the people, by the people and for the people, shall not perish from the earth'. This famous statement is made by - _____.

1. Mahatma Gandhi
2. Nelson Mandela
3. **Abraham Lincoln**
4. Dalai Lama

SOLUTION

'Government of the people, by the people and for the people, shall not perish from the earth'. This famous statement is made by - **Abraham Lincoln.**

Ice Breakers | Q 1. (ii) | Page 35

Discuss with your partner and choose the correct alternative.

A system where the government is elected and ruled by people is called -

_____.

1. Bureaucracy
2. Aristocracy
3. **Democracy**
4. Autocracy

SOLUTION

A system where the government is elected and ruled by people is called - **Democracy.**

Ice Breakers | Q 1. (iii) | Page 35

Discuss with your partner and choose the correct alternative.

A democratic country is governed by, its - _____.

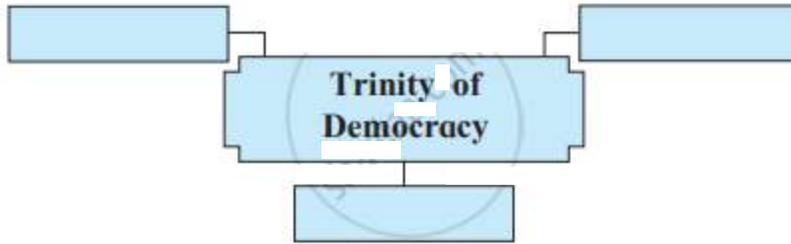
1. Military
2. Police
3. Politicians
4. **Constitution**

SOLUTION

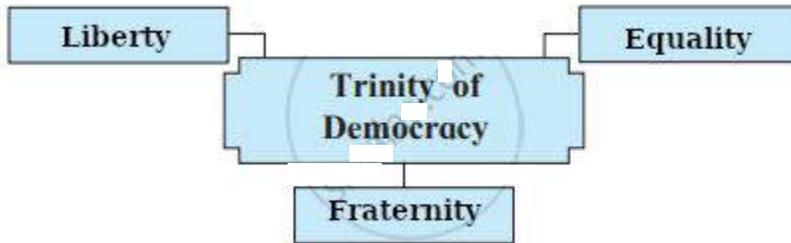
A democratic country is governed by, its - **Constitution.**

Ice Breakers | Q 2. (i) | Page 35

The trinity of democracy comprises three principles. Complete the web to show the trinity of democracy.



SOLUTION



Ice Breakers | Q 2. (ii) | Page 35

Match the following.

Sr. No	A	B	
1.	Constitution	a.	It is the freedom to go where you want, do what you want, etc.
2.	Liberty	b.	It is the state of being equal, especially in status, rights, or opportunities.
3.	Equality	c.	It is a sense of common brotherhood.
4.	Fraternity	d.	It is an aggregate of fundamental principles or established precedents that constitute the legal basis of a polity, organization, or other types of entity and commonly determine how that entity is to be governed.

SOLUTION

Sr. No	A	B	
1.	Constitution	d.	It is an aggregate of fundamental principles or established precedents that constitute the legal basis of a polity, organization, or other types of entity and commonly determine how that entity is to be governed.

2.	Liberty	a.	It is the freedom to go where you want, do what you want, etc.
3.	Equality	b.	It is the state of being equal, especially in status, rights, or opportunities.
4.	Fraternity	c.	It is a sense of common brotherhood.

Ice Breakers | Q 2. (iii) | Page 35

Pillars form support for concrete buildings. Metaphorically speaking a strong nation too depends on strong pillars. Discuss with your partner and explain the pillars of a democratic nation. Make a list of obstacles that are a threat to the progress of a nation.

SOLUTION

The Legislature, the executive, the judiciary, and the press are the 4 important pillars of a democratic nation.

1. **Legislature**

The legislature is an indispensable part of a democratic government that formulates the laws for a country through representatives elected by voting. Legislature includes the parliament and the state assemblies. When people's representatives strongly deliberate the laws in a legislature, democracy emerges victorious.

