

# Social Sciences CLASS X



Mahatma Gandhi is identified as the most prominent person of 20th century. Albert Einstein said, about him "Generations to come, it may well be, will scarce believe that such a man as this one ever in flesh and blood walked upon this Earth."



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State Council of Educational  
Research and Training,  
Telangana, Hyderabad

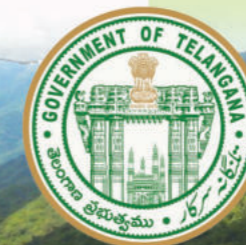


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# Social Sciences

## CLASS X

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The eligible loan amount is arrived at by including all education related expenses such as Tuition fee, cost of books, boarding and lodging charges. The parents of the student should be joint borrowers along with assessment of future income of the student.

The student or his parents are not required to service the loan during the duration of the course and the repayment of loan commences either six months after the student is employed or one year after the completion of the course which ever is earlier.

There are no processing charges and to avail this scheme eligible students can approach *any commercial bank*.

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## Banking Ombudsman Scheme, 2006

Banking Ombudsman Scheme, 2006 enables settlement of complaints, grievances of bank customers against services rendered by the bank. This scheme was made available to bank customers by Reserve Bank of India to speed up the grievance redressal mechanism. Under this scheme, the complainant can make complaint to the Banking Ombudsman on a white paper or by online ([www.bankingombudsman.rbi.org](http://www.bankingombudsman.rbi.org)) or by e-mail or by post giving the details like name, address, telephone number, bank account number, ATM or Credit Card number, reasons that lead to complaint with connected supported documents for redressal. The bank customer should first lodge his/her complaint with the bank concerned and wait for 30 days. He/She can then approach Banking Ombudsman but within one year. All the Scheduled Commercial Banks, Regional Rural Banks and Scheduled Primary Co-operative Banks come under the purview of the scheme. There is no application fee, advocate fee, stamp charges and filing charges, while lodging complaint to the Banking Ombudsman. If the award of the B.O. is not acceptable the complainant can challenge the award appellate authorities, i.e. to the Deputy Governor, Appellate authority, Consumer Education and Protection Department (CEPD), Reserve Bank of India, Mumbai.

# SOCIAL STUDIES

## Class X

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## SOCIAL STUDIES

### Class X

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## Letter to students

**“Dear Young Friends,**

Most of you are growing up in the 21st Century and soon will be old enough to take up a profession and participate fully in public matters like voting in the elections. It is time you tried to understand the ideas, processes and systems which determine life in our times. These were shaped by people through very hard struggles, sacrifices and great acts of cooperative action. As the next century unfolds it will be your turn to shape our future in similar manner. We hope this book will help you to a small extent by going over with you how the people of the last century shaped their ideas, processes and systems.

Your parents and teachers were witnesses and participants in this. As such they will surely have strong and differing views on many of these matters. While you try to understand the last century you also therefore need to understand why people hold such divergent views on it and come to your own conclusions.

This book is in two parts. The first part deals with Resources Development and Equity and the second part with Contemporary World and India. Under the theme “Resources Development and Equity” we will explore how we have used the land in which we live and how we engage in productive activities. Did we properly use the land and its resources? The way we engaged in productive work and distributed its fruits among different people, was it just and sustainable?

Under the theme “Contemporary World and India” we will explore the impact of major events of the last century. We will not only be studying what happened over the entire world, but also what happened in our own country including the recent past. People act not only because they are moved by different interests but also because they are inspired by different ideas. In the last century ideas like socialism, fascism, nationalism, liberalism greatly influenced the thinking and collective actions of people. We will be studying about some of these too.

Textbooks at school level tend not to discuss contemporary events, policies and politics. This is not because it is too difficult to understand but because opinion about it is sharply divided and it is feared that this will generate conflicts. However, to live in a democratic world, we also need to learn to handle our differences and conflicts rather than avoid talking about them. This book is a bold attempt at initiating our young adults to the world of political debates and differences. It will be successful only if the teachers, students and the political community take it in the right spirit, practice restraint and listen carefully to differing points of view with tolerance and understanding. It may turn out that this book seems to give a particular view point and not represent some other point of view in proper light. This is very difficult to avoid as textbook writers are human and have their own understanding. When such issues come to light it is important for the teachers to present the other view points too before the students and not treat the book as the only or correct source of information. The students too should be encouraged to read current newspapers, magazines etc; attend public meetings to get more perspectives on these matters.

This book then should be seen as a starting point of enquiry rather than as the end of it.

Books can only tell you what others thought and did. At the end of it you need to decide for yourself your understanding and what you want to do about the social problems you will be studying. You have the responsibility of both understanding the society and acting to make it better. We only hope that this book will help you in this.

**– Editors**

## ***ABOUT THIS BOOK***

This book is a part of your Social Science Curriculum and a part of various things you would be doing to study the society around you. However, remember that it is only one small part of that curriculum. The Social Science Curriculum requires you to analyse and share in the classroom what you know. It requires you above all to ask questions – think why things are the way they are. It also requires you and your friends to go out of the class room to the market, to the village fields, to temples and mosques and museums and find out various things. You will have to meet and discuss with a number of people, farmers, shopkeepers, officials, priests and so on.

This book will introduce you to a range of problems and enable you to study them and arrive at your own understanding of them. So, the most important thing about this book is that it does not have answers. In fact this book is not really complete. It can only be completed when you and your friends and teachers bring their own questions and experiences and discuss everything threadbare in the class. You may disagree with many things in this book - do not be afraid to say so - only give your reasons. Your friends may disagree with you, but try to understand why they have a different view. Finally arrive at your own answers. You may not even be sure of your answer - you may want to find out more before you make up your mind. In that case list your questions carefully and request your friends, teachers or elders to help you to find out.

In this class we will be mainly studying India in the context of the contemporary world. The last hundred years have been years of momentous change in the world as two major World Wars were fought, scores of countries emerged as independent nations, and great experiments were done in order to build just, equitable and democratic world.

India, after its independence pursued policies to harness the natural resources of the country for economic development to eradicate poverty, reduce dependence on other countries for food grains and industrial goods, and generate gainful employment within the country. Equally important, it embarked upon an ambitious project of developing India as the largest democracy in the world with guarantee of personal liberty and freedom. We will be studying both aspects of India's development its economy, election process and its polity in this book. Since these issues affect us in our own lives and affect different sections of the society differently, there are bound to be different view points about them. We need to learn in our class rooms how to engage with these different perspectives and understand them with sensitivity. This is necessary to strengthen our democratic fabric.

As you study this book in the classroom, you will come across many questions - do stop and try to answer those questions or do the activity suggested before you proceed ahead. It is not so important to finish the lesson fast as it is to discuss the questions and do the activities.

Many lessons will suggest projects which may take a few days to do. These projects will enable you to develop skills of social science enquiry and analysis and presentation - these are more important than remembering what is written in the lessons.

Please remember that you don't have to memorise what is given in the lesson, but think about them and form your own opinion about them.

**Director, SCERT,  
Telangana, Hyderabad.**

## USING THIS BOOK: NOTE TO THE TEACHER AND STUDENTS

This textbook is not to be seen as the final authority, but has to be discussed, debated and questioned. In fact each chapter in this book provides opportunity for a systematic discussion on some of the main issues relating to a topic. It would be good if the teachers could ensure that the chapters are read out in the class and discussions conducted along the lines suggested.

- **The language of the text:** Efforts have been taken to write the text of this book in child friendly manner. However there are certain terms and jargons that will need explanation and clarification. Text is often trying to give examples that may be suitable to the concept that is discussed. Each chapter has central ideas, these are often provided as subheadings. In a classroom, you may be able to cover 2 or 3 subheadings in a period roughly.
- This textbook uses different style of writing, sometimes they are narratives like Narasimha and Rajeshwari in chapter 3, to make the students understand the difference between both of them with regard to their livelihood and working conditions. These narratives reflect the facts existing in the society. In chapter 8, the students understand the economy of a village by reading the case study of Rampur Village and compare the activities discussed here with their own village economy. There are also some tables, graphs like pie charts, bar graphs in chapters 6, 8, 11 and 12. These are for analysis and discussion so as to come to a conclusion on different issues.

In earlier classes, you have come across natural disasters and a few Acts on Women Protection, a little bit about RTI and RTE. This year you could try to know about the agitations held for the formation of Telangana as a separate state in chapter 21.

- **Use of in between questions and end text questions:** You will note that there are questions in between the text. Do not leave out these questions. These are integral to the teaching learning process. These questions are of different types – some of them help you to recap, summarise, evaluating important ideas from the passages that you may have read out. Or they are for collecting more information that is around the concepts discussed in the previous topic or sub-topic. Do not try to dictate the answers to these questions, allow the students to find the answers on their own. Allow them to have discussions amongst each other in trying to figure out the meaning of these questions and talk about possible answers.
- **There are different types of questions used in the book:**  
They (i) ask students to write their experiences; (ii) compare their experiences with that of the examples given in the text; (iii) compare two or three different situations given in the textbooks; (iv) are questions that ask students to give their opinion about the situation or case study (when these opinions are asked it need not be the same for all children, allow them to express their opinion) and (v) evaluate a particular situation given in the chapter.
- Teacher may adopt different strategies in using these questions in the classroom. Some questions may be written down in the notebook; others may be discussed in small groups; a few may be written as individual tasks. In all situations it is important to encourage the student to write in

her or his own words. Avoid instructing all children to write the answers in same style and structure.

- **There are certain boxes in the chapters.** These are often additional information on the concepts discussed in the chapter. It is important to discuss them in the classroom, and conduct the activities around.
- **Images used in the textbooks:** We have also tried to use different styles of images like photographs, line drawings, cartoons and posters etc. These are taken from different historical points of time and from different sources. Hence just as different styles used in textbooks there is diversity in the images too. Many of the pictures have questions along with the captions – these may be discussed in the class as they will help you to draw the attention of students on the significance of images.
- **Maps, tables and graphs:** Maps in these books tell us about geographic, economic, political and historical aspects. They are used to present the information in an interesting manner. You will also find the use of tables and graphs. Reading tables and graphs are essential in Social Studies. These often provide much more clarity in explaining the concepts.
- **Projects:** There are different projects suggested in the book. It may not be possible for all projects to be undertaken. It is important to remember that we cannot teach all aspects of concepts merely by reading textbook. Projects thus enable students to interact with members of the society, collect new information, arrange and present them in their own manner. Making questions for an interview, planning for a visit to the bank, or creating a presentation that could include images, tabulated data or graphs based on the information they collected are also important in acquiring Social Studies skills. These encourage children to work together in groups and conduct exchange and share ideas.
- We can use content related maps, tables & graphs other than text book for practice and evaluation.
- Discussions, conducting interviews, debates and projects are given in the middle of the running lesson and after the improve your learning. To develop social consciousness, sensitivity and positive attitude among the children is the purpose. Hence these must be taken up.

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## ACADEMIC STANDARDS

Time should be spent in making sure that children comprehend the passages given in text. In between questions are useful in this context. These questions are of different types that would include the aspects reasoning, cause and effect, justification, mind mapping / concept mapping, observation, analysis, thinking and imagination, reflection, interpreting etc. The key concepts have been discussed sub-conceptwise in every chapter with examples and also given in the form of keywords.

- 1) **Conceptual understanding (AS1)** : Promoting learning of basic concepts through inquiry, discussion, reflection giving examples through case studies interpreting, observation etc.
- 2) **Reading the text (given), understanding and interpretation (AS2)** : Occasionally there are case studies about farmers, labourers in factory, or images that are used in text which do not directly convey the concept. Time should be given for children to grasp the main ideas, interpret images etc.
- 3) **Information skills (AS3)** : Textbooks alone cannot cover all different aspects of social studies methodology. For example children living in an urban area can collect information regarding their elected representatives or children living in the rural area can collect information about the way irrigation / tank facilities are made available in their area. These information may not exactly match with that of the textbooks and will have to be clarified. Representing the information that they have collected through projects are also an important ability. For example if they collect information about a tank – they may decide to draw an illustration or map etc along with written material. Or represent the information collected through images or posters. Information skill includes, collection of informatic tabulation / records and analysis.
- 4) **Reflection on contemporary issues and questioning (AS4)** : Students need to be encouraged to compare their living conditions along with that of different regions or people from different times. There may not be a single answer to these situations of comparison. Giving reasons for certain happening process and justification of informatic and interpretative.
- 5) **Mapping skills (AS5)** : There are different types of maps and pictures used in the textbook. Developing ability related to maps as abstract representation of places are important. There are different stages of developing this ability, from creating a map of their classroom to understanding height, distance as represented in a map. There are illustrations, posters and photographs used in the textbook, these images often relate to the text and are not merely for visual effect. Sometimes there are activities like write a caption or read the images that are about architecture etc.
- 6) **Appreciation and Sensitivity (AS6)** : Our country has vast diversity in terms of language, culture, caste, religion, gender etc. Social studies does take into consideration these different aspects and encourages students to be sensitive to these differences.

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## OUR NATIONAL ANTHEM

- Rabindranath Tagore

Jana gana mana adhinayaka Jaya he  
Bharatha bhagya-vidhata  
Punjab Sindh Gujaratha Maratha  
Dravida Utkala Banga.  
Vindhya Himachala Yamuna Ganga  
Uchchala Jaladhi taranga,  
Tava shubha name jage  
Tava shubha asisha mage  
Gahe tava jaya gatha  
Jana gana mangala-dayaka jaya he,  
Bharatha bhagya -vidhata,  
Jaya he, jaya he, jaya he,  
Jaya jaya jaya jaya he

### PLEDGE

- Pydimarri Venkata Subba Rao

“India is my country; all Indians are my brothers and sisters.  
I love my country, and I am proud of its rich and varied heritage.  
I shall always strive to be worthy of it.  
I shall give my parents, teachers and all elders respect,  
and treat everyone with courtesy. I shall be kind to animals.  
To my country and my people, I pledge my devotion.  
In their well-being and prosperity alone lies my happiness.”

### PREAMBLE OF THE CONSTITUTION

**WE, THE PEOPLE OF INDIA, having Solemnly resolved to constitute India into a SOVEREIGN, SOCIALIST, SECULAR, DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC and to secure to all its citizens:**

**JUSTICE, Social, economic and political; LIBERTY of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship; EQUALITY of status and of opportunity; And to promote among them all FRATERNITY assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity and integrity of the nation;**

**IN OUR CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY This twenty-sixth day of November, 1949, do HEREBY ADOPT, ENACT AND GIVE TO OURSELVES THIS CONSTITUTION.**

Subs. by the constitution [Forty-second Amendment] Act, 1976, Sec.2, for “Sovereign Democratic Republic” (w.e.f. 3.1.1977)

Subs. by the constitution [Forty-second Amendment] Act, 1976, Sec.2, for “Unity of the Nation” (w.e.f. 3.1.1977)

## India - Relief Features

In this chapter, we shall study about the relief features of India. In the subsequent chapters such as Climate of India; Indian rivers and water resources; The population etc, we would examine the linkages with relief features.

Mention any two places you would like to see in our country. Write the reasons for selecting those places. What are the relief features of Telangana and other regions that you have read about in earlier classes? Explain with the help of a wall map or your atlas. As you study further, use the atlas, wall maps and raised/relief maps available in your school.



Map 1: Location of India in the World

### Location

- Look at the world map above and write a few lines about India's location with reference to the places marked on this map.

- The lines of latitude and longitude are used for accurately specifying location of any place or region. Use the atlas and correct the following statement:  
“India is a very extensive country and lies totally in the Southern Hemisphere of the globe. The country’s mainland lies between 8 degree N and 50 degree N longitude and 68 degree S and 9 degree E latitude.”
- Why do we often use the term “Indian peninsula”?
- Examine the map 1 on the previous page and imagine that India is located in the Arctic Circle. How would your life be different?
- Identify Indira point on the atlas. What is special about this?
- Telangana lies between .....and .....N latitudes, and ..... and ..... E longitudes.
- Using the scale given in your atlas, estimate the length of the coast line for Gujarat and Odisha.

The geographical location of India provides its vast diversity in climatic conditions. This has led to a variety of vegetation and life forms along with advantages for growing many kinds of crops. Its long coast line and location in the Indian Ocean enables trade routes as well as fishing.

In class IX, you had read about latitudes and longitudes and the question of time and travel. From your atlas, examine the Indian longitudinal extension. For India the central longitude 82°30' E is taken as Standard Meridian which passes near Allahabad. This is the reference for Indian Standard Time (IST) and this is 5½ hours ahead of Greenwich Mean Time (GMT).