2. **Executive**

The president, the prime minister, his cabinet, and bureaucrats form the executive, the second pillar of democracy. These offices in a democracy carry out the implementation of policies and laws for the welfare of the people. A strong executive force is necessary for the smooth functioning of a democracy.

3. **Judiciary**

The judiciary looks after the application of law and constitution and gives impartial judgments in matters of state and individuals. The pillar of the judiciary plays a vital role in maintaining law and order and imparting justice in a democracy.

4. **Press**

The press communicates issues of public importance to the masses. Press is yet another important pillar of democracy that keeps a check on the government and ultimately serves the public interest. Listed below are some of the obstacles that are a threat to the progress of a nation:

- i. unemployment
- ii. illiteracy
- iii. population growth
- iv. inflation

- v. rising inequality
- vi. corruption
- vii. poverty
- viii. red-tapism
- ix. terrorism
- x. black money
- xi. interstate disharmony

BRAINSTORMING [PAGES 39 - 42]

Brainstorming | Q (A1) (i) | Page 39

Form groups and use the following topic for discussion. Take the help of your college library and your teacher.

Need for democracy

SOLUTION

Need for democracy

1. Democracy is a fair way to put people into power.
2. Freedom granted to individuals to live a life of their choice.
3. Criticism from opposition to the government in power
4. Citizen's right to question every action of a democratic government.
5. Disadvantages of other forms of government.
6. Citizens of other countries suffering at the hands of supreme authority.

Brainstorming | Q (A1) (i) | Page 39

Form groups and use the following topic for discussion. Take the help of your college library and your teacher.

Features of the Constitution of India

SOLUTION

Features of the constitution of India

1. Drafting of the constitution of India
2. Its structure – Parts, schedules, and appendices
3. Sections pertaining to the legislature, government, and judiciary
4. flexibility and scope for amendments.

Brainstorming | Q (A1) (i) | Page 39

Form groups and use the following topic for discussion. Take the help of your college library and your teacher.

Freedom of speech

SOLUTION

Freedom of speech

1. The meaning and what it stands for
2. The necessity of freedom of speech
3. How people can suffer if freedom of speech is denied
4. Adverse consequences of misuse of freedom of speech.

Brainstorming | Q (A1) (i) | Page 39

Form groups and use the following topic for discussion. Take the help of your college library and your teacher.

Dictatorship Vs Democracy

SOLUTION

Dictatorship Vs Democracy

1. explanation of the two terms
2. the way two governments function
3. examples of countries following each of the two systems
4. advantages of democracy over dictatorship
5. Situations that justify the need for dictatorship.

Brainstorming | Q (A1) (i) | Page 39

Form groups and use the following topic for discussion. Take the help of your college library and your teacher.

Qualities of an ideal politician

SOLUTION

Qualities of an ideal politician

1. clean track record
2. a technically skilled and good orator
3. should be delivering on his promises
4. must be honest and have integrity
5. strive towards the public interest.

Brainstorming | Q (A1) (i) | Page 39

Form groups and use the following topic for discussion. Take the help of your college library and your teacher.

Equality before law

SOLUTION

Equality before law

1. all citizens are equal before the law
2. no discrimination based on race, religion, gender, caste, and place of birth.
3. why is it necessary in a democracy
4. examples from the past that portray equality before the law.

Brainstorming | Q (A1) (ii) (a) | Page 39

State whether the following statement is true or false. Correct the false statement.

There is nothing wrong with being grateful to great men.

1. True
2. False

SOLUTION

There is nothing wrong with being grateful to great men - True.

Brainstorming | Q (A1) (ii) (b) | Page 39

State whether the following statement is true or false. Correct the false statement.

Hero-worship leads to dictatorship.

1. True
2. False

SOLUTION

Hero-worship leads to dictatorship - False.

Explanation:

Hero-worship in 'politics' leads to dictatorship.

Brainstorming | Q (A1) (ii) (c) | Page 39

State whether the following statement is true or false. Correct the false statement.

Liberty cannot be divorced from equality.

1. True
2. False

SOLUTION

Liberty cannot be divorced from equality - True.

Brainstorming | Q (A1) (ii) (d) | Page 39

State whether the following statement is true or false. Correct the false statement.

One man one vote and one vote one value.