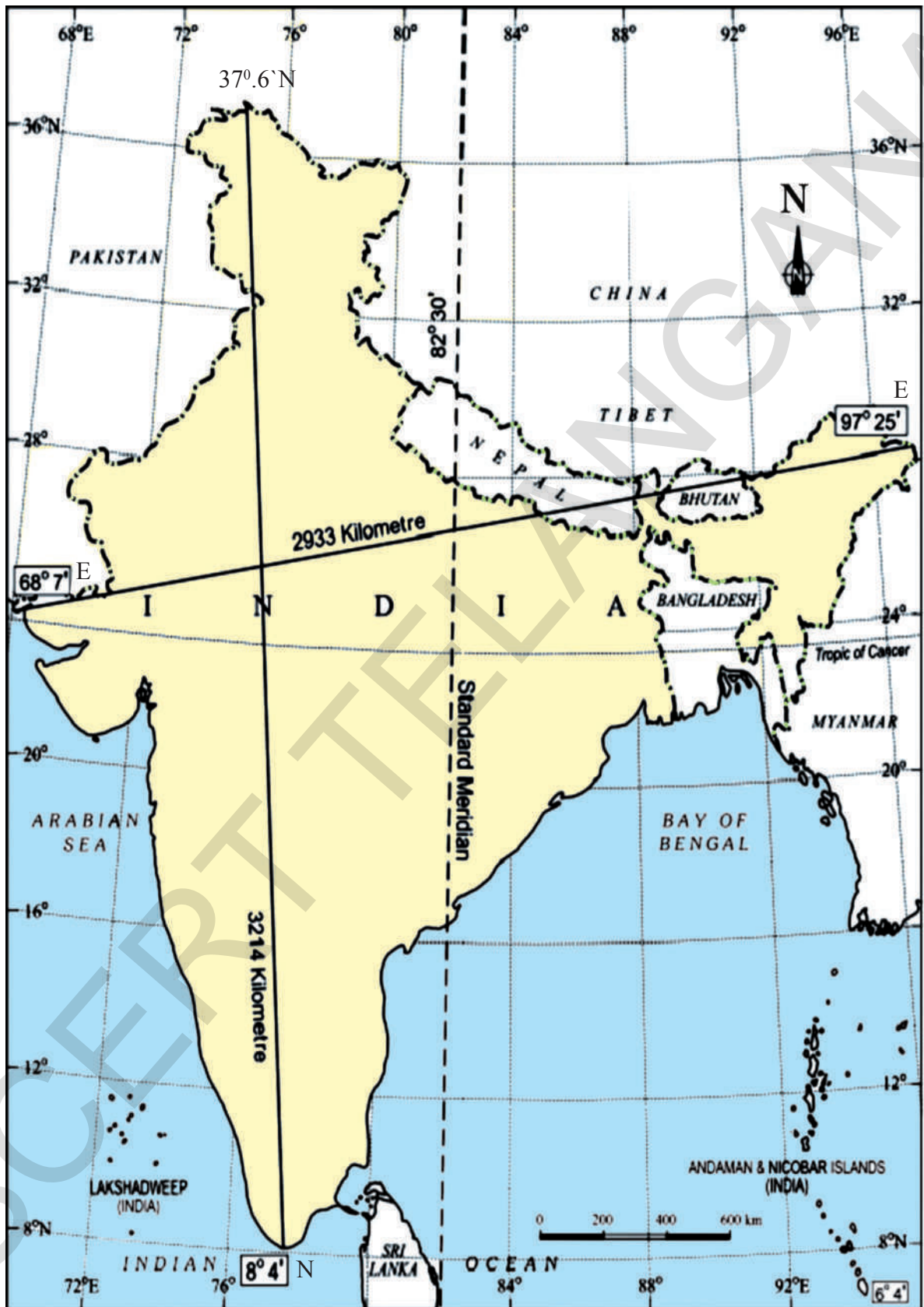
- Look at map 2 on the next page.  
Trace the boundary of India and colour the line.  
With the help of the scale given on the map, find out the total land boundary that India shares with Bangladesh.

Which of these data are the sunrise and sunset timings for Ahmedabad and Imphal? Explain your reason.

Date	Location		Location	
5 Jan	Sunrise	Sunset	Sunrise	Sunset
	05:59	16:37	07:20	18:05



Fig.1.1: View of Himalayas from Tibetan Plateau. Notice the absence of trees. Why?



Map 2 : India – north-south, east-west extent and standard meridian

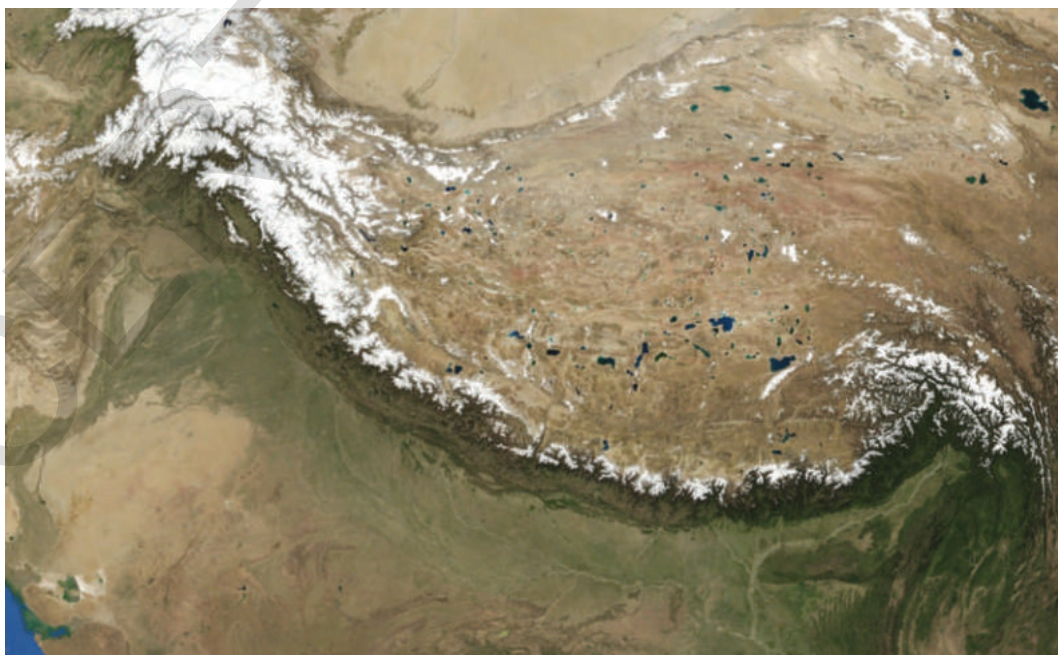
## Geological background

Re-read, about the movement of the Earth's crust from the class IX book. Indian landmass, as part of Gondwana land, originated due to geological formations and several other processes like weathering, erosion and deposition. These processes, over millions of years, have created and modified the physical features as they appear to us today.

World landforms originated from two giant lands namely Angara land (Laurasia) and Gondwana land. The Indian peninsula was part of Gondwana land. Over 200 million years ago Gondwana land split into pieces and the peninsular Indian plate moved towards North-East and collided into the much larger Eurasian Plate (Angara land). Owing to the collision and immense compression force, mountains evolved through a folding process over millions of years. The present form of the Himalayas is a result of this process.

The breaking off from the northern corners of the peninsular plateau led to the formation of a large Basin. In due course of time, this basin slowly got filled with sediments deposited by the Himalayan rivers from north and peninsular rivers from south. This created the extensive, flat northern plains of India. The Indian landmass displays great relief variations. The peninsular plateau is one of the most ancient land blocks on the earth's surface.

- List the Himalayan rivers and the Peninsular rivers that helped the formation of North Indian Plain.
- The formation of Himalayas was \_\_\_\_\_ million years ago while early hunter-gathering human beings emerged on earth \_\_\_\_\_ million years ago.



*Fig 1.2 : Himalayas, Northern plain and Thar desert as pictured by satellite*

## Major Relief Divisions

The relief features of Indian landmass can be divided into the following groups:

1. The Himalayas
2. The Indo-Gangetic Plain
3. The Peninsular Plateau
4. The Coastal plains
5. The Desert
6. The Islands

Look at Map 2 and the raised relief map in your school. Using your finger, trace the regions mentioned below:

- Follow the course of Godavari and Krishna rivers to identify the direction of the slope of Deccan plateau.
- Describe the entire course of the Brahmaputra River, with reference to landforms, heights, and countries.

## The Himalayas

The Himalayan ranges run in the west-east direction in the form of an arch with a distance of about 2,400 kms. Their width differs from 500 kms in the western regions to 200 kms in central and eastern regions. It is broader in western region. There are also altitudinal variations across the regions. The Himalayas comprise three parallel ranges. These ranges are separated with deep valleys and extensive plateaus.

The northern most range is known as Greater Himalayas or Himadri. This range is the most continuous consisting of the highest peaks with an average elevation of about 6100 mts above Mean Sea Level (MSL).

Greater Himalayas are composed of snow and ice cover. You find glaciers here. The seasonal cycles of accumulation of ice, movement and melting of glaciers are the sources of the perennial rivers. The portion of range found to the south of the Greater Himalayas is called “Lesser Himalayas” which has the most rugged relief. These ranges are mainly composed of highly compressed rocks. The height ranges

from 3,700 to 4,500 mts. The Pirpanjal and Mahabharata ranges form the important ranges of this region.

- Locate the three ranges in your atlas.
- Locate some of the highest peaks in the raised relief map.
- Trace the above regions in the raised relief map and on the wall map with your fingers.
- Locate the following places on the physical map of India in your atlas: Shimla, Mussuorie, Nainital and Raniket.

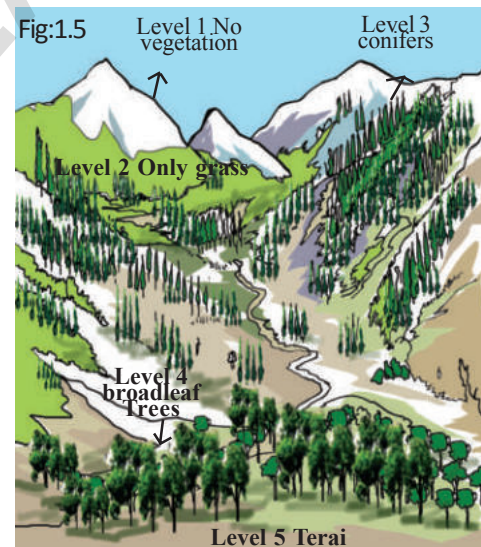
The Lesser Himalaya ranges consist of the famous valley of Kashmir, Kangra and Kulu in Himachal Pradesh. This region is well known for many hill stations like Shimla, Mussuorie, Nainital, Raniket etc. and are covered by evergreen forests.

*Fig 1.3 to 1.6 : Various views of Himalayas from Southern (Indian) side. Compare these with the view from Tibetan side in Fig 1.1*



The diagram below shows some typical vegetation in the Himalayas.

The mountain has been divided into five levels of elevation. Some of the main types of trees are shown here.



*1.3 The narrow steep valleys formed in Sikkim.*

*1.4 Identify terrace farming on Himalays and pebbles on drainage.*

*1.5 Sketch of different levels of vegetation in the Himalayas.*

*1.6 View of the Mawkdok Dympep Valley in Meghalaya.*



The southern most range of the Himalayas are the Shivaliks. Shivaliks extend over a width of 10-50 kms and have an altitude varying between 900 and 1100 mts. These ranges are called by different names in different regions: Jammu hills in Jammu region; Mishmi hills in Arunachal Pradesh; Cachar in Assom etc. These parts consist of thick gravel and alluvium. The valleys lying between the Lesser Himalaya and Shivalik ranges are called as Duns. Dehradun, Kotli Dun and Patli Dun are some of the prominent Duns.

The eastern most boundary of the Himalayas is the Brahmaputra valley. In Arunachal Pradesh beyond the Dihang valley, the Himalayas take hair pin bend to the south and act as the eastern boundary of India and run through the north eastern states. These divisions are known as 'Purvanchal' and mostly composed of sedimentary sand stones. Regionally, the Purvanchal are known as Patkai hills, the Naga hills, Manipuri hills, Khasi and Mizo hills.

- Locate the following ranges in the physical map of India.

Hills	State/ states
Purvanchal	
Patkai	
Naga hills	
Manipuri hills	

The formation of the Himalayas influences India's climate in various ways. These act as barriers protecting the great plains of India from the cold winds of central Asia during severe winter. The Himalayas are the reason for summer rains and monsoon type of climate in regions that are beyond the Western Ghats of India. In its absence, this region would have remained drier. The Himalayan Rivers have a perennial flow since these are fed by the glaciers and bring a lot of silt, making these plains very fertile.

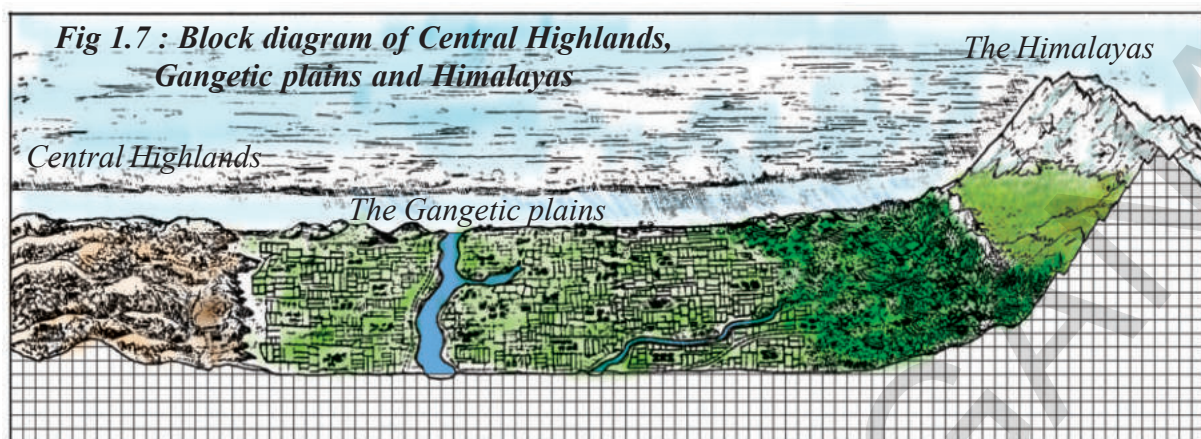
### The Indo-Gangetic Plain

The interaction of the three Himalayan rivers, Indus, Ganga and Brahmaputra and their tributaries resulted in the formation of great northern plains. In the beginning (about 20 million years ago), it was a shallow basin that was gradually filled with varied alluvial soil that these rivers brought from the Himalayas.

The Indo-Gangetic Plains broadly consist of three divisions :

1. The Western Part
2. The Central Part
3. The Eastern Part

1) The western part was formed by the Indus and its tributaries, the Jhelum, the Chenab, the Ravi, the Beas and the Sutlej flowing from the Himalayas. Most of the Indus river basin is located in Pakistan leaving minor portion of Punjab and Haryana plains in India. In this region, the 'Doab' features dominate the fertile land between the two rivers.



2) The central part is known as the Ganga plain. It extends from the rivers Ghaggar to Teesta. This part is mainly spread in the states of Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and partly in Haryana, Jharkhand and West Bengal. Here, the river Ganga, Yamuna and their tributaries Sone, Kosi etc drain.

3) The Eastern part of the plain exists mostly in the Brahmaputra valley of Assom and the river Brahmaputra is mainly responsible for its formation.

The Himalayan rivers, while flowing down, deposit gravel and pebble sediments in a narrow belt of 8 to 16 kms width found parallel to foot hills of Shivaliks. This feature is known as 'Bhabar'. Bhabar is porous in nature. Small rivers and streams flow underground through Bhabar and reappear in lower areas and form a swampy and marshy region called Terai. The region had thick forests and rich variety of wild life. However, owing to migration at the time of India's partition, most of the Terai zone has now been cleared and used for agricultural operations. Fine alluvial plain regions are found towards the South of the Terai region.



*Fig 1.8 : A Village on the Brahmaputra Valley in Assom*

## The Peninsular Plateau

The Indian plateau is also known as the peninsular plateau as it is surrounded by the sea on three sides. It is mainly composed of the old crystalline, hard igneous and metamorphic rock. Large amounts of metallic and non metallic mineral resources are found in the Indian plateau. It has broad and shallow valleys with rounded hills. The topography of the plateau is slightly tilted towards east and the Western and Eastern Ghats form the western and eastern edges respectively. The southernmost tip of the plateau is Kanyakumari.

The peninsular plateau consists of two broad divisions, namely, the central high lands (Malwa plateau) and the Deccan Plateau. On the physical map of India, adjunct to and south of the Gangetic plains and north of the river Narmada, you can identify central highlands. Prominent plateaus here are Malwa plateau on the western side and towards the east, there is the Chotanagapur plateau. In comparison to the Gangetic plains, the plateau region is dry. The rivers are not perennial. The irrigation for the second crop depends on deep tube wells and tanks. Identify rivers that flow on the Northern side of central high lands. Chotanagapur plateau is rich in mineral resources.

The portion of peninsular plateau lying to the south of Narmada, a triangular landmass, is called the Deccan plateau. Satpura range forms the Deccan plateau's north edge while the Mahadev, the Kaimur range and a portion of Maikal range are the eastern edges. Western Ghats, Eastern Ghats and Nilgiris form western, eastern and southern boundaries respectively.

- Locate the following on the physical map of India and on the raised relief map: Malwa plateau, Bundelkhand, Bhagelkhand, Rajamahar Hills and Chotanagapur plateau.
- Using an atlas, compare the relative heights of above plateaus with that of Tibetan plateau.

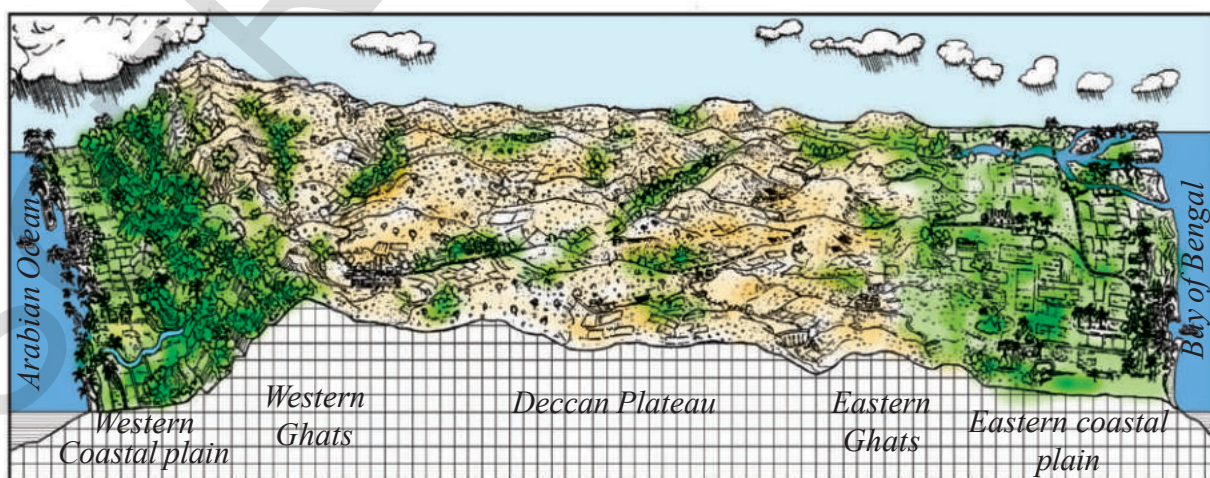
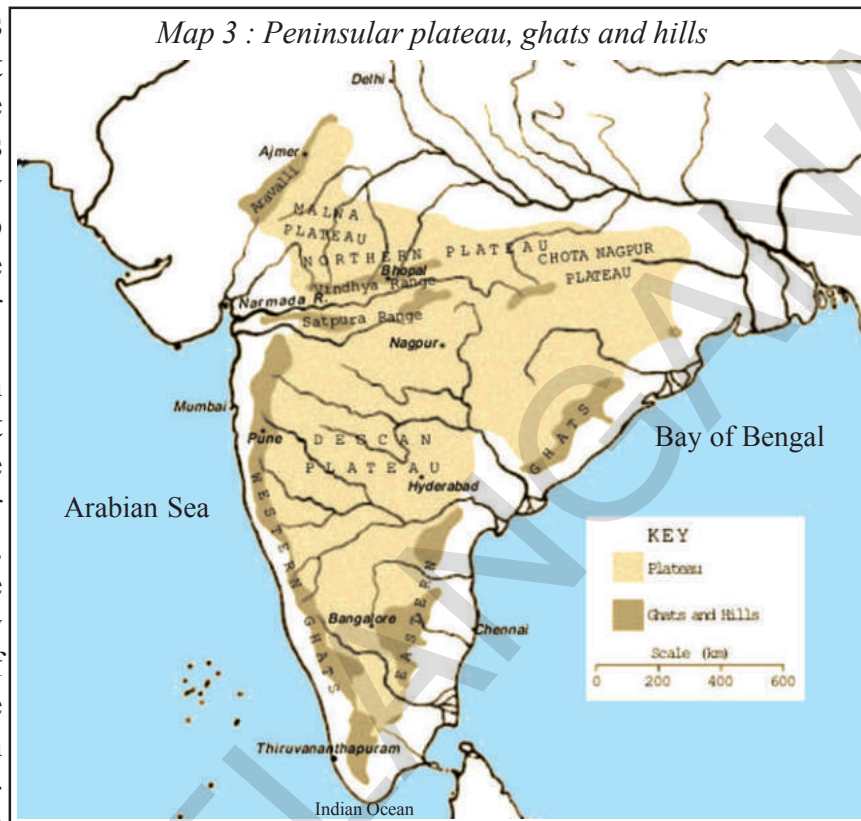


Fig 1.9 : Block diagram of Peninsular plateau

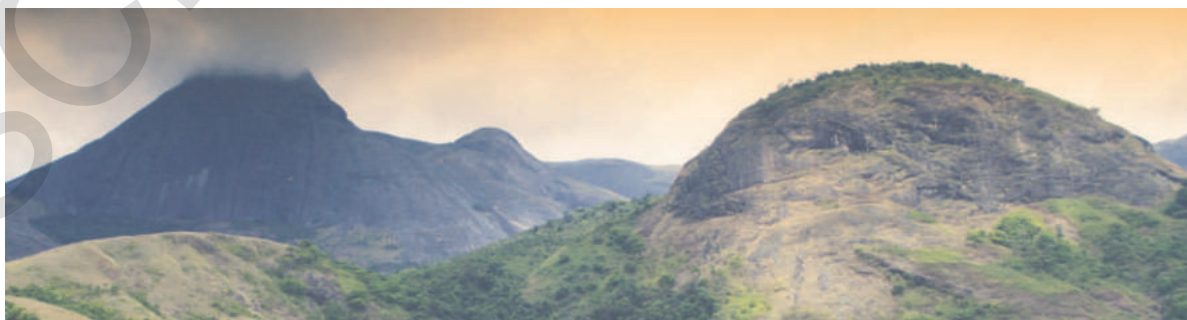
The Western Ghats lie parallel to the West Coast. The structure of the Western Ghats is continuous with a few passes as the gateways to the coastal plains. The Western Ghats are higher than the Eastern Ghats. Thus, for the Deccan plateau region, west-east slope is seen (*Fig 1.9*). The Western Ghats extend for 1600 kms. Near Gudalur, the Nilgiris join the Western Ghats and they rise to over a height of about 2000 mts. The famous hill station Udagamandalam, popularly known as Ooty, is

located in the Nilgiris. Doda Betta (2637 mts) is its highest peak. Western Ghats include the, Palani (Tamilnadu), Annamalai and Cardamom (Kerala) hills. Anaimudi (2695 mts) of Annamalai hills is the highest peak in south India.

The Eastern Ghats extend from Mahanadi valley in the north to Nilgiris in the south. However, the Eastern Ghats are not continuous. Rivers that originate in Western Ghats like Godavari and Krishna cut across the plateau and join the Bay of Bengal. The average height of the Eastern Ghats rarely exceeds 900 mts. The highest peak in Eastern Ghats is Arma Konda found at Chintapalli (1680 mts., in Andhra Pradesh). Nallamalas, Velikondas, Palakondas and Seshachala are some of the hilly tracts of Eastern Ghats. One of the remarkable features of the peninsular plateau is black soils formed due to volcanic activity.



- Look at the raised/relief map of India and compare the relative height of the Western and Eastern Ghats as well as Tibetan plateau and Himalayan peaks.



*Fig 1.10 : Annamalai Hills in Western Ghats*

## The Thar Desert

The Thar Desert is located on the leeward side of Aravalis and receives very little rainfall, ranging from 100 to 150 mm per year. The desert consists of an undulating sandy plain and rocky outcrops. It occupies much of western Rajasthan. It has an arid climate with very low vegetation cover. Streams appear during rainy season and disappear soon after. 'Luni' is the only river in this area. These internal drainage rivers fill into the lakes and do not reach the sea.



Indira Gandhi canal, is the longest canal in the country (650kms), waters part of Thar Desert. Hence, several hectares of desert land have been brought under cultivation.

*Fig 1.11 : A Settlement in Thar Desert*

## The Coastal Plains

The southern part of the peninsular plateau is bordered by narrow coastal strips along the Arabian Sea on the west and the Bay of Bengal on the east. The western coast starts from the Rann of Kutch and ends at Kanyakumari. It is narrower than the east coast. This plain is uneven and broken by hilly terrain. It can be divided into three parts:

- 1) Konkan Coast – this is the northern part. It touches Maharashtra and Goa.
- 2) Canara coast – this is the middle part. It includes coastal plains of Karnataka.
- 3) Malabar coast – this is the southern part, mostly in the state of Kerala.



*Fig 1.12 : Sundarban Mangrove*

Bay of Bengal plains are wide and have a large surface structure. It stretches from Mahanadi in Odisha to Cauvery delta in Tamil Nadu. These plains are formed by rivers Mahanadi, Godavari, Krishna and Cauvery and are very fertile. These coastal plains are known by different names locally : Utkal coast (Odisha) Circar coast (Andhra Pradesh) Coramandal coast (Tamil Nadu).

On the physical map of India, identify the delta regions. How is their height similar or different? How do they compare in relation to the Indo-Gangetic plains?

Like the Indo-Gangetic plains, these deltas too are agriculturally developed. Coastal zone also enables rich fishing resources. Lakes like Chilka in Odisha and Kolleru and Pulicat in Andhra Pradesh are other important features of the coastal plain.

## The Islands



*A Nicobar Pigeon*

There are two groups of Islands - Andaman and Nicobar Islands stretched in Bay of Bengal and Lakshadweep Islands in the Arabian Sea. Andaman and Nicobar Islands is an elevated portion of submerged mountain parts running from Myanmar Mountain Arkan Yoma. In Andaman and Nicobar Islands, Narkondam and Barren islands are of volcanic origin. The southernmost tip of India is found in Nicobar Island and called as Indira point which was submerged during the 2004 Tsunami. Lakshadweep Islands are of coral origin. Its total geographic area is 32 sq.kms. This group of islands is famous for a great variety of flora and fauna.

In conclusion, it is important to note that there is a vast diversity in the landforms in which Indian people live. Some areas are irrigated by the mighty rivers flowing from the Himalayas and some by the rainfed rivers from Western ghats and its forests. Many places are located in the river valleys and others in the mountains.

*Fig 1.13 : Coral Reefs*



## Keywords

Perennial river	Coral reefs	Coastal plains	Peninsula	Laurasia	Dun
Angara land	Gondwana land	Shivalik	Purvanchal		

## Improve your learning

1. The sun rises two hours earlier in Arunachal Pradesh as compared to Gujarat in the west. But the clocks show the same time. How does this happen? (AS<sub>1</sub>)
2. If the Himalayas weren't situated where they are now, how would the climatic conditions of the Indian sub continent be? (AS<sub>1</sub>)
3. Which are the major physiographic divisions of India? Contrast the relief of the Himalayan region with that of the peninsular plateau. (AS<sub>1</sub>)
4. What is the influence of the Himalayas on Indian agriculture? (AS<sub>1</sub>)
5. Indo- Gangetic plains have a high density of population. Find the reasons. (AS<sub>1</sub>)
6. On an outline map of India, show the following: (AS<sub>5</sub>)
  - (i) Mountain and hill ranges – the Karakoram, the Zaskar, the Patkai Bum, the Jaintia, the Vindhya range, the Aravali, and the Cardamom hills.
  - (ii) Peaks – K2, Kanchenjunga, Nanga Parbat and the Anaimudi.
  - (iii) Plateaus - Chotanagapur and Malwa
  - (iv) The Indian Desert, Western Ghats, Lakshadweep Islands
7. Use an atlas and identify the following: (AS<sub>5</sub>)
  - (i) The Islands formed due to Volcanic eruption.
  - (ii) The countries constituting the Indian Subcontinent.
  - (iii) The states through which the Tropic of Cancer passes.
  - (iv) The northernmost latitude in degrees.
  - (v) The southernmost latitude of the Indian mainland in degrees.
  - (vi) The eastern and the western most longitudes in degrees.
  - (vii) The place situated on the three seas.
  - (viii) The strait separating Sri Lanka from India.
  - (ix) The Union Territories of India.
  - (x) The states in which Himalayas are extended to
8. How are the Eastern coastal plains and western coastal plains similar or different? (AS<sub>1</sub>)
9. Plateau regions in India do not support agriculture as much as the plain regions – what are the reasons for this? (AS<sub>1</sub>)
10. Read about the Himalayas, Islands and Coastal plains and prepare a detailed table. (AS<sub>3</sub>)
11. “Himalayas play a vital role in India's development,” comment. (AS<sub>2</sub>)

## Project

Using the raised relief map and physical maps in your atlas, make clay/ sand models of India on the ground. Use different types of sand or soil to mark different types of relief features. Ensure that the heights of the places are proportional and rivers are marked. Look at the vegetation map in your atlas and try to use leaves and grasses to decorate them. May be over the year, you can also add other features of India into them.

We all have many aspirations about what we would like to do and how we would like to live. Similarly, we have ideas about what a country should be like. What are the essential things that we require? Can life be better for all? Can there be more equality? Development involves thinking about these questions and about the ways in which we can work towards achieving these goals. This is a complex task and in this chapter, we shall make an effort to understand development.

### What Development Promises – Different People, Different Goals

Let us try to imagine what development or progress is likely to mean to different persons listed in Table 1. What are their aspirations? You will find that some columns are partially filled. Try to complete the Table.

You can also add any other category of persons.



Fig 2.1 : Without me they cannot develop;  
In this system I cannot develop!

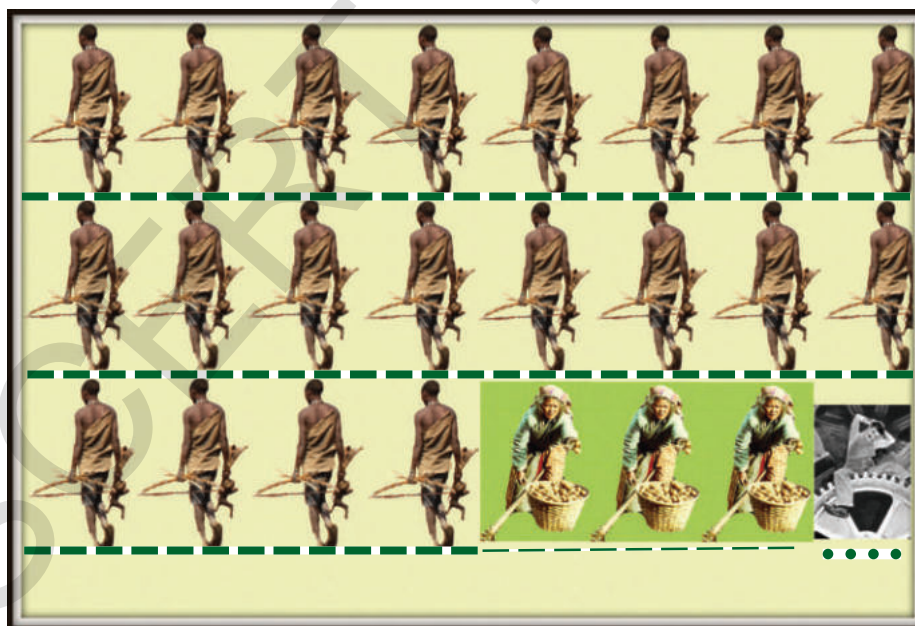
Table 1 : Developmental Goals of Different Categories of Persons

Category of Persons	Developmental Goals/ Aspirations
Landless rural labourers	More days of work and better wages; local school that is able to provide quality education for their children; no social discrimination and they too can become leaders in the village.
Prosperous farmers	Assured high family income through higher support prices for their crops and through hardworking and cheap labourers; should be able to settle their children abroad.

Farmers who depend only on rain for growing crops.	
A rural woman from a land owning family	
Urban unemployed youth	
A boy from a rich urban family	
A girl from a rich urban family	She gets as much freedom as her brother and is able to decide what she wants to do in life. She would like to be able to pursue her studies abroad.
An Adivasi from mining fields	
A person from the fishing community in the coastal area	

Having filled Table 1, let us now examine it. Do all these persons have the same notion of development or progress? Most likely not. Each one of them seeks different things. They seek things that are most important for them, i.e., which can fulfil their aspirations or desires. In fact, at times, two persons or groups of persons may seek things which are conflicting. A girl expects as much freedom and opportunity as her brother and that he also shares the responsibilities in the household work. Her brother may not like this. Similarly, to get more electricity, industrialists may want construction of more dams. But this may

submerge the land and disrupt the lives of people who are displaced such as the tribals and farmers. They might resent this and may just want small check dams or tanks to irrigate their land.



*Fig 2.2 : How do we understand development if we think of human history on a time scale? Who is*

*developed? Number as hunter gatherers (about 200,000 years). Number of years since we began agriculture (12,000 years ago). Number of years since modern Industries started (from about 400 years ago)*

## Whose Development ?

If, even the idea of what constitutes development can be varied and conflicting, then certainly there can be many differences about ways in which development happens. The ongoing protest over the Kudankulam Nuclear Power Project in the Tirunelveli district of Tamil Nadu is one such conflict. The government of India set up the nuclear



*Fig 2.3 : Protest at Kudankulam Nuclear Power Project*

power plant in this quiet coastal town of fisher folks. The aim is to generate nuclear power to meet the growing energy needs of the country. The people in the region have protested on the grounds of safety, security and livelihood. A long struggle has ensued. Scientists, environmentalists, social activists who have been critical of the project, have stood by the people and supported their protest.

Letters of protests to the government state “You are unable or unwilling to appreciate that in nuclear energy, we are confronted not only with an immense power, but also an incredible potential for destruction.

We want our coast and country protected from the radioactive peril. Stop the project. Look to renewable energy as an alternative.” The government has responded that the plant has followed all the safety measures and, despite protests, is going ahead with the project.

So, two things are quite clear from the above discussion:

- (1) Different persons can have different developmental goals and
- (2) What may be development for one may not be development for the other. It may even be destructive for the other.

### ● *Read this newspaper report. ...*

“A vessel dumped 500 tonnes of liquid toxic wastes into open-air dumps in a city and in the surrounding sea. This happened in a city Abidjan in Ivory Coast, a country in Africa. The fumes from the highly toxic waste

caused nausea, skin rashes, fainting, diarrhoea etc. After a month, seven persons were dead, twenty in hospital and twenty six thousand treated for symptoms of poisoning. A multinational company

dealing in petroleum and metals contracted a local company of the Ivory Coast to dispose the toxic waste from its ship.”

*(Adapted from article by Vaiju Naravane 16 September, 2006, The Hindu)*

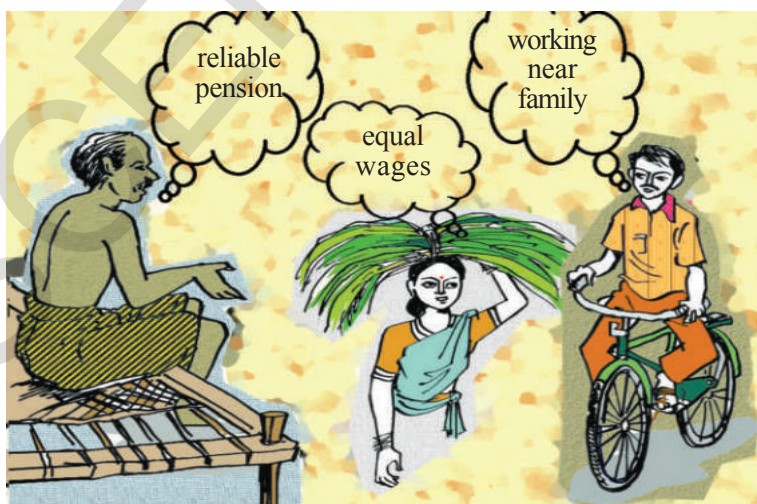
Now answer the following questions:

- Who are the people who benefited and who did not?
- What should be the developmental goal for this country?
- What can be some of the developmental goals for your village or town or locality?
- What are the issues of conflict between government and the people living in regions of nuclear power plant?
- Do you know of any such controversy around development projects/policies? Find out the debates on either side.