1. True
2. False

SOLUTION

One man one vote and one vote one value - True.

Brainstorming | Q (A1) (ii) (e) | Page 39

State whether the following statement is true or false. Correct the false statement.
Fraternity means common sense.

1. True
2. **False**

SOLUTION

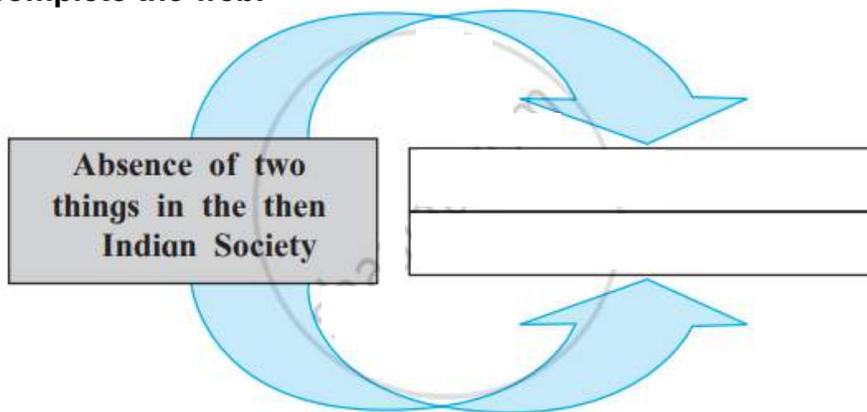
Fraternity means common sense - **False.**

Explanation:

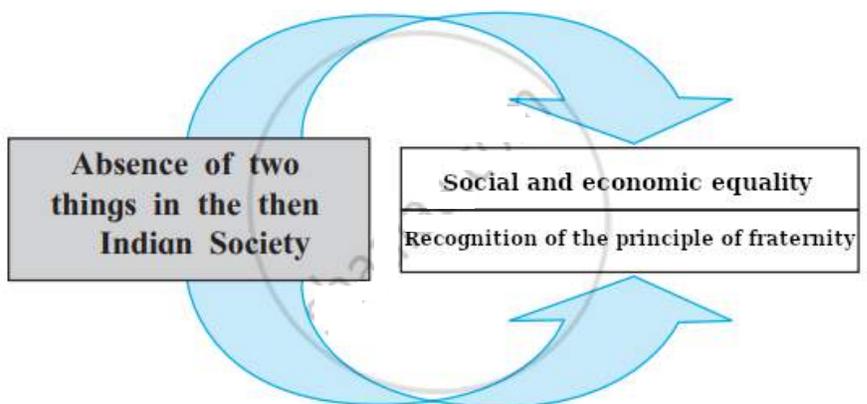
Fraternity means a sense of common brotherhood.

Brainstorming | Q (A1) (iii) | Page 39

In his speech, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar has expressed his deep concern over the absence of two things in the then Indian society. Discuss with your partner and complete the web.



SOLUTION



Brainstorming | Q (A2) (i) | Page 40

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar has cited the quotes by John Stuart Mill and Daniel O'Connell. Go through the lesson and write down 4 to 5 lines for each of them.

SOLUTION

John Stuart Mill

- i. In the extract, John Stuart Mill has been quoted as “(not) to lay their liberties at the feet of even a great man, or to trust him with powers which enable him to subvert their institutions.”
- ii. This is a word of caution for the people who trust in democracy.
- iii. It is but natural to get overwhelmed by the achievements of a great man.
- iv. At the same time, it is not wise enough to entrust him with all the powers that he can possibly misuse which can eventually cause damage to the institution.

Daniel O'Connell

- i. In the same extract, Daniel O'Connell has been quoted as 'No man can be grateful at the cost of his honour, no woman can be grateful at the cost of her chastity and no nation can be grateful at the cost of its liberty.'
- ii. Daniels talks about the limitations of being grateful to great men.
- iii. Similar to how a man and a woman need to safeguard their honour and chastity respectively while being grateful, a nation must safeguard its liberty.
- iv. In short, the quote emphasizes the importance of liberty when compared to gratefulness.