### Income and Other Goals

If you go over Table 1 again, you will notice one common thing: what most people desire are regular work, better wages, and decent price for their crops and other products that they produce. In other words, they want more income.

Besides seeking more income – one-way or the other, people also seek things like equal treatment, freedom, security and respect from others. They resent discrimination. All these are important goals. In fact, in some cases, these may be more important than more income or more consumption because material goods are not all that you need to live. Money or material things that one can buy with it is just one factor on which our life depends. But the quality of our life also depends on non-material things mentioned above. If it is not obvious to you, then just think of the role of your friends in your life. You may desire their friendship. Similarly, there are many things that are not easily measured but they mean a lot to our lives. These are often ignored. Therefore, it will be wrong to conclude that what cannot be measured is not important.



Consider another example. If you get a job in a far off place, you would try to consider many factors apart from income. This could be facilities for your family, working atmosphere or opportunity to learn. In another case, a job may give you less pay but may offer regular employment that enhances your sense of security. Another job,

however, may offer high pay but no job security and also leave no time for your family. This will reduce your sense of security and freedom.

Similarly, for development, people look at a mix of goals. It is true that if women are engaged in paid work, the family income increases and their dignity in the household and society increases. However, at the same time if there is respect for women, there would be more sharing of housework and a greater acceptance of women working outside. A safe and secure environment may allow more women to take up a variety of jobs or run a business.

Hence, the developmental goals that people have are not only about better income but also about other important things in life.

- Why do different persons have different notions of development? Which of the following explanations is more important and why?
  - a. Because people are different.
  - b. Because life situations of different persons are different.
- Do these two statements mean the same thing? Justify your answer.
  - a. People have different developmental goals.
  - b. People have conflicting developmental goals.
- Give some examples of where factors other than income are important aspects of our lives.
- Explain some of the important ideas of the above section in your own words.

## How to Compare Different Countries or States

When we compare different things, there could be similarities as well as differences. Which aspects do we use to compare them? Let us look at the students in a class itself. How do we compare different students? They differ in their height, health, talents and interests. The healthiest student may not be the most studious one. The most intelligent student may not be the friendliest one. So, how do we compare students? The criterion we may use depends on the purpose of comparison. We use different criteria to choose a sports team, a debate team, a music team or a team to organise a picnic. Still, if for some purpose, we have to choose the criteria for the all-round progress of children in the class, how do we do it?

Usually, we take one or more important characteristics of persons and compare them based on these characteristics. For comparing countries, their income is considered to be one of the most important attributes. Countries with higher income are more developed than countries with lower income. This is done based

on the understanding that more income means more access to things that human beings need to fulfill their basic requirements. Whatever people like and should have, they will be able to get with greater income. So, greater income itself is considered to be one important goal.

Now, what is the income of a country? Intuitively, the income of the country is total of the income of all the residents of the country. This gives us the total income of the country.

However, for comparison between countries, total income is not such a useful measure. Since countries have different populations, comparing total income will not tell us what an average person is likely to earn. Are people in one country better off than others in a different country? Hence, we compare the average income which is total income of the country divided by total population. The average income is also called per capita income.

This criterion is used in the World Development Report brought out by the World Bank to classify countries. Countries with per capita income of US \$12,055 and above per annum in 2017 are called high income countries or rich countries. Those with per capita income of US \$995 or less per annum in 2017 are called low-income countries. Until less than a decade ago, India came in the category of low income countries. Now it falls under the category of middle income countries. As the per capita income in India rose faster than that of many countries, its position was improved. We will read more about growth of incomes of people in India in the next chapter.

The rich countries, excluding countries of West Asia and certain other small countries are generally called developed countries.

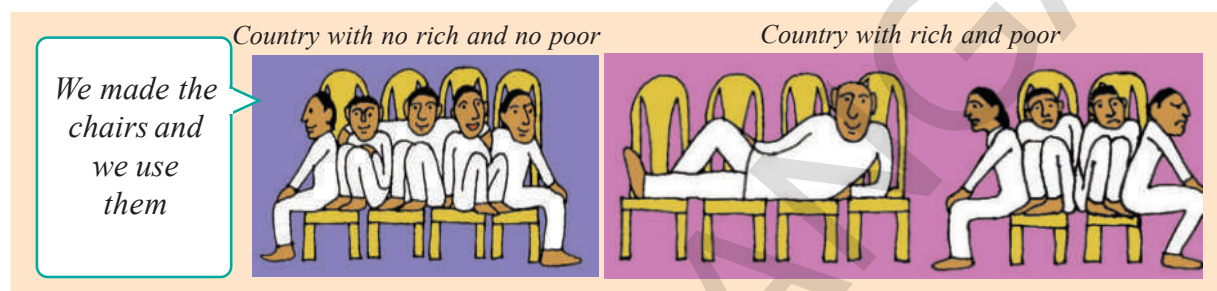
While ‘averages’ are useful for comparison, they also hide many disparities.

For example, let us consider two countries, A and B. For the sake of simplicity, we have assumed that they have only five citizens each. Based on data given in Table 2, calculate the average income for both the countries.

Table 2 **Comparison of two countries**

Country	Monthly income of citizens (in Rupees)					
	I	II	III	IV	V	Average
Country A	9500	10500	9800	10000	10200	
Country B	500	500	500	500	48000	

Will you be equally happy to live in either of these countries? Are both equally developed? Perhaps some of us may like to live in country B if we are assured of being its fifth citizen but if it is a lottery that decides our citizenship number then perhaps most of us will prefer to live in country A. Though both the countries have identical average income, country A is preferred because it has more equitable distribution. In this country, people are neither very rich nor extremely poor, while most citizens in country B are poor and one person is extremely rich. Hence, while average income is useful for comparison, it does not tell us how this income is distributed among people.



- Give three examples where an average is used for comparing situations other than the examples given here.
- Why do you think is average income an important criterion for development? Explain.
- Suppose the records show that the average income in a country has been increasing over a period. From this can we conclude that all sections of the economy have become better? Illustrate your answer with an example.
- From the text, find out the per capita income level of middle-income countries as per World Development Report, 2016.
- Write a paragraph on your notion of what India should do or achieve to become a developed country.

### Income and other criteria

When we looked at individual aspirations and goals, we found that people not only think of better income but also have goals such as security, respect of others, equal treatment, freedom etc. Similarly, when we think of a nation or a region, we may think of other equally important attributes besides average income.

Table : 3 Per Capita Income per annum of Selected States

State	Per Capita GSDP for 2016-17 (in Rs.Lakhs)	Per Capita GSDP ranking 2016-17	HDI ranking for 2015
Haryana	2.15	7	9
Himachal Pradesh	1.82	12	3
Bihar	0.66	33	21

What could these attributes be? Let us examine this through an example. Table 3 gives the per capita income of Haryana, Himachal Pradesh and Bihar. We find that out of the three, Haryana has the highest per capita income and Bihar is at the bottom. This means that, on an average, a person in Haryana earned Rs.2.15 lakhs in one year whereas, on an average, a person in Bihar would earn only around Rs. 0.66 lakhs. So, if the per capita income were to be used as the measure of development, Haryana would be considered the most developed and Bihar the least developed state of the three. Now, let us look at certain other data pertaining to these states given in Table 4.

Table : 4 Some Comparative data of Selected States

State	IMR per 1000 (2016)	Literacy Rate (%) (2011)	Net Attendance Ratio for Secondary Stage (2013-14)
Haryana	33	77	61
Himachal Pradesh	25	84	67
Bihar	38	64	43

Terms used in the Table 4: **IMR** - Infant Mortality Rate. Out of 1000 live children born. (the number of children who die within one year)

**Literacy Rate**: It measures the percentage of literate population in the 7 and above age group.

**Net Attendance Ratio for Secondary Stage (NAR)** : NAR is taken for classes IX and X.

First column of the table shows that in Himachal Pradesh, out of 1000 children born alive, 25 died before completing one year of age. In Haryana, the number of children dying within one year of birth is 33. In Bihar, the number is 38.

## Public Facilities

How is it that the average person in Haryana has more income than the average person in Himachal Pradesh but lags behind in these crucial areas? The reason is money in your pocket cannot buy all the goods and services that you may need to live well. So, income by itself is not a completely adequate indicator of material goods and services that citizens are able to use. For example, normally your money cannot buy you a pollution free environment or ensure that you get unadulterated medicines, unless you can afford to shift to a community that already has all these things. Money may also not be able to protect you from infectious diseases, unless the whole of your community takes preventive steps.

Actually, for many of the important things in life the best way, also the cheapest way, is to provide these goods and services collectively. Just think: will it be cheaper

to have collective security for the whole locality or for each house to have its own security guard? What if no one other than you in your village or locality is interested in studying? Would you be able to study? Not unless your parents could afford to send you to some private school elsewhere. So, you are actually able to study because many other children also want to study and because many people believe that the government should open schools and provide other facilities so that all children have a chance to study. Even now, in many areas, children, particularly girls, are not able to achieve secondary level schooling because government/society has not provided the required facilities.

Some states have lower Infant Mortality Rate because they have adequate provision of basic health care and educational facilities. Similarly, in some states, the Public Distribution System (PDS) functions well. If a PDS shop, i.e. ration shop, does not function properly in such places, the people there are able to get it rectified. Health and nutritional status of people of such states is certainly likely to be better.

Isn't it surprising that a small country in our neighbourhood, Sri Lanka, is much ahead of India in every respect and a big country like ours has such a low

- Look at the data in Tables 3 and 4. Is Haryana as ahead of Bihar in literacy rate etc. as it is in terms of per capita income?
- Think of other examples where collective provision of goods and services is cheaper than individual provision.
- Does availability of good health and educational facilities depend only on the amount of money spent by the government on these facilities? What other factors could be relevant?
- For a family in rural areas in Tamil Nadu and combined Andhra Pradesh in 2009-2010, rice purchased from ration shops account for 53 and 33 per cent respectively. The rest they buy from markets. In West Bengal and Assam, only 11 and 6 per cent of rice was purchased from ration shops. Where would people be better off and why?

### Human Development Report

When we realise that even though the level of income is important, it is an inadequate measure of the level of development, we begin to think of other criterion. There could be a long list of such criteria but then it would not be so useful. What we need is a small number of the most important things. Health and education indicators, such as the ones we used in comparison of Kerala and Punjab, are among them. Over the past decade or so, health and education indicators have come to be widely used along with income as a measure of development. For instance, Human Development Report published by United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) compares countries based on the educational attainment of the people, their health status and per capita income.

It would be interesting to look at certain relevant data regarding India and its neighbours from Human Development Report 2017.

Table : 5 Some data regarding India and its neighbours for 2017

Country	Per Capita income in \$	Life expectancy at birth	Literacy Rate	Human Development Index (HDI)
Sri Lanka	11,326	75.5	92.6	76
India	6,386	68.8	74.04	130
Pakistan	5,331	66.6	60.0	150
Myanmar	5,567	66.7	93.1	148
Bangladesh	3,677	72.8	61.5	136
Nepal	2,471	70.6	64.7	149

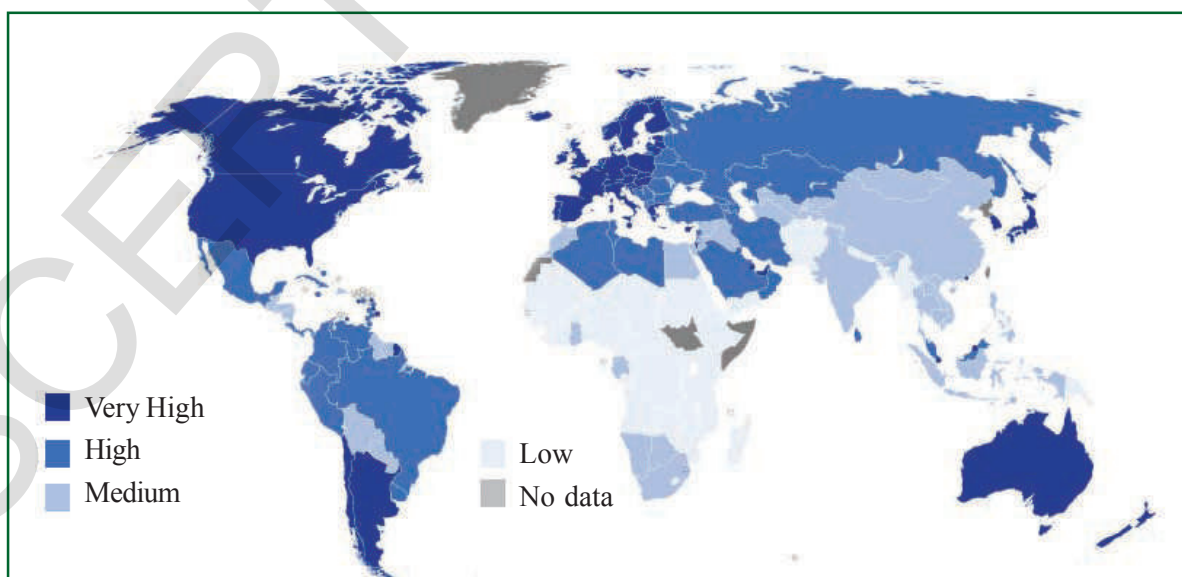
Notes to Table 5

**Per Capita Income** is calculated in US Dollars for all countries so that one can compare. It is also done in a way so that every dollar would buy the same amount of goods and services in any country.

**Life expectancy at birth** denotes the average expected length of life of a person at the time of birth.

**Literacy Rate** The number of people aged 7 years and above who can read and write with understanding in any language per 100 members.

**HDI** stands for Human Development Index. HDI ranks in the above table are out of 189 countries in all.



Map 1 : World map showing HD Index. Identify various patterns in different continents.

rank in the world? Table 5 also shows that though Nepal has less than half the per capita income of India, it is not far behind India in educational level. In terms of life expectancy at birth, it is in fact ahead of India.

Many improvements have been suggested in calculating HDI and many new components have been added to the Human Development Report. But, by prefixing “Human” to “Development”, HDR has made it very clear that what is happening to citizens of a country is very important in development. People, their health and their well-being are most important for the development of a country.

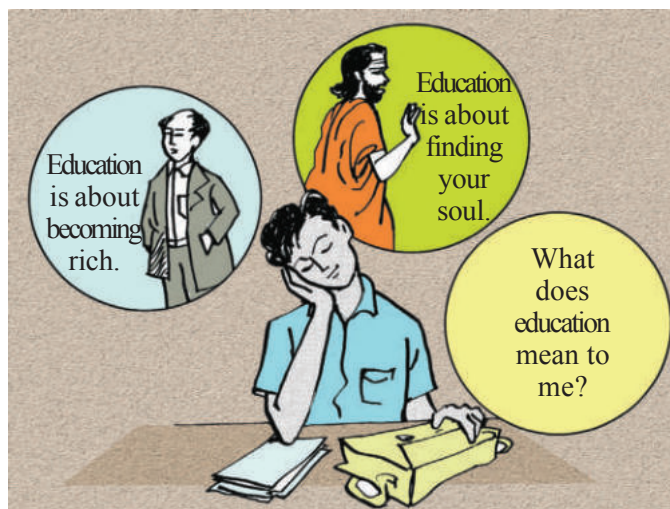
## Development as progress over time

Some countries are ahead of others in terms of human development indicators. Similarly, some states have better indicators of human development, though within a state, there may be variations. Some districts may be more advanced than others. Remember that comparison and ranks have little use by them. They are only useful if these indicators can make us think in meaningful ways as to why are some behind the others. Low performance on any of the human development indicators is a sign that certain aspects of people’s lives needs more attention than the others. Alternately, we could ask why are some ahead of others. Say, why are many more children in Himachal Pradesh going to school on an average than in other states (refer to Table 4)?

To answer this, let us look closely at what has come to be called ‘the schooling revolution in Himachal Pradesh’. It has some interesting insights to offer, particularly, how so many factors need to come together to make change possible. Development is indeed a complex phenomenon.

At the time of Indian independence, like most other states in India, Himachal Pradesh had very low levels of education. Being a hilly region, with low density of population in many villages, spread of schools, particularly to the rural areas, appeared to be big challenge. However, both the government of Himachal Pradesh and the people of the state were keen on access to better education. How to translate this aspiration to reality for all the children?

The government started schools and made sure that education was largely free or cost very little for parents. Further, it tried to ensure that these schools had at least the minimum facilities like teachers, classrooms, toilets, drinking water etc. As the years went by, these facilities were improved and expanded. More schools were



opened and teachers were appointed so that many more children could study easily. Of course, to open schools and run them well, the government had to spend money. Among the Indian states, Himachal Pradesh has the distinction of one of the highest spending from the government budget on education of each child. In the year 2005, the average spending on education by the government in Indian states was Rs 1,049 per child on the other hand, Himachal Pradesh was spending Rs. 2,005 per child!

The high priority on education paid off. In an intensive survey on schooling done in 1996 and repeated in 2006, the surveyors noted:

Students in Himachal Pradesh come to school enthusiastically. An overwhelming proportion of students enjoyed their schooling experience: “The teacher loves us and teaches us well”, said Neha, enrolled in Class 4 in a village in Chamba. Children had dreams of studying till higher classes and aspirations to be policemen, scientists and teachers. The attendance rate was very high in primary classes, but also among older children.

The norm in Himachal Pradesh has come to at least 10 years of schooling for children.

In many parts of the country, girls’ education is still given less priority by the parents as compared to boys’ education. While girls may study for a few years, they may not complete their schooling. A welcome trend in Himachal Pradesh is the lower gender bias. Himachali parents have ambitious educational goals for their girls, just as for their boys. Thus, in the 13-18 age group, a very high percentage of girls are completing class VIII and moving to secondary classes. This doesn’t mean there are no differences in the status of men and women, but the differences are less as compared to many other regions, particularly north Indian states.

One may wonder why the gender bias is less in Himachal Pradesh as compared to other states. Besides education, this can be seen in other areas as well. Child mortality (children dying within a few years of birth) in Himachal Pradesh is lower for girls than for boys, in contrast to most other states. One major consideration is that many Himachali women are themselves employed outside the home. Women who work outside the homes are economically independent and self-confident. They have greater say in household decisions, including children’s education, health, birth, upkeep etc. Also, being employed themselves, Himachali mothers expect their daughters to work outside home after marriage. Schooling, therefore, comes naturally and has become a social norm.

It has been seen that Himachali women have a comparatively high involvement in social life and village politics. Active *mahila mandals* can be found in many villages.

Table 6 compares the progress in school education over time in Himachal Pradesh with the average of the Indian states.

Table 6 : <b>Progress in Himachal Pradesh</b>				
	Himachal Pradesh		India	
	1993	2006	1993	2006
Percentage of Girls (6+ years) with more than 5 years of education	39	60	28	40
Percentage of Boys (6+ years) with more than 5 years of education	57	75	51	57

The comparison across two different years is indicative of development that has happened. Clearly, there has been greater development in schooling and spread of education in Himachal Pradesh than India as a whole. Though there is still difference in the average levels of education among boys and girls, i.e. across genders, there has been some progress towards greater equality in the recent years.

### Summing up

Development entails a mix of goals. Goals and the ways of attaining them may be in conflict. ‘Whose development?’ is an important question one must address while thinking about development.

Income and per capita income, though very often used, is only one aspect of development. Distribution of incomes can be very unequal even when overall incomes rise.

Human development index has tried to expand the notion of development to include the social indicators of health care and education. Government provision is the only way of improving health and education status for all. Societies that are more equal have developed faster when effective public facilities are ensured.

### Keywords

Per capita Income; Human development; Public facilities; Education and Health indicators

### Improve your learning

1. What is the main criterion used by the World Bank in classifying different countries? What are the limitations of the above criterion, if any? (AS<sub>1</sub>)
2. Usually behind each social phenomenon, there would be several contributing factors, and not one. What factors that came together for the development of schooling in Himachal Pradesh? (AS<sub>1</sub>)
3. In what respect is the criterion used by the UNDP for measuring development different from the one used by the World Bank? (AS<sub>1</sub>)

4. Do you think there are certain other aspects, other than those discussed in the chapter that should be considered in measuring human development? (AS<sub>4</sub>)
5. Why do we use averages? Are there any limitations to their use? Illustrate with your own examples related to development. (AS<sub>1</sub>)
6. What lessons can you draw about the importance of income that Himachal Pradesh with lower per capita income has a better human development ranking than Haryana? (AS<sub>1</sub>)
7. Based on the figures in Table 6, fill the following: (AS<sub>3</sub>)  
Out of every 100 girls above 6 years of age, \_\_\_\_\_ girls had studied beyond the primary level in Himachal Pradesh in the year 1993. By the year 2006, this proportion reached \_\_\_\_\_ out of 100. For India as a whole, the proportion of boys who had studied beyond primary level was only \_\_\_\_\_ out of 100 in the year 2006.
8. What is the per capita income of Himachal Pradesh? Do you think higher incomes can make it easier for parents to send children to school? Discuss. Why was it necessary for the government to run schools in Himachal Pradesh? (AS<sub>1</sub>)
9. Why do you think do parents accord less priority to girls education as compared to boys? Discuss in the class. (AS<sub>4</sub>)
10. How does the gender bias affect when the women work out side of the home?
11. In the class 8th you read about the Right to Education Act. In the light of what you have read in this chapter and already know, discuss the importance of this Act for (i) children, and (ii) human development. (AS<sub>2</sub>)

**Debate:** Is education only for employment? What is the purpose of education? Conduct a debate on this issue.

### Project

1. Here is an illustration showing different sources of livelihoods. Create a similar illustration and write a caption that would describe their notion of development.
2. Collect information from the parents, in which schools their children are studying and analyse on it in the classroom.



Sl. No.	Name of the Family head	Boy/ Girl	School (Govt./Pvt.)	Urban/ Rural	Reasons for studying in this School	
					Opinion of Parents	Opinion of Children

## Production and Employment

### GDP growth slumps to 9 year low

India's GDP grew only by 5 per cent in 2012-13. The agriculture growth also moderated, while a slowdown was also witnessed in construction and services. Disappointed with the dismal GDP figures, Finance Minister, however, expressed cautious optimism and pointed to some signs of recovery in some select sectors. (*The Hindu*)

You may have come across such news. What is GDP that is being talked about? What relation does it have with the sectors of the Indian economy? Let us try to understand...

### Sectors of Economy

You may recall some of the chapters from class VIII and IX where we discussed how people are engaged in different activities to earn their livelihoods. These activities are broadly categorised as follows – a) agriculture and related activities such as fishing, forestry, mining where nature has a dominant role in the production process; b) manufacturing processes & other industries, where goods are produced by people using tools or machines; and c) those activities that do not result in a good but provide services that are required in production and other services for people.

#### To recall these differences:

- Classify the following list of occupations under agriculture, industry and service sectors. Give reasons for your classification:

Occupation	Classification
Tailor	
Basket weaver	
Flower cultivator	
Milk vendor	
Fishermen	
Priest	
Courier	
Workers in match factory	

Occupation	Classification
Money lender	
Gardener	
Potter	
Bee-keeper	
Astronaut	
Call centre employee	

- The following table shows the percentage of workers employed in different sectors in India in 1972-73 and in 2015-16, i.e. after 43 years.

Year	Agriculture	Industry	Services
1972-73	74%	11%	15%
2015-16	47%	22%	31%

- What are the major changes that you observe from the above table?
- From what you have read before, discuss what could be some of the reasons for these changes.

Observe the Pictures and mention the sector which they belong to :

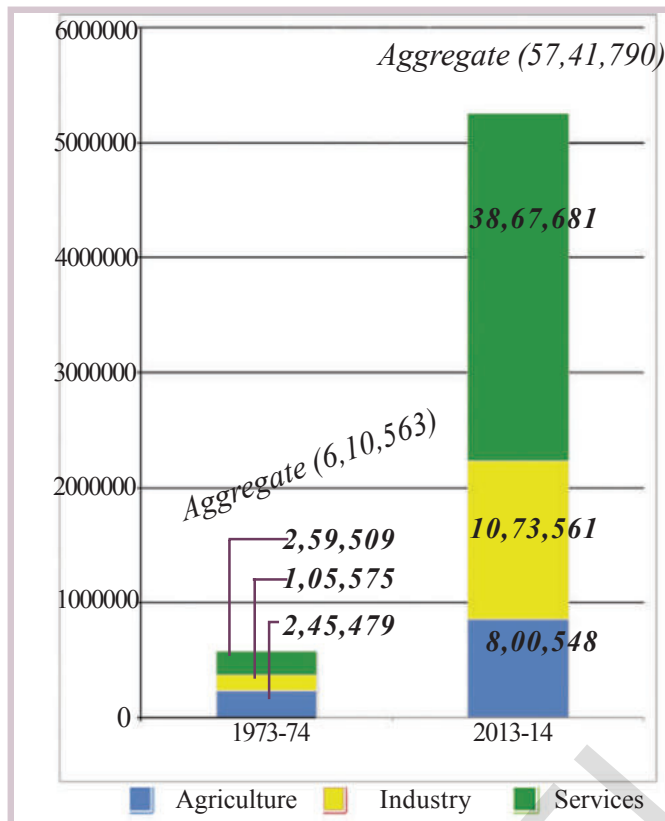


1..... 2..... 3..... 4.....

## Gross Domestic Product

Suppose there are two families – a rich family and a poor family. We can make such judgements as “rich” or “poor” based on: the dress people in the family wear, the vehicles they use to travel, the food they eat, the house they live in, furniture and other equipment they have, hospitals they go to for treatment etc. Alternately, income that these families earn is an important overall indicator. For the country as a whole, we use the total value of goods and services produced in the country as the indicator of income for the country. The technical term to denote this value is Gross Domestic Product (GDP).

The following Graph 1 shows the value of GDP for India for two different years: 1973-74 and 2013-2014. One can compare the kind of increase that has taken place in production in the three sectors of the economy.



Graph 1 : GDP by Agriculture, Industry and Service Sectors (Rs in Crores)

Answer the following questions by looking at the graph:

- Which was the largest producing sector in 1973-74?
- Which was the largest producing sector in 2013-2014?
- Fill in the blank:

The total value of production of goods and services in India increased approximately \_\_\_\_\_ times between 1973-74 and 2013-14.

(The data for 2013-14 has been adjusted for prices, which means that both for 1973-74 and 2013-14 the GDP values can be compared. Both have been expressed in terms of prices existing in the same reference/ base year).

## How do we estimate GDP?

People engaged in various economic activities in the above sectors produce a large number of goods and services. What we desire to find out is: how many goods and services are produced.

With as many as thousands of goods and services being produced, you might think this is an impossible task. Not only would the task be enormous, you might also wonder how we can add up the total numbers of cars, computers, mobile phone service, baskets and pots. It won't make sense!

To get around this problem, economists suggest that the value of goods and services should be used rather than adding up the actual numbers. For example, if 10,000 kilograms of paddy are sold at Rs. 25 per kg, the total value of paddy will be Rs. 2,50,000. The value of 5000 coconuts at Rs. 10 per coconut will be Rs. 50,000. Is it necessary to count every good (or service) that is produced and sold? How do we estimate the total value of goods and services?

Take, for instance, a farmer who sells paddy to a rice mill for Rs. 25 per kg. She sells 100 kilograms of paddy. Let us assume that she did not have to buy any seeds. The total value of paddy produced by her is Rs. 2500. The rice mill takes out rice and sells (i) 80 kilograms of rice to the hotelier for Rs. 40 per kg and (ii) 20 kilograms of husk at Rs. 20 per kg. The total value of goods produced by the rice miller is:  $(80 \times 40) + (20 \times 20) = \text{Rs. } 3600$ . This is what the hotelier pays the rice

miller. The hotelier makes *idli*, *dosa* and husk is used as a fuel by him. The hotel owner, by using rice and husk, makes out Rs. 5000 from the sale of *idli*, *dosa*.

**Total value of goods sold at each stage:**

Stage 1 (sale of paddy by farmer to rice mill owner)	Rs. 2500
Stage 2 (sale of rice and husk by rice mill owner to hotelier)	Rs. 3600
Stage 3 (sale of <i>idli</i> , <i>dosa</i> )	Rs. 5000

- Discuss: To find out the total value of goods produced, should we add them up?

Goods such as paddy, rice and husk in this example are at the intermediary stages. They are not being used by the final consumer. They are used as inputs to make the final good, which in this example is *idli* and *dosa*. If one were to add the value of all the physical inputs in between plus the value of the final goods, we would be double counting. The value of final goods already includes the value of all the in between or intermediate goods that are used in making the final good. At each stage, the producer paid for these inputs produced by someone before. Hence, the value of Rs. 5000 worth of hotel items sold by hotelier (final good) already includes Rs. 3600, the value of rice and husk used as physical inputs. This was not made by the hotelier but he only purchased them from the rice miller. Similarly, the rice and husk produced by the miller at Rs. 3600 already includes the value of physical input paddy (Rs. 2500) purchased by him. He did not produce paddy. The farmer produced this in stage 1. To count the value of the rice and paddy separately means counting the value of the same things a number of times - first as paddy, then as rice and husk and finally as *idli* and *dosa*.

The good becomes final if it is not used further in producing goods to be sold. In the above example, if the rice had been bought by a family for their consumption, this would be the final point. *Idli* and *dosa* would be made by the family for themselves and not as goods to be sold.

....But I should be paid the full value of the wheat that I produce !



- In the above example, paddy or rice is the intermediate good and *idli* is the final good. The following are a few goods we consume in our daily lives. List some of the intermediate goods against each one.

Final good	Intermediate goods
Notebook	
Car	
Computer	

Another way of looking at these stages is to focus only on the value added at every step by the producer of the good. To find out the value added by the producer to the physical inputs purchased by him, we will relook at the above example:

**Stage 1** (sale of paddy by farmer to rice miller) = Value Added Rs. 2500 (obtained by deducting input value zero from product value Rs. 2500)

**Stage 2** (sale of rice and husk by rice miller to hotelier) = Value Added Rs. 3600 (obtained by deducting input value of Rs. 2500 from product value Rs. 3600)

**Stage 3** (sale of *idlis, dosas*) = Value Added Rs. 1400 (Obtained by deducting input value of Rs. 3600 from product value Rs. 5000)

Total Value Added (stage wise) = 2500 + 1100 + 1400 = 5000

- Discuss: Why do both methods give the same result?

It makes sense only to include the value added at each stage or to take the value of final goods and services. The value of final goods and services produced in each sector during a particular year provides the total production of the sector for that year. And the sum of production in the three sectors gives what is called the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of a country. It is the value of all final goods and services produced within a country during a particular year.

You might have noticed that the GDP figures are given for the year 2013-14. This means the figures are pertaining to April 2013 to March 2014. This period is also called the financial year.

GDP records the market value of all final goods and services produced. But there are many items that are not sold/ purchased in the market. One important example is the work that is done at home like cooking, cleaning, organizing, bringing up children, tending to plants and cattle etc. In most instances, these do not involve any monetary transaction and therefore remain outside the GDP measure, though they are extremely important for the economy. Also, the unpaid work is done mostly by women even today, in India and across the globe.

- The value of GDP is given in the following table. Compute the growth rate of GDP as shown for 2010-11.

Year	GDP (in rupees crores)	Percentage change in GDP over the previous year	= Growth Rate of GDP
2009-10	45,16,000	-	-
2010-11	49,37,000	$[(49,37,000 - 45,16,000) / 45,16,000] \times 100$	= 9.32 %
2011-12	52,48,000		
2012-13	55,05,000		

## **Changes in the importance of sectors - value of goods and services produced and employment of people**

So far, we know how the size of GDP has increased over the years, as more and more goods and services are produced. It is essential to know how this increase took place and what kind of activities contributed more to this growth of GDP. It has been noted that many of the now developed countries had agriculture and other allied activities as the most important contributor of GDP during the initial stages of development.

As the methods of farming changed and agriculture sector began to prosper, it produced much more food than before. Many people could now take up other activities, as essential food requirements were met by other producers. There were increasing number of craft-persons and traders. Buying and selling activities increased many times, further increasing the demand for goods and services. Besides, rulers employed large number of people as administrators, army etc. However, at this stage, in an overall context, most of the goods produced were from agriculture and related sector and most people were also employed in this sector.

Recall what you have read about the industrial revolution in the earlier classes. As new methods of manufacturing were introduced, factories came up and started expanding. Those people who had earlier worked on farms now began to work in factories in large numbers. People began to use many more goods. There was mass production by factories at much lower rates and these goods reached the markets all over the world. For these countries, industrial production gradually became the most important sector, both in the total production of goods and services and also in the employment of people. Hence, over time, a shift took place. This means that the importance of the sectors had changed. The industrial sector became the dominant sector and the importance of the agriculture sector both for employment and production declined.

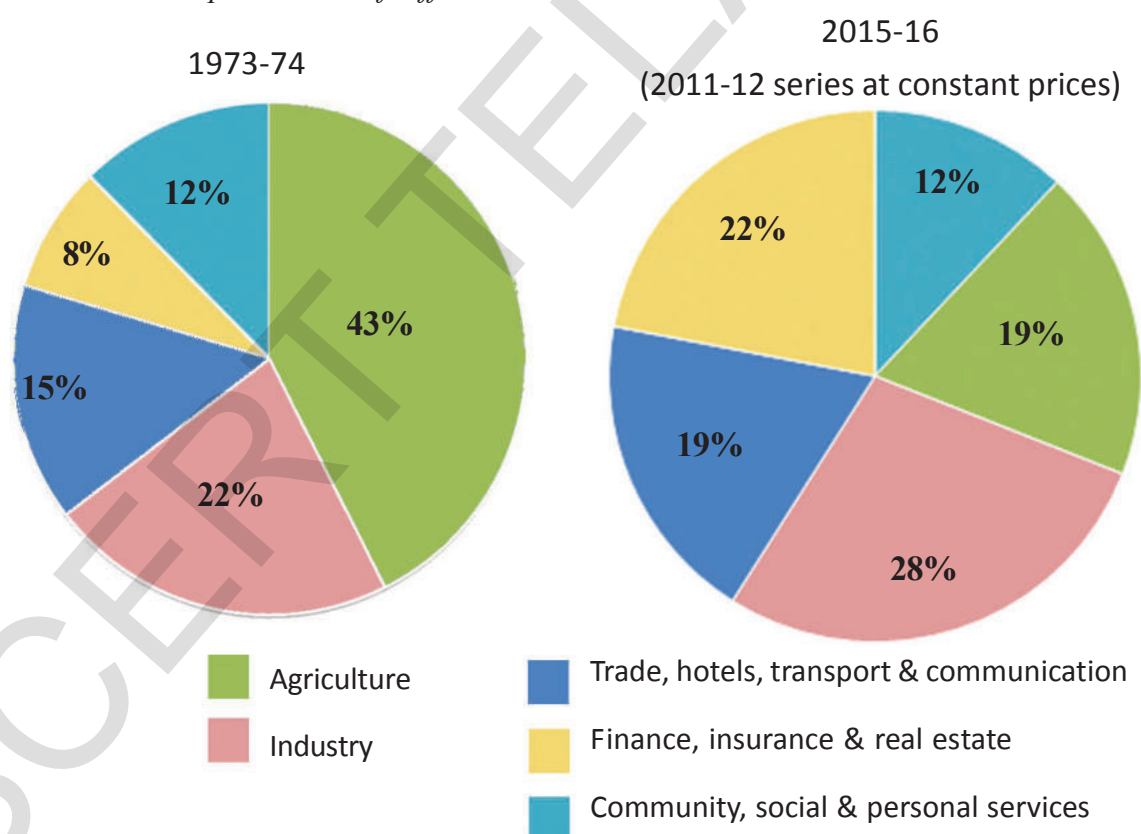
In the past 50 years, there has been a further shift from industry to service sector for developed countries. The service sector has become the most important sector in terms of total production. Most of the working people have also made a shift and are now employed in the service sector and most of the production activities are those of services and not manufactured goods. This is the general pattern observed in developed countries. Is a similar pattern observed in India too?