Brainstorming | Q (A2) (ii) | Page 40

Discuss with your partner and make a list of steps that you feel are essential to unite the people of different castes, races, religions, and languages in India.

SOLUTION

Students do it Yourself.

Brainstorming | Q (A2) (iii) (a) | Page 40

Write your views/opinions in brief on the following topic.

We must always cast our votes.

SOLUTION

Voting is every citizen's right in a democracy and it should be exercised religiously. Voting makes sure the right candidates get elected and run our government. We cannot blame the non-performance of a government if we do not turn out to vote. Not casting a vote is equivalent to not having faith in democracy.

Brainstorming | Q (A2) (iii) (b) | Page 40

Write your views/opinions in brief on the following topic.

Liberty, equality, and fraternity lead to an ideal nation.

SOLUTION

Liberty, equality, and fraternity are considered the trinity of democracy. Liberty gives impetus for progress, equality ensures equal opportunities, and contentment and fraternity provide a healthy atmosphere and solidarity in times of distress. These three essentials go hand in hand in an ideal nation.

Brainstorming | Q (A2) (iii) (c) | Page 40

Write your views/opinions in brief on the following topic.

Steps to be taken to eradicate inequality.

SOLUTION

The preliminary steps to eradicate inequality are imparting education and empowering individuals. The steps to eradicate economic inequality would include employment generation and redistribution of wealth. This can be achieved by a progressive collection of taxes. Social inequality needs to be addressed through social awareness. Strict laws should be formulated and implemented against those who indulge in discrimination.

Brainstorming | Q (A2) (iii) (d) | Page 40

Write your views/opinions in brief on the following topic.

Role of youth in creating social awareness.

SOLUTION

The youth are the future of a nation. Their contemporary views matter the most and should reach the masses at large. They are an energetic lot and have the ability to execute changes. They know what is in their best interest, and with technology by their side, the youth has all the avenues necessary to create social awareness.

Brainstorming | Q (A3) (i) | Page 40

Let's use the Thesaurus.

Along with your partner, go to the library or search the internet for a standard Thesaurus to complete the following table. One is done for you.

Sr. No.	Word	Type	Synonym	Antonym
1.	observe	verb	notice, discern, detect, mark	ignore, overlook
2.	abandoned			
3.	grateful			
4.	initiative			
5.	peril			
6.	separation			

SOLUTION

Sr. No.	Word	Type	Synonym	Antonym
1.	observe	verb	notice, discern, detect, mark	ignore, overlook
2.	abandoned	verb	discarded, rejected, deserted, dropped	adopted, maintained
3.	grateful	adjective	thankful, indebted, obliged	thankless, rude, ungrateful
4.	initiative	noun	action, drive, push, leadership	apathy, inactivity
5.	peril	noun	hazard, jeopardy, pitfall	certainty, protection, security
6.	separation	noun	partition, departure, split, segregation	connection, union

Brainstorming | Q (A3) (ii) | Page 40

Homograph: Homograph is a word spelled and pronounced like another word but with a different meaning.

For example: the word 'fast' has two meanings. The different meanings are -

fast- hold firmly

fast- to abstain from food

fast- opposite of slow.

Go through the text again and make a list of meanings of all the homographs that are found in the text. Also, make a list of such words that you know, heard, or read somewhere.

SOLUTION

The following homographs can be found in the extract:

form – Visible shape of a thing

form – a document with information

left – relating to side

left – Past tense of leave

deal – Commercial activity or trading

deal – Distributing cards in order

second – Numerically following the first

second – unit for measuring time

feet – The base of legs

feet – unit for measuring length

even – flat or smooth

even – emphasize with surprise

even – any number divisible by 2 without leaving a remainder

part – some but not the whole of anything

part – move away from each other

accent, bat, grave, leave, letter, record, just, park, the wound are some other homographs that we commonly hear.

Brainstorming | Q (A4) (i) (a) | Page 40

Go through the statement taken from the text – ‘The social democracy means a way of life which recognises liberty, equality, and fraternity’.

The underlined part of the statement provides us some facts/information about social democracy. The remaining part of the sentence which is not underlined can be converted into a wh-question.

What does social democracy mean?

Now go through the underlined part of the statement/sentence given below and change them into question by using the appropriate Wh-form.