Look at the following 2 pie charts on the next page. The contribution of various activities to GDP has been presented for two financial years – 1973-74 and 2013-2014. The circle or the pie represents the GDP in the given year. GDP is made up of production from the three sectors – agriculture, industry and services. Services, in turn, are seen to comprise of three types.

What do services comprise of?	
Community, social and personal services	Public Administration, Defence, Education, Health, Veterinary activities, Media, Library, archives, museums and other cultural activities etc.
Finance, insurance and real estate	Services of banks, post-office savings accounts, non-bank financial companies, Life Insurance and General Insurance Corporation, services of brokers and real estate companies etc.
Trade, hotels, transport and communication	

- Can you find out some examples of trade, hotels, transport and communication?

Graph 2: Share of different sectors in Gross Domestic Product



During the 43-year period, the output share of agriculture sector has fallen drastically. There was a small increase in the share of industrial output in GDP. In contrast to this, there is a tremendous increase in the share of service activities - two out of three sub-sectors of service activities have expanded.

## Employment – the working life in India

The Gross Domestic Product of a country has a close relationship with the total number of working people in that country. In every country, as population increases, it is essential that the country provides opportunities for those who are looking for work. Unless people get jobs to earn, how do they get food and other fulfill their requirements?

According to the Census of India 2011, out of 1210 million persons in India, 460 million people are workers i.e. people engaged in some productive activities. The following table shows some basic facts about workers in India:

**Table: 1 Distribution of Workers in India, 2012-2013 (%)**

Sector	Place of Residence		Sex		All workers
	Rural	Urban	Male	Female	
Agriculture Sector	67	9	44	63	49
Industry Sector	16	31	26	20	24
Services Sector	17	60	30	17	27
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Read the above table and fill in the blanks:

- Majority of workers in agriculture are living in \_\_\_\_\_ areas.
- Most \_\_\_\_\_ workers are employed in agriculture sector. Only a small section of \_\_\_\_\_ is in the industrial sector.
- More than 90% of the urban workers are getting employment in \_\_\_\_\_ and \_\_\_\_\_ sectors.
- Compared to males, female workers are getting employment in \_\_\_\_\_ and \_\_\_\_\_ sectors only to a small extent.

Unfortunately in India, while there has been a change in the share of the three sectors in GDP, a similar shift has not taken place in employment. Graph 3 shows the share of employment in the three sectors in 1973-74 and 2015-16. The agriculture sector continues to be the largest employer even now. Why didn't employment shift out of agriculture sector? It is because not enough jobs were created in the industry and service sectors.

More than half of the workers in the country are working in the agriculture sector, producing only one-sixth of the GDP. In contrast to this, the industry and service sectors produce three-fourth of the GDP whereas they employ only about half the proportion of workers. Does this mean that the workers in agriculture are not producing as much as they could?

It means that there are more people in agriculture but everyone may not be fully occupied. So, even if a few people move out, production will not be affected. In this way, more number of people are engaged than required in agriculture. This is called as disguised unemployment.

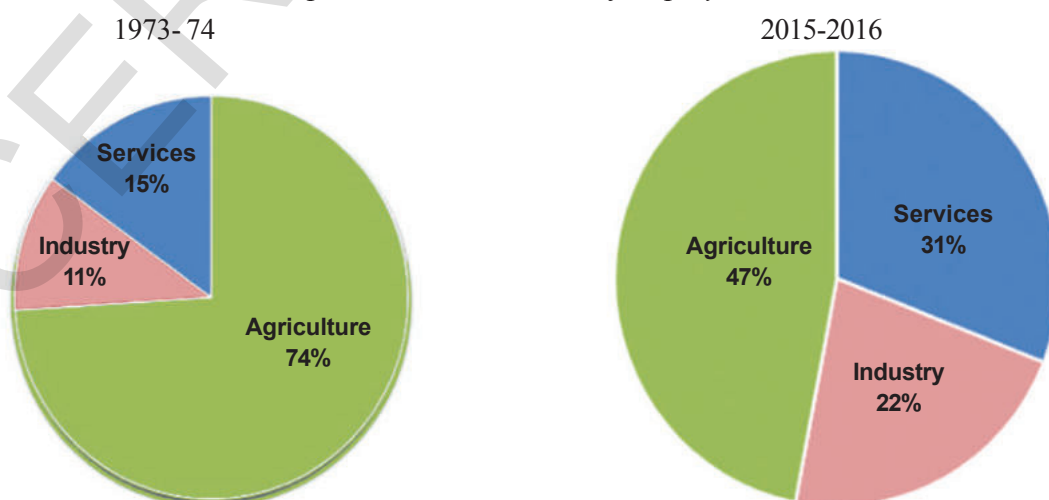
Take the case of a small farmer, Gayathri, who owns about two hectares of unirrigated land, dependent only on rain and growing crops like jowar and redgram. All five members of her family work on the plot throughout the year. Why? They have nowhere else to go for work. You will see that everyone is working, none remains idle, but in actual fact, their labour effort gets divided. Each one is doing some work but no one is fully employed. This is the situation of people who are underemployed, where people are apparently working but all of them are made to work less than their potential. This kind of underemployment is hidden in contrast to someone who does not have a job and is clearly visible as unemployed.

Supposing, a landlord hires one or two members of the family to work on his land. Gayathri's family is now able to earn some extra income through wages. Since you do not need five people to look after that small plot, two people moving out does not affect production on their farm. In the above example, two people may move to work in a factory, or trade. Once again, the earnings of the family would increase and they would also continue to produce as much from their land.

There are lakhs of farmers like Gayathri in India. This means that even if several people from agricultural sector are provided with proper work elsewhere, agricultural production will not suffer. The incomes of the people who take up other work would increase the total family income.

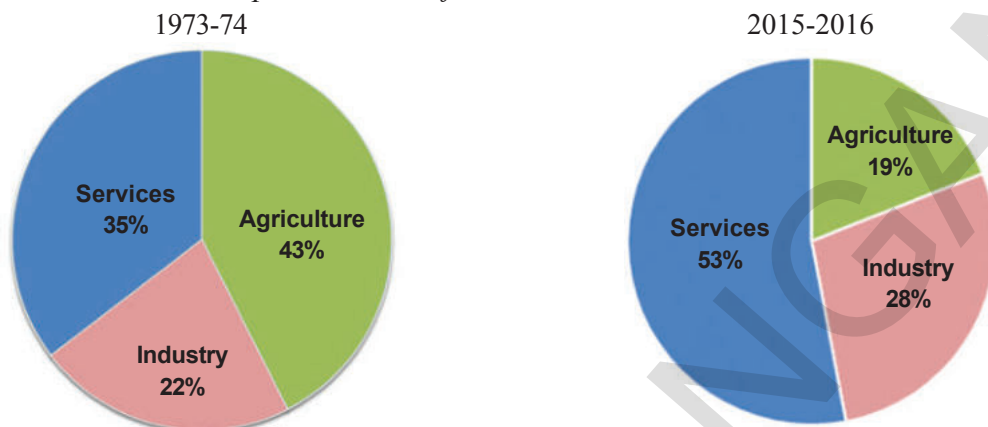
This underemployment can also happen in other sectors. For example, there are thousands of casual workers in the service sector in urban areas who search for daily employment. They are employed as painters, plumbers, repair persons and others doing odd jobs. Many of them don't find work every day. Similarly, we see

*Graph 3 : Sectoral shares of employment*



other people of the service sector on the streets pushing a cart or selling something where they may spend the whole day but earn very little. They are doing this work because they do not have better opportunities.

Graph 4 : Shares of three sectors in GDP



- Look at the above pie charts given and fill in the following table.

Sector	Employment (%)		Gross Domestic Product (%)	
	1973-74	2015-16	1973-74	2015-16
Agriculture				
Industry				
Services				

While service sector has grown, all service sector activities are not growing equally well. Service sector in India employs many different kinds of people. At one end, there are a limited number of services that employ highly skilled and educated workers. At the other end, there are a large number of workers engaged in services such as small shopkeepers, repair persons, transport persons, etc. These people barely manage to earn a living and yet they perform these services because no alternative opportunities for work are available to them. Hence, only a part of this sector is growing in importance.

### Organised and unorganised sector employment in India

So far, we have seen how different sectors contribute to Gross Domestic Product of India and also realised the comparative importance of the three sectors. This helps us to analyse the shifts that take place or don't take place for both production and employment.

For our country, we don't see substantial shift in employment and to explore this, we use another method of classification focusing on the nature of employment. The classification discussed below emphasizes the problems of employment and the associated conditions of work even more starkly.

### Narasimha

Narasimha works in a government office. He attends his office from 9.30 am to 5.30 pm. He uses his motorbike to travel from his house to office which is about 5 kilometres away. He gets his salary regularly at the end of every month deposited in his bank account. In addition to the salary, he also gets provident fund as per the rules laid down by the government. He also gets medical and other allowances. Narasimha does not go to office on Sundays. This is a paid holiday. When he joined work, he was given an appointment letter stating all the terms and conditions of work.



### Rajeshwari

Rajeshwari is working as a construction worker. She goes for work at 7 am and returns home at 7 pm. She travels about 8 to 10 kilometres daily for work by bus. Construction workers get one hour lunch break between 1 pm and 2 pm. She gets work only for 10 to 12 days a month. On the remaining days, she has no work, and she does not get any wages. She gets Rs 150 per day as wages. Mostly she is paid the wages on the spot in the evening. When she works for

three or four days at the same spot, she is paid after the work completes. She gets more work from February to June. July to January is unseasonal. Rajeshwari is a member of a Self Help Group in her locality. The government will pay some compensation in case of death or major injury while she is at work. There is no help from the government for the treatment in accidents while working. She is also a part of a group that works under a mason. There are 6 to 10 workers under each mason.

Narasimha and Rajeshwari are illustrative examples of workers employed in organised and unorganised sectors respectively. Do you see the difference in their conditions of work? The distinction between organised and unorganised sectors helps us to understand the working situation and wages received by the majority of workers in the country. 92 per cent of workers in India are found in unorganised sector and only 8 percent find work in the organised sector.

Organised sector covers those enterprises or places of work where the terms of employment are regular and therefore, people have assured work. They are registered by the government and have to follow its rules and regulations which are given in various laws such as the Factories Act, Minimum Wages Act, Shops and Establishments Act etc. It is called organised sector because it has some formal processes and procedures. Workers in the organised sector enjoy security of employment. They are expected to work only for a fixed number of hours. If they work more, they have to be paid overtime by the employer. They also get several other benefits from the employers. They get paid leave, payment during holidays, provident fund etc. They are supposed to get medical benefits and under the laws, the employer has to ensure facilities like drinking water and a safe working environment. When they retire, many of these workers get pensions as well. People who work in the government or with companies or large establishments are all in the organised sector.

The unorganised sector is characterised by small and scattered units which have remained largely outside the control of the government. There are rules and regulations but these are not followed or enforced. Jobs here are low-paid and not regular. There is no provision for overtime, paid leave, holidays, leave due to sickness etc. Employment is not secure. People can be asked to leave without any reason. When there is less work during some seasons, some people may be asked to leave. A lot also depends on the whims of the employer or changes in the market situation.

Besides the above mentioned categories this sector includes a large number of people who are employed on their own – self employed. Almost half the workers are self employed. You would find them everywhere, doing small jobs such as selling in the streets or doing repair work or as hawkers. Similarly, farmers are largely self employed and also hire labourers as and when they require.

The organised sector offers jobs that are most sought-after. But the employment opportunities in the organised sector have been expanding very slowly. As a result, a large number of workers are forced to enter the unorganised sector jobs which pay a very low salary. They are often exploited and not paid a fair wage. Their earnings are low and not regular. When workers lose their jobs in the organised sector, they are forced to take up jobs in the unorganised sector with low earnings. Besides the need for more work, there is also a need for protection and support of the workers in the unorganised sector.

Who are these vulnerable people who need protection? In the rural areas, the unorganised sector mostly comprises of landless agricultural labourers, small and marginal farmers, sharecroppers and artisans (such as weavers, blacksmiths, carpenters and goldsmiths). Nearly 80 per cent of rural households in India are in small and marginal farmer category. These farmers need to be supported through adequate facilities for timely delivery of seeds, agricultural inputs, credit, storage

facilities and marketing outlets. As farm labourers, they require adequate work and payment of minimum wages.

In the urban areas, unorganised sector comprises mainly of workers in small-scale industry, casual workers in construction, trade and transport etc. and those who work as street vendors, head load workers, garment makers, rag pickers etc. Small-scale industry also needs government's support for procuring raw material and marketing of output. The casual workers in both rural and urban areas need to be protected.

We also find that majority of workers from scheduled castes, tribes and backward communities find themselves in the unorganised sector. It is worse if one is a woman from these communities. Besides getting the irregular and low paid work, these workers also face social discrimination. Protection and support to the unorganised sector workers is thus necessary for both economic and social development.

Let's examine both the production of goods and services and employment from these sectors. The unorganised sector also contributes to GDP. During 2004-05, the unorganised sector workers accounted for 92 per cent of all workers that contributed half of all production. On the other hand, only 8% of people had a decent employment and contributed 50% of the production of goods and services. The products and services of these companies find a market but they support a very small section of the population with privileged jobs. This is an extremely unequal situation. The rest find only insecure low paying jobs or are self employed with low earnings or remain underemployed.

**Table 2 Contribution of organised and unorganised sectors**

Sector	Contribution (% of total)	
	Employment	Gross Domestic Product
Organised	8	50
Unorganised	92	50
Total	100	100

### How to create more and better conditions of employment?

A large number of people should have found a decent employment in industry and services but this has not taken place. Production (in industry and services) has increased without a similar increase in employment. When we look at how people are employed, we find that most people are in the unorganised sector, barely able to find work. The increase in production is benefitting only about 8% of workers. Hence, in what ways can one increase employment for all people? Let us look at some of them.

Take the case of Gayathri with her two-hectare plot of unirrigated land. The government can spend some money or banks can provide a loan to construct a well for her family to irrigate the land. Gayathri will then be able to irrigate her land and take a second crop, wheat, during the rabi season. Let us suppose that one hectare (2.5 acres) of wheat can provide employment to two people for 50 days (including sowing, watering, fertiliser application and harvesting). So, two more members of the family can be employed in her own field. Now suppose many small dams are constructed and canals are dug to irrigate many such farms. This could lead to a lot of employment generation within the agricultural sector itself reducing the problem of underemployment.

Now, suppose Gayathri and other farmers produce much more than before. They would also need to sell some of this. For this they may be required to transport their products to a nearby town. If the government invests some money in transportation and storage of crops, or makes better rural roads so that mini-trucks reach everywhere several farmers like Gayathri who now have access to water, can continue to grow and sell these crops. This activity can provide productive employment to not just farmers but also others such as those in services like transport or trade.

Gayathri's need is not confined to water alone. To cultivate the land, she also needs seeds, fertilisers, agricultural equipments and pumpsets to draw water. Being a poor farmer, she cannot afford many of these. So she will have to borrow money from moneylenders and pay a high rate of interest. If the local bank gives her credit at a reasonable rate of interest, she will be able to buy all these in time and cultivate her land. This means that along with water, we also need to provide cheap agricultural credit to the farmers for farming to improve.

Another way by which we can tackle this problem is to identify, promote and locate industries and services in semi-rural areas where a large number of people may be employed. For instance, many farmers decide to grow millets and other cereals. Setting up a flour mill to procure and process these and sell in the cities is one such example. Opening a cold storage could give an opportunity for farmers to store their products like chillies and onions and sell them when the price is good. In villages near forest areas, we can start honey collection centres where people can come and sell wild honey. It is also possible to set up industries that process vegetables and agricultural produce like tomato, chillies, mango, rice, red gram, fruits, which can be sold in outside markets. This will provide employment in industries located in semi-rural areas and not necessarily in large urban centres.

Today, we not only have to generate new employment opportunities but also train many workers to work efficiently and with machines. We should invest in many industries, in both rural and semi-urban areas, so that we are able to produce many more goods and services.

### Keywords

Gross Domestic Product

Final goods

Employment shifts

Organised and unorganised sector

### Improve your learning

1. Do you think the classification of economic activities into primary, secondary and services sectors is useful? Explain how. (AS<sub>1</sub>)
2. For each of the sectors that we came across in this chapter, why should one focus on employment and GDP? Could there be other issues which should be examined? Discuss. (AS<sub>4</sub>)
3. How is the service sector different from other sectors? Illustrate with a few examples. (AS<sub>1</sub>)
4. What do you understand by underemployment? Explain with one example each from the urban and rural areas. (AS<sub>1</sub>)
5. The workers in the unorganised sector need protection on the following issues: wages, safety and health. Explain with examples. (AS<sub>1</sub>)
6. A study in Ahmedabad found that out of 15,00,000 workers in the city, 11,00,000 worked are in the unorganised sector. The total income of the city in this year (1997-1998) was Rs 6000 crores. Out of this, Rs 3200 crores was generated in the organised sector. Present this data as a table. What are the ways for generating more employment in the city? (AS<sub>3</sub>)
7. Read the 4<sup>th</sup> para of page 33, i.e. “In the past 50 years, ..... observed for developed countries”. (AS<sub>2</sub>)

Is a similar pattern observed for India? Give your opinion.

8. Observe the 'pie' graphs given in page 34 and answer the following questions. (AS<sub>3</sub>)
- i) In the year 2015-16, in G.D.P. share of which sectors are increased when compared to the year 1973-74?
  - ii) How much the share of agricultural sector in GDP is decreased in the year 2015-16 when compared to the year 1973-74.
9. What points are to be considered while estimating gross domestic product? (AS<sub>1</sub>)
10. Discuss the changes in shares of different sectors in GDP. (AS<sub>1</sub>)
11. Analyse the role of unorganised sector in GDP. (AS<sub>1</sub>)

**Freak weather offshoot of climate change: Experts**

Intermittent showers in Hyderabad have bewildered Meteorological officials, while climate change experts said it is increasingly becoming difficult to predict future weather events in the country. For the last two years, we have noticed that the weather systems are behaving in a peculiar way resulting in unusual weather events.

After observing such unforeseen situations like extreme summer in the country, sudden hailstorm in Chevella region of Ranga Reddy district, cloudbursts in Uttarakhand and early onset of southwest monsoon and a late retreat, experts say that weather systems are behaving in a peculiar way.

Ongole received 341 mm rainfall in one day, which is more than one-third of the state's total annual rainfall. The heavy showers across the state have damaged several acres of crops, particularly cotton. But in a good news, 75% of the around 80,000 tanks in Andhra Pradesh are full now.

*(adapted from Oct 25, 2013 Times of India)*

- Collect some more similar newspaper reports.

Are these indicators of some change or just a variation that happens once in a long time? Invite some meteorological officials or college faculty to discuss these developments.

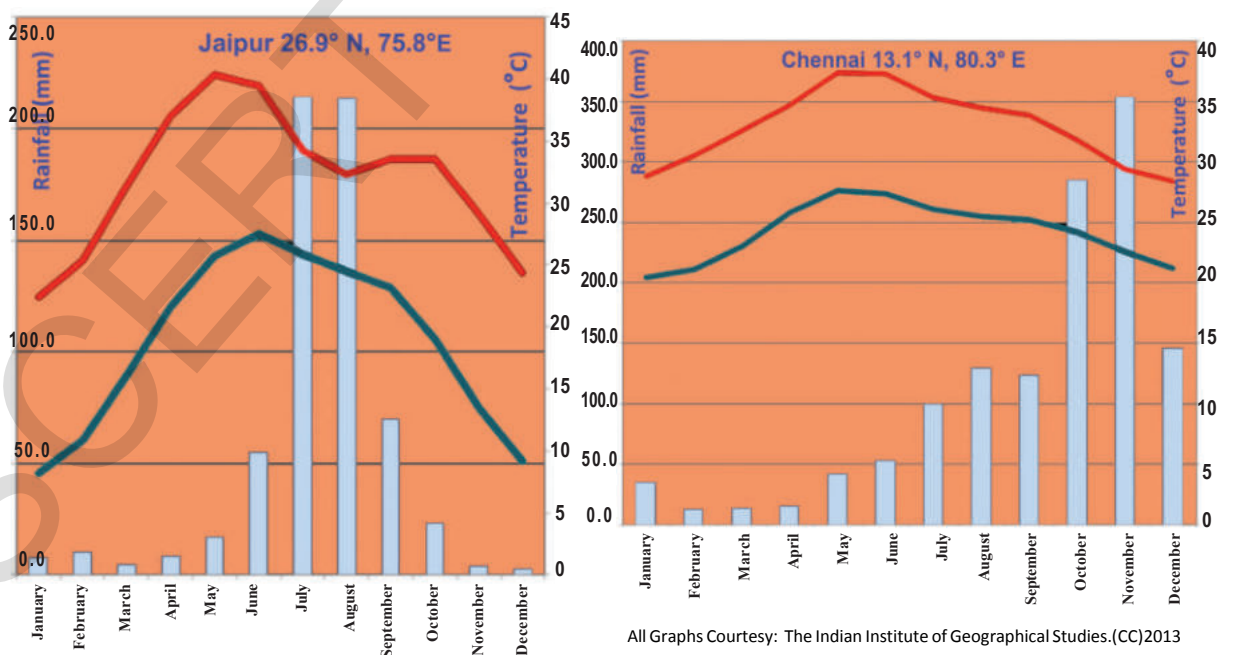
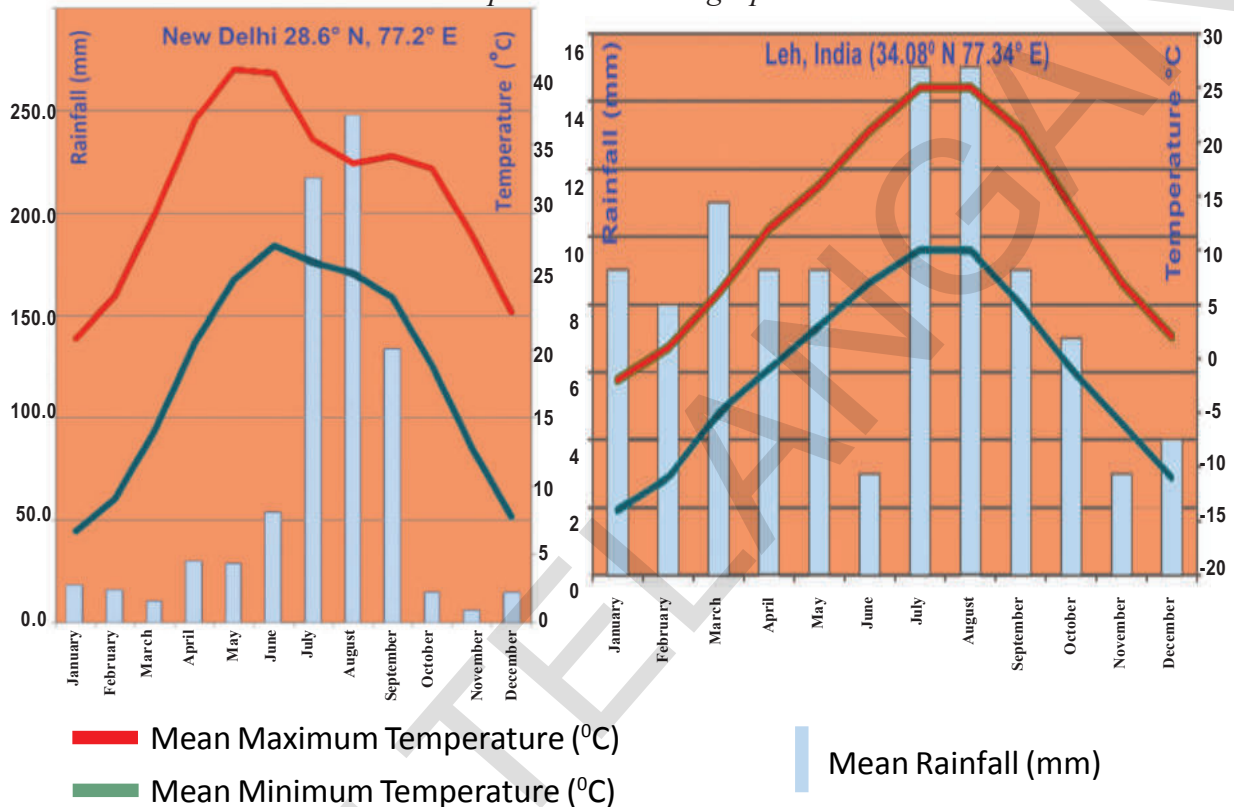
**Climate and Weather**

The state of atmospheric conditions of elements like sunshine, temperature, atmospheric pressure, winds, humidity, clouds and precipitation over an area at a particular time refers to weather. These weather conditions fluctuate very often even in a short period. Climate refers to such conditions over a large area and follows a similar general pattern over 30 or more years. There will be variations from year to year but the basic pattern remains the same. On the basis of these generalised conditions, the year is divided into seasons. The pattern of the elements of weather and climate for a place can be shown using pictures called climographs or climatographs. Climographs show average monthly values of maximum temperature, minimum temperature and rainfall for a given place.

## Climographs of a few places in India.

The climographs below show that temperature and rainfall vary in different parts of the country. Refer to your atlas and identify the relief region where these places are located. Also, read the graphs below and fill the table on following page.

Graph 1 to 4 : Climographs



All Graphs Courtesy: The Indian Institute of Geographical Studies.(CC)2013

Place	Relief region	Range of maximum temperature, during the year	Range of minimum temperature, during the year	Name the wettest month and the rainfall (mm) for that month	Name the driest month and the rainfall (mm) for that month
Jaipur					
Leh					
New Delhi					
Chennai					

Range of Temperature: From highest value to lowest value

- What are the warmest and coldest months in Leh?
- From the range of temperatures in the above table, say whether Jaipur is, in general, hotter than Leh. Explain your answer.
- Compare the climate of Delhi and Chennai. How are they different?
- Read carefully the rainfall pattern for Leh. In what ways is this different from the others? From your atlas, can you find out some other places in the world that have similar rainfall pattern.
- Identify the wet months for Chennai. How is this different from Jaipur?

### Factors influencing climate and weather

It has been observed that for some places (e.g. Chennai), there is not much difference in the temperature across months. Some places (e.g. Delhi) have wide differences in temperature across the months. India experiences wide variations in temperature. The northern portion is bound by the Himalayas whereas southern peninsula is surrounded by seas. Some places are far from the coasts; they are inland. Some places are at high altitude, whereas others are on the plains. The factors that affect climate are called climatic controls. These include:

1. Latitude
2. Land-water relationship
3. Relief
4. Upper air circulation

#### 1. Latitude or distance from the equator

The average temperatures for the year drops as you go further away from the equator. For this reason, we divide the regions on Earth as:

- Tropical, as those close to the Equator;
- Polar, as those close to the poles;
- Temperate, as those in between these two extremes.

If we compare the climate of, say, Indonesia and Japan, we can understand the differences. The reason for their difference is the differential heating of Earth that

you read about in earlier classes. Intensity of temperature depends on the latitude. The temperature of the atmosphere at a particular place near the Earth's surface

- Using a globe recall and discuss what you may have read earlier. How does the angle of sun vary at different latitudes? What impact does this have?

depends upon the insolation (heat from sun rays) received at that location. This is more intense in the low latitudes than in the high latitudes. As we move away from the equator towards the poles, the average annual temperature decreases.

In India, the southern part lies in the tropical belt closer to the equator. Therefore, this region has higher average temperature than the northern part. This is one reason for the climate of Kanyakumari being entirely different from Bhopal or Delhi. India is situated roughly between  $8^{\circ}$  and  $37^{\circ}$  N latitudes and the country is divided into almost two equal parts by the Tropic of Cancer. The part that is on the south of the Tropic of Cancer lies in the tropical zone. The part that is on the north of the Tropic of Cancer lies in the temperate zone.

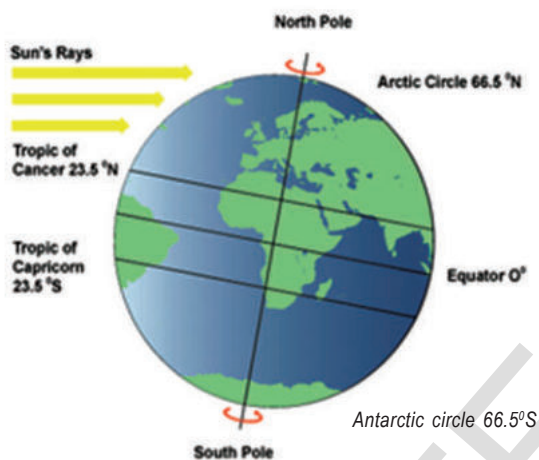


Fig 4.1 : Influence of latitude on climate

## 2. Land water relationship

Look at a map of India showing land cover and water bodies and you will see another important factor which has an influence on climate: the land and water relationship. The amount of sunlight that is first absorbed and then radiated back or directly reflected depends on the nature of the surface. Darker areas such as heavily vegetated regions, tend to be good absorbers; lighter areas, such as snow and ice-covered regions, tend to be good reflectors. The ocean absorbs and loses heat more slowly than land. This affects climate in many ways. One of this is the formation of land and sea breezes. Using Fig 4.2, explain how this happens. Recall from class IX, the connection between pressure and direction of wind.

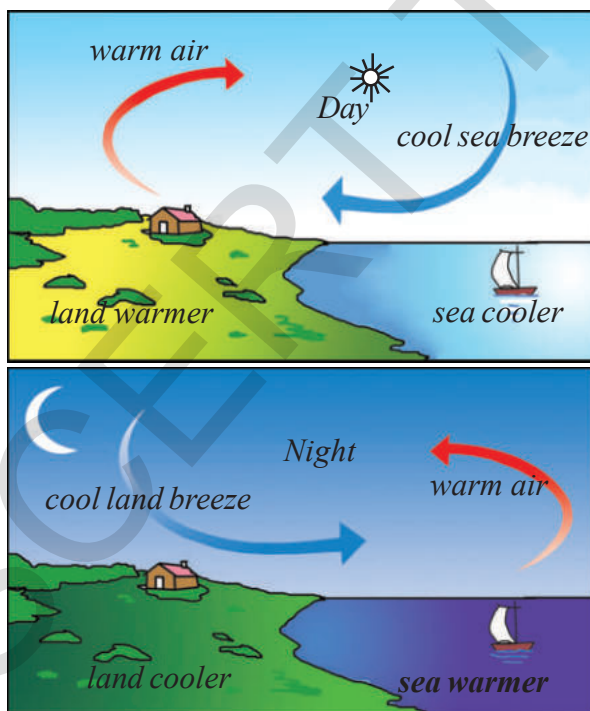


Fig 4.2 : How does this 'moderate' the temperature of such a place?

A large part of southern India, because of its long coast line, comes under the moderating influence of the sea. As such, the difference between the temperature of day and night and that of summer and winter is not much. This is known as equable climate. If we compare similar places on the same latitude and altitude, we can appreciate the effect of the sea.

- Find out the temperatures of Mumbai and Nagpur for winter and summer months and compare them. How are they similar or different? How does it explain the distance from the sea?
- With the help of the climographs, can you explain the differences in temperature for Jaipur and Chennai.

### 3. Relief

You have learnt that temperature decreases as altitude increases. Hence, hills and mountains will have lower temperature than locations on the plain. Therefore, relief or altitude of a region influences the climate of the area. You would have heard about several hill stations of the Himalayan region like Shimla, Gulmarg, Nainital and Darjeeling as places that have a cool climate even during the peak summer months. Similarly, Kodaikanal and Udagamandalam (Ooty) have cooler climate compared to places near the coast.

- Are Shimla and Delhi located on very different latitudes? Check with your atlas. Is Shimla cooler than Delhi during summer?
- Why does Darjeeling have pleasant weather as compared to Kolkata during summer season?

### 4. Upper atmospheric circulation

In the northern hemisphere, subtropical high pressure belt gives rise to permanent winds. They blow toward the equatorial low pressure belt by reflecting towards the west and are called trade winds. The German word 'trade' means 'track' and stands for blowing steadily in the same direction and in a constant course. India lies in the belt of *dry north-east trade winds*.

The climate of India is also affected by the movement of *upper air currents* known as 'jet streams'. These are fast flowing air currents in a narrow belt in the upper atmosphere, above 12,000 m. The speed varies from about 110 km/h in summer to about 184 km/h in winter. An easterly jet stream develops at about 25°N latitude. A jet stream causes the neighbouring atmosphere to cool. This cooling effect of the easterly jet stream causes rain from clouds already found over this latitude (25°N).

### Seasons: Winter

The temperature in the Indian land mass considerably reduces from mid-November and this cold season continues till February. January is usually the coldest month - day temperature sometimes drops below 10°C in several parts of the country. However, the cold weather is more pronounced in northern India. South

India, especially the coastal areas, enjoy a moderate climate as temperature remains well above 20°C.