In Politics, we will be recognizing the principle of ‘one man one vote’ and ‘one vote one value’.

SOLUTION

Which principle will we be recognising in Politics?

Brainstorming | Q (A4) (i) (b) | Page 41

Go through the statement taken from the text – ‘The social democracy means a way of life which recognises liberty, equality, and fraternity’.

The underlined part of the statement provides us some facts/information about social democracy. The remaining part of the sentence which is not underlined can be converted into a wh-question.

What does social democracy mean?

Now go through the underlined part of the statement/sentence given below and change them into question by using the appropriate Wh-form.

The politically minded Indians preferred the expression 'the Indian nation'.

SOLUTION

Which expression was preferred by the politically-minded Indians?

Brainstorming | Q (A4) (i) (c) | Page 41

Go through the statement taken from the text – 'The social democracy means a way of life which recognises liberty, equality, and fraternity'.

The underlined part of the statement provides us some facts/information about social democracy. The remaining part of the sentence which is not underlined can be converted into a wh-question.

What does social democracy mean?

Now go through the underlined part of the statement/sentence given below and change them into question by using the appropriate Wh-form.

Fraternity means a sense of common brotherhood of all Indians.

SOLUTION

What does fraternity mean?

Brainstorming | Q (A4) (i) | Page 41

Make a list of various prepositions, write their definition, and make sentences of your own. Here are some prepositions that will definitely be brainstorming for you.

- in, into, inside
- on, onto, above, over
- beside, besides
- for, from, since
- to, towards
- down, below, under, beneath, underneath
- between, among, amongst (And the list goes on _____)

SOLUTION

- Rama stood first **in** the class.
- Jay somehow crawled **into** the elevator.
- Steve went **inside** the cave.
- The matchstick was lying **on** the shelf.
- Sneha somehow climbed **onto** the roof.
- Shreyas placed the lamp **above** the table.
- The Jumbo-jet flew **over** the city.

- viii. The teacher sat **beside** Arya to explain the solution to the problem.
- ix. **Besides** selling bread, the bakery also sold cakes.
- x. Shreyas played **for** his home team.
- xi. Jiya earned her degree **from** a reputed college.
- xii. Ravi knew Jay's medical condition **since** a long time.
- xiii. The driver wanted **to** drink water.
- xiv. The horse went **towards** the lake.
- xv. The house went **down** like a pack of cards.
- xvi. Sanjay"s name was right **below** Sanjana"s name.
- xvii. Thankfully there was nobody **under** the car shed.
- xviii. The layer of rock usually lies **beneath** the layer of soil.
- xix. Krishna always forgets his earphones **underneath** the blanket.
- xx. The battle **between** the arch-rivals was a fierce one.
- xxi. Rajas preferred to stay **among** his community members.
- xxii. The elephant is the largest **amongst** all land animals.

Brainstorming | Q (A5) | Page 42

How to prepare a speech.

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Greeting and Salutation (Honourable/ Respected _____, It's a matter of pride for me to share my views_____ in front of an august gathering) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Use rhetorical questions
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Introductory paragraph highlighting – importance, need purpose, etc. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Use famous quotes, poetic lines, etc.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Main body- about the topic in detail – its significance/importance of the issue/problem 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Use persuasive language
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Suggesting some remedies, solutions 	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Concluding paragraph - expressing thanks to organizers for giving an opportunity and to the audience for patient listening 	

With the help of the steps given above write a speech on the following topic - **Duties of an ideal citizen.**

SOLUTION

Do it yourself.

Brainstorming | Q (A5) | Page 42

How to prepare a speech.

<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Greeting and Salutation (Honourable/ Respected _____, It's a matter of pride for me to share my views_____ in front of an august gathering)	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Use rhetorical questions
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Introductory paragraph highlighting – importance, need purpose etc.	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Use famous quotes, poetic lines etc.
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Main body- about the topic in detail – its significance/importance of the issue/problem	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Use persuasive language
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Suggesting some remedies, solutions	
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Concluding paragraph - expressing thanks to organizers for giving an opportunity and to the audience for patient listening	

With the help of the steps given above write speech on the following topic - **Equality: A blessing.**

SOLUTION

Equality: A blessing

A very good evening to all the attendees! I, Ms. _____ would be speaking on the topic „Equality – A Blessing “.

We may have different religions, languages, and skin-colour, but we all belong to just one race – the human race; and as humans, we are all equal. What is equality? Equality is when men and women are paid equally? No! It is when the remuneration depends on the role and not the gender. Is it when equal employment opportunities are created? No! It is when opportunities match the merit. Equality and inequality are both man-made. Favoursing someone because they belong to a certain caste or religion not only makes us biased but also affects the one who loses an opportunity because of our biases. Inequality in the name of equal opportunities is a curse for humanity. The sooner the society understands this, the better for humanity. Equality and fairness start from one person"s mind and have a snowballing effect. Thank you.

Brainstorming | Q (A6) | Page 42

There are many career opportunities that can be availed of by a graduate. Discuss and make a list of various opportunities available in the legal field, economics, management, commerce, administration, etc.

SOLUTION

Field	Opportunities
Legal	lawyer, advocate, legal support officer, corporate lawyer, legal advisor, etc.
Economics	financial analyst, market research analyst, commodity trader, business cycle consultant, credit manager, etc.
Management	operations executive, business analyst, marketing executive, brand manager, project manager, store manager, etc.
Commerce	banking and accountancy professional, broker, income tax consultant, auditor, etc.

Indian graduates turn eligible to appear for civil services examinations and can become officers with the Indian administrative service, police service, forest service, and revenue service.

Brainstorming | Q (A7) | Page 42

Visit your college library or search the internet for at least five speeches of different renowned personalities of the world. Write the speeches in your notebook and submit them to your teacher.

SOLUTION

Winston Churchill: War Speech

In this solemn hour, it is a consolation to recall and to dwell upon our repeated efforts for peace. All have been ill-starred, but all have been faithful and sincere. This is of the highest moral value--and not only moral value, but practical value--at the present time, because the wholehearted concurrence of scores of millions of men and women, whose co-operation is indispensable and whose comradeship and brotherhood are indispensable, is the only foundation upon which the trial and tribulation of modern war can be endured and surmounted. This moral conviction alone affords that ever-fresh resilience which renews the strength and energy of people in long, doubtful, and dark days. Outside, the storms of war may blow and the lands may be lashed with the fury of its gales, but in our own hearts this Sunday morning there is peace. Our hands may be active, but our consciences are at rest.

We must not underrate the gravity of the task which lies before us or the temerity of the ordeal, to which we shall not be found unequal. We must expect many disappointments, and many unpleasant surprises, but we may be sure that the task which we have freely accepted is one not beyond the compass and the strength of the British Empire and the French Republic. The Prime Minister said it was a sad day, and that is indeed true, but at the present time there is another note which may be present, and that is a feeling of thankfulness that, if these great trials were to come upon our Island, there is a generation of Britons here now ready to prove itself not unworthy of the days of yore and not unworthy of those great men, the fathers of our land, who laid the foundations of our laws and shaped the greatness of our country.

This is not a question of fighting for Danzig or fighting for Poland. We are fighting to save the whole world from the pestilence of Nazi tyranny and in defense of all that is most sacred to man. This is no war of domination or imperial aggrandizement or material gain; no war to shut any country out of its sunlight and means of progress. It is a war, viewed in its inherent quality, to establish, on impregnable rocks, the rights of the individual, and it is a war to establish and revive the stature of a man. Perhaps it might seem a paradox that a war undertaken in the name of liberty and right should require, as a necessary part of its processes, the surrender for the time being of so many of the dearly valued liberties and rights. In these last few days, the House of Commons has been voting dozens of Bills which hand over to the executive our most dearly valued traditional liberties. We are sure that these liberties will be in hands which will not abuse them, which will use them for no class or party interests, which will cherish and guard them, and we look forward to the day, surely and confidently we look forward to the day, when our liberties and rights will be restored to us, and when we shall be able to share them with the peoples to whom such blessings are unknown.

Winston Churchill
September 3, 1939
House of Commons

Jawaharlal Nehru Speech on the birth of independent India

Long years ago we made a tryst with destiny, and now the time comes when we shall redeem our pledge, not wholly or in full measure, but very substantially. At the stroke of the midnight hour, when the world sleeps, India will awake to life and freedom. A moment comes, which comes but rarely in history when we step out from the old to the new when an age ends, and when the soul of a nation, long suppressed, finds utterance. It is fitting that at this solemn moment we take the pledge of dedication to the service of India and her people and to the still larger cause of humanity.

At the dawn of history, India started on her unending quest, and trackless centuries are filled with her striving and the grandeur of her successes and her failures. Through good and ill fortune alike she has never lost sight of that quest or forgotten the ideals which gave her strength. We end today a period of ill fortune and India discovers herself again. The achievement we celebrate today is but a step, an opening of opportunity, to the greater triumphs and achievements that await us. Are we brave enough and wise enough to grasp this opportunity and accept the challenge of the future?

Freedom and power bring responsibility. That responsibility rests upon this Assembly, a sovereign body representing the sovereign people of India. Before the birth of freedom, we have endured all the pains of labour and our hearts are heavy with the memory of this sorrow. Some of those pains continue even now. Nevertheless, the past is over and it is the future that beckons to us now.

That future is not one of ease or resting but of incessant striving so that we might fulfill the pledges we have so often taken and the one we shall take today. The service of India means the service of the millions who suffer. It means the ending of poverty and ignorance and disease and inequality of opportunity. The ambition of the greatest man

of our generation has been to wipe every tear from every eye. That may be beyond us but as long as there are tears and suffering, so long our work will not be over.

And so we have to labor and to work and work hard to give reality to our dreams. Those dreams are for India, but they are also for the world, for all the nations and peoples are too closely knit together today for any one of them to imagine that it can live apart. Peace has been said to be indivisible, so is freedom, so is prosperity now, and so also is a disaster in this one world that can no longer be split into isolated fragments.

To the people of India, whose representatives we are, we make an appeal to join us with faith and confidence in this great adventure. This is no time for petty and destructive criticism, no time for ill will, or blaming others. We have to build the noble mansion of free India where all her children may dwell.

I beg to move, Sir.

“That it be resolved that :

(1) After the last stroke of midnight, all members of the Constituent Assembly present on this occasion do take the following pledge:

At this solemn moment when the people of India, through suffering and sacrifice, have secured freedom, I,, a member of the Constituent Assembly of India, do dedicate myself in all humility to the service of India and her people to the end that this ancient land attains her rightful place in the world and make her full and willing contribution to the promotion of world peace and the welfare of mankind.

(2) Members who are not present on this occasion do take the pledge (with such verbal changes as the President may prescribe) at the time they next attend a session of the Assembly.”

Martin Luther King acceptance Speech

"I must ask why this prize is awarded to a movement which is beleaguered and committed to the unrelenting struggle, and to a movement which has not yet won the very peace and brotherhood which is the essence of the Nobel Prize," King said. "After contemplation, I conclude that this award, which I receive on behalf of that movement, is a profound recognition that nonviolence is the answer to the crucial political and moral questions of our time: the need for man to overcome oppression and violence without resorting to violence and oppression."

At the end of his speech, he called peace "more precious than diamonds or silver or gold."

Nelson Mandela Speech

I am turning 86 in a few week's time and that is a longer life than most people are granted. I have the added blessing of being in very good health, at least according to my doctors. I am confident that nobody present here today will accuse me of selfishness if I ask to spend time, while I am still in good health, with my family, my friends, and also with myself.

One of the things that made me long to be back in prison was that I had so little opportunity for reading, thinking, and quiet reflection after my release. I intend, amongst other things, to give myself much more opportunity for such reading and reflection. And of course, there are those memoirs about the presidential years that now really need my urgent attention.

When I told one of my advisors a few months ago that I wanted to retire he growled at me: "you are retired." If that is really the case then I should say I now announce that I am retiring from retirement.

I do not intend to hide away totally from the public, but henceforth I want to be in the position of calling you to ask whether I would be welcome, rather than being called upon to do things and participate in events. The appeal, therefore, is: don't call me, I'll call you.