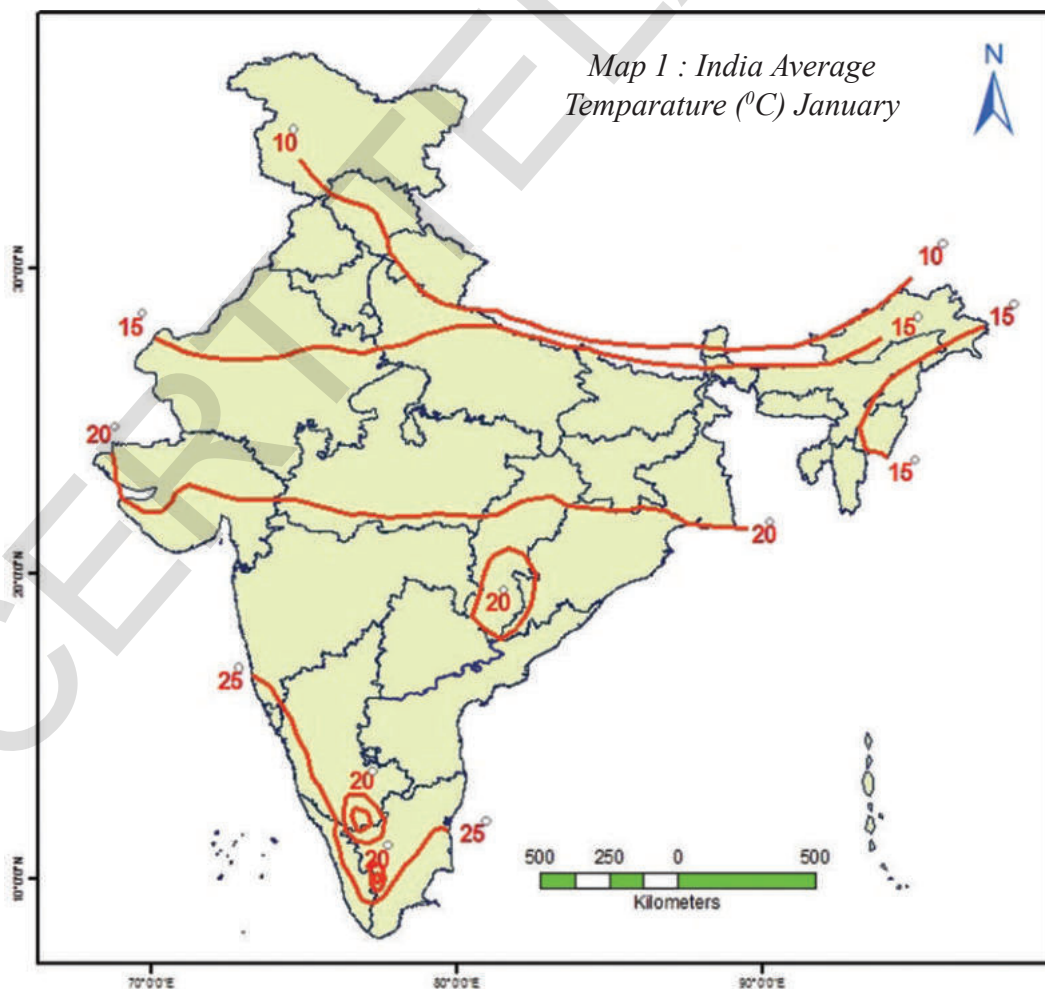
- What would be the range for average temperature in Telangana for January?
- Using your atlas, find some places located on 15°C temperature.
- Close to the line showing places where average temperature is 25°C, there's a small circle of places on 20°C. How is this possible?

The lines in map 1 below indicate places that have the same average temperature for January.

During winter, the weather is generally pleasant with clear sky, low humidity and cool breeze. Cyclone depressions coming from Mediterranean Sea called Western Disturbances cause low to moderate rainfall over northern India. This rainfall

is a boon to wheat crop which is generally cultivated in 'Rabi' season.

India lies in the trade wind belt of Northern Hemisphere – north-east trades blow over India from land to sea and are therefore dry. However, some amount of rainfall occurs on the Coromandel coast of Tamil Nadu from these winds, as they pick up moisture from the Bay of Bengal while crossing it.



## Summer

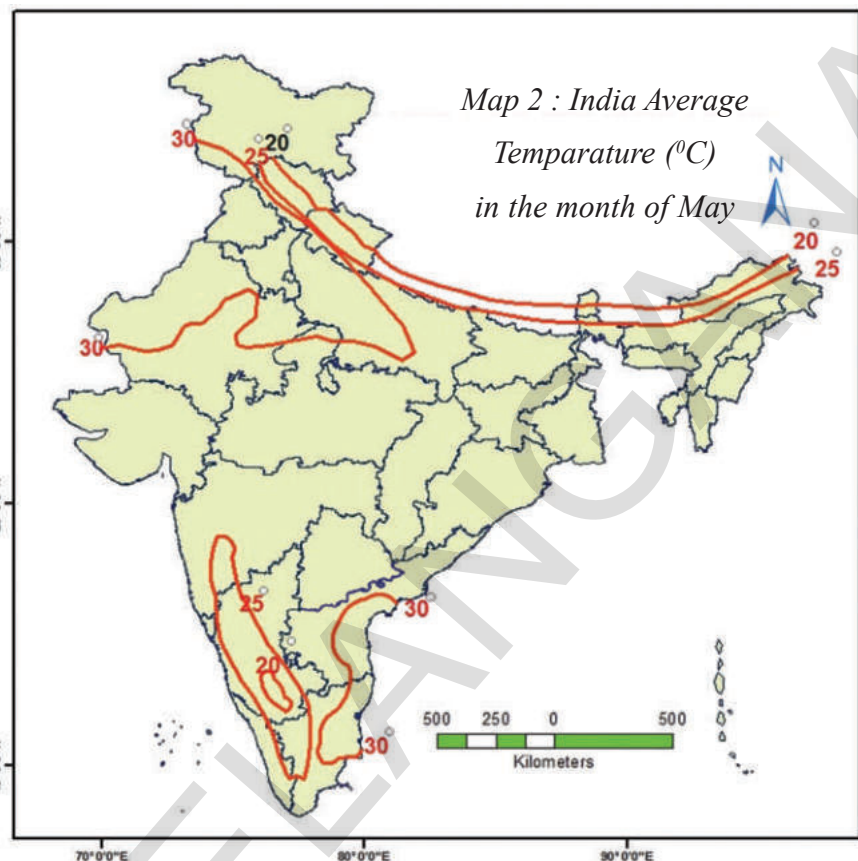
During the hot season, as we move from southern to northern part of the country, the average temperature increases. Starting in April, the temperature rises and slowly the maximum day temperature exceeds  $37^{\circ}\text{C}$  in northern plains of India. By mid-May, the temperature, during the day may touch  $41^{\circ}\text{C}$  to  $42^{\circ}\text{C}$  in many parts of the country, especially in the north-west plains and central India. Even the minimum temperature does not go below  $20^{\circ}\text{C}$ . The northern plain experiences dry and hot winds called 'Loo'.

Towards the end of the summer season, pre-monsoon showers ('bursting monsoon') are common in the Deccan Plateau. These help in the early ripening of mangoes and other plantation crops in peninsular India. Hence, they are locally known as mango showers in Telangana and Andhra Pradesh.

## Advancing monsoon

The climate of India is strongly influenced by the monsoon winds. The sailors who came to India during olden days noticed the regular periodic reversal of winds. They used these winds to sail towards the Indian coast. Arab traders named this seasonal reversal of wind system as 'monsoon'.

The monsoon forms in the tropical area approximately between  $20^{\circ}\text{N}$  and  $20^{\circ}\text{S}$  latitudes. The south-east monsoon winds from the southern hemisphere carry moisture as they flow over the Indian Ocean and towards the equatorial low pressure zones. After crossing the equator, these winds deflect towards the low pressure formed in the Indian sub-continent. The heating of land creates low pressure on the land mass of Indian sub-continent, especially over central India and the Gangetic



- From the climographs (Graph 1-4), note the approximate average temperature for May for the four places and mark them on the above map.

plain. Along with this, the Tibetan plateau gets intensely heated and causes strong vertical air currents and the formation of low pressure over the plateau at above 9 kms altitude.

They then flow as the southwest monsoon. The Indian peninsula divides them into two branches - the Arabian Sea branch and the Bay of Bengal branch. The Bay of Bengal branch strikes the Bengal coast and the southern face of the Shillong plateau. Then, it gets deflected and flows westward along the Gangetic valley. The Arabian Sea branch arrives at the west coast of India and moves north ward. Both the branches reach India by the beginning of June, which is known as the ‘onset of monsoon’. They gradually spread over the entire country in four to five weeks. The bulk of annual rainfall in India is received from south-west monsoon. The amount of rainfall is very high along the west coast due to the Western ghats, and in north-east India due to the high peaked hills. Tamil Nadu coast (Coramandel), however, remains mostly dry during this season as it is in the rain shadow area of the Arabian Sea branch and is parallel to the Bay of Bengal branch.

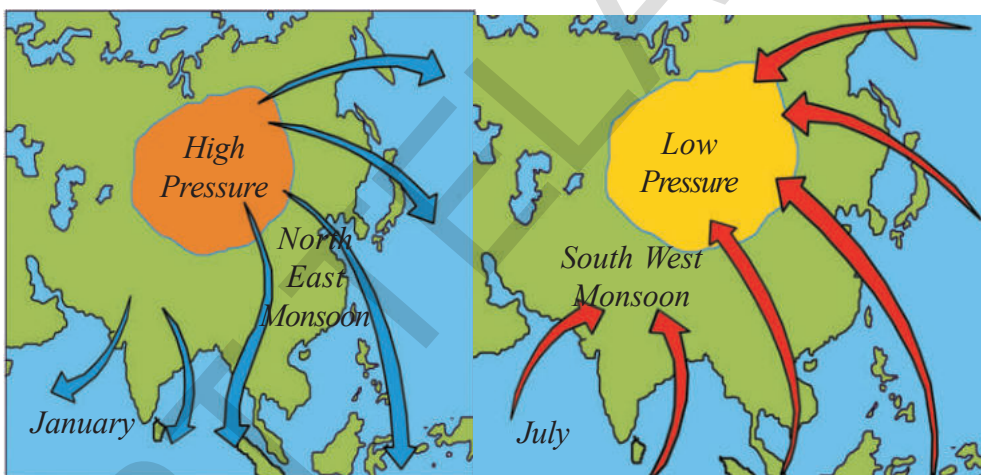


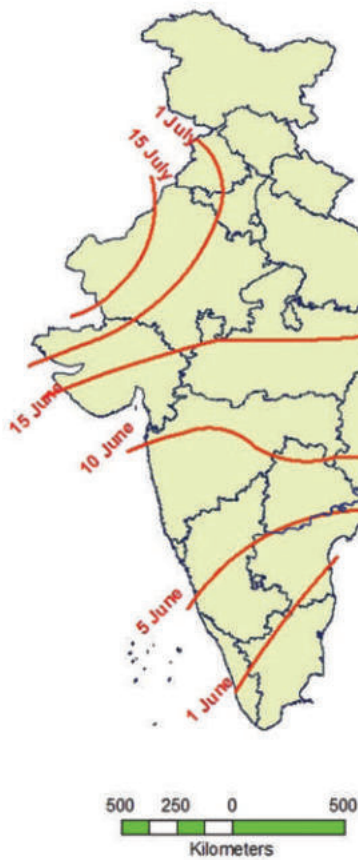
Fig 4.3 : Pressure and monsoon wind

### Retreating Monsoon

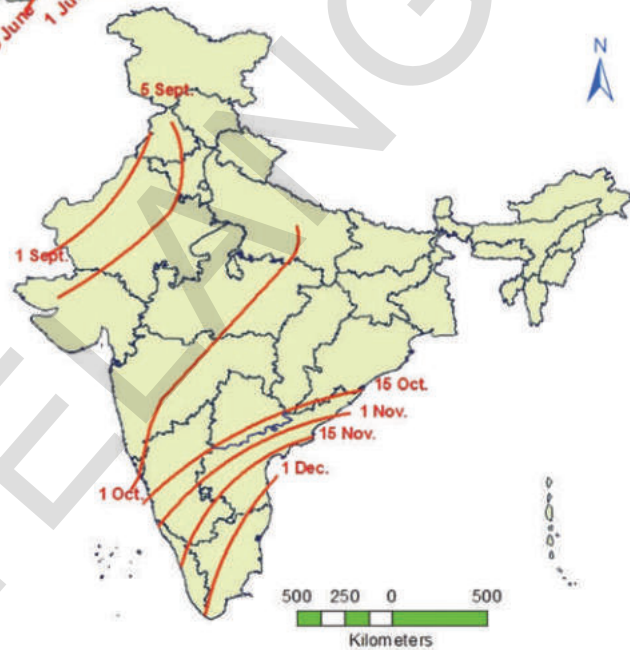
October - November is a period of transition from hot wet conditions to dry winter conditions. The retreat of the monsoons is marked by clear skies and rise in temperature. The land is still moist. Owing to the conditions of high temperature and humidity, the weather becomes rather oppressive. This is commonly known as “October heat”.

The low pressure conditions which once prevailed over north-western India move far South to the centre of the Bay of Bengal by early November. During this period, cyclonic depressions are common which originate over the Andaman area. These tropical cyclones are often very destructive. The thickly populated deltas of the Godavari, Krishna and Cauveri are their targets. No year ever goes disaster free. Occasionally, these tropical cyclones visit Sundarbans and Bangladesh too. Bulk of the rainfall of the Coromandel Coast is derived from depressions and cyclones.

Map 3 : India - Onset of south-west monsoon



Map 4 : India - Withdrawal of south-west monsoon



In the Indian tradition, a year is divided into six two-monthly seasons. This cycle of seasons that people in north and central India follow is based on their practical experience and age-old perception of weather phenomena. There is a slight variation in the timing of the seasons between northern and southern India.

#### Traditional Indian Seasons

Seasons	Months According to the Indian (Lunar) calendar	Months According to the Western(Gregorian) calendar
Vasantha	Chaitra – Vaishakha	March – April
Grishma	Jyestha – Ashadha	May – June
Varsha	Sraavana – Bhadra	July – August
Sharad	Aswayuja – Karthika	September – October
Hemanta	Margashira – Pushya	November – December
Shishira	Magha – Phalguna	January – February

## Global Warming and Climate Change

As Earth started to take its shape from a fire ball to a planet, many gases were released. These gases did not escape into outer space because of the Earth's gravitational pull and it still holds them back. The result? A thin layer of gases surrounds the Earth and provides us several important benefits. For example: the oxygen that we breathe, the ozone that protects us from harmful ultraviolet rays from the sun, the nitrogen that our plants use to make proteins that we need. This layer of gases is the medium through which fresh water is circulated and it also keeps us warm (take a look at the image from Class IX Chapter 4).

Keeping us warm is one of the most important things that the atmosphere does for us. It is like a light, but effective, blanket enveloping Earth. You will recall from Class IX that the atmosphere traps a lot of solar energy that reaches the Earth by preventing it from totally escaping back into space. This is called Green House Effect. This is important and vital for life to survive on this planet. If the Earth did not have this atmosphere, it would be very cold indeed.

However, since the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the planet has been warming up very rapidly. There is an increasing concern about this. Why this concern? After all, Earth has been through many cycles of warming and cooling (in fact, freezing!). So what is so special about it now?

Earlier, cycles of cooling and warming happened over very long periods of time. This allowed most of the life on Earth the time to adapt to the changes. The problem now is that the heating is much more rapid and could lead to catastrophic changes. Much of the warming that has been occurring since the Industrial Revolution is because of human activities. Hence, the current global warming trend is called AGW (Anthropogenic Global Warming; anthropogenic means caused by humans).

More recently, scientists are discovering large volumes of methane under the frozen tundras of the far northern latitudes (mainly in the vast expanses of northern Russia). As global temperature increases, the ice in the tundra melts more. The methane that is trapped under the ice escapes into the atmosphere, increasing the global temperatures. In turn, this causes even more ice to melt, releasing even more methane and so on. Methane is said to be even more powerful than Carbon dioxide as a greenhouse gas.

## AGW and climate change

AGW is causing many changes in the distribution of heat in the Earth system. Remember how atmospheric and oceanic circulations keep re-distributing the heat in the world? AGW disturbs this and the re-distribution system. The disturbance itself is not so much of a problem. It is the rapidity with which it is happening.

When the redistribution system is disrupted, weather and climate patterns change. Long-term changes (climatic changes) happen from accumulations of short-term changes (weather changes).

An international effort to form an agreement whereby all countries try to reduce their emission of greenhouse gases has so far not been achieved. An international organization called Inter-governmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) was formed to address this issue. It has held many conferences to work out a treaty among the nations of the world to reduce AGW and try to slow down the process of climate change. None of these have been successful. The IPCC 2015 Paris Summit came to an agreement to reduce greenhouse gas emissions in order to limit the rise in global average temperature to well below 2°C above pre-industrialisation level. On this agreement total 195 countries signed.

Broadly, the disagreements are between the ‘developed’ countries (mainly industrialised, economically more advanced countries of the West) and ‘developing’ countries (countries that are not as industrialised). Developed countries want developing countries to cut down on burning coal and other activities that add greenhouse gases to the atmosphere. Developing countries argue that developed countries developed precisely by burning fossil fuels when they were developing. Developing countries say that their economic development will be seriously damaged if they don’t burn fossil fuels (mainly coal), and that developed countries should do their fair share of work to help find alternatives that can help the developing countries to progress.

- What is deforestation?
- Does deforestation happen only in forest areas? How about in your local area, even if there are no forests?
- How does deforestation affect global warming? (You will need to recall your study of photosynthesis in your science class.)
- What are some other ways in which human action contributes to global warming?

Most scientists from around the world agree on this much: AGW is real, it is happening, and it is leading to rapid and drastic climate change. They warn that severe weather and other changes will increase in the coming years and threaten life as we know it.

One of the human activities that contribute to global warming is deforestation. Discuss this with your teacher and your classmates and try to answer the questions given above in a few sentences.

## Impact of climate change on India

Though a rise of 2<sup>0</sup> C in average temperature may appear to be small, it would result in a rise of one meter in sea levels by early next century. This would affect large portions of our coastal areas and millions of people would have to be shifted. They would lose their livelihood.

Nearly 200 squatter families living in Nonadanga in east Kolkata for the past few years are in the process of being evicted by the Kolkata Metropolitan Development Authority (KMDA). Many of the families came to Kolkata in search of work, after the 'Aila super-cyclone' ravaged Sundarbans in 2009.

On March 30, the slum was bulldozed amid heavy police presence and some hutments were set on fire. The recurrent thunderstorms over the past few days have meant sleepless and soiled nights for nearly 700 people who have been rendered homeless. They work as house helps, rickshaw pullers and construction labourers.

The other effect would be on rainfall. This is likely to be more erratic and lead to greater imbalances: some places are likely to receive excess rainfall whereas others would get less than normal. Hence droughts and floods are expected to

increase. This would affect the agriculture pattern and people's livelihood to a great extent.

*Fig 4.4 : Impact of Aila : (Top) broken embankment, (Bottom) repairing embankment*



Imagine how one would cope with the situation if millions of people were affected. Where would you find land for resettlement? What jobs would they do?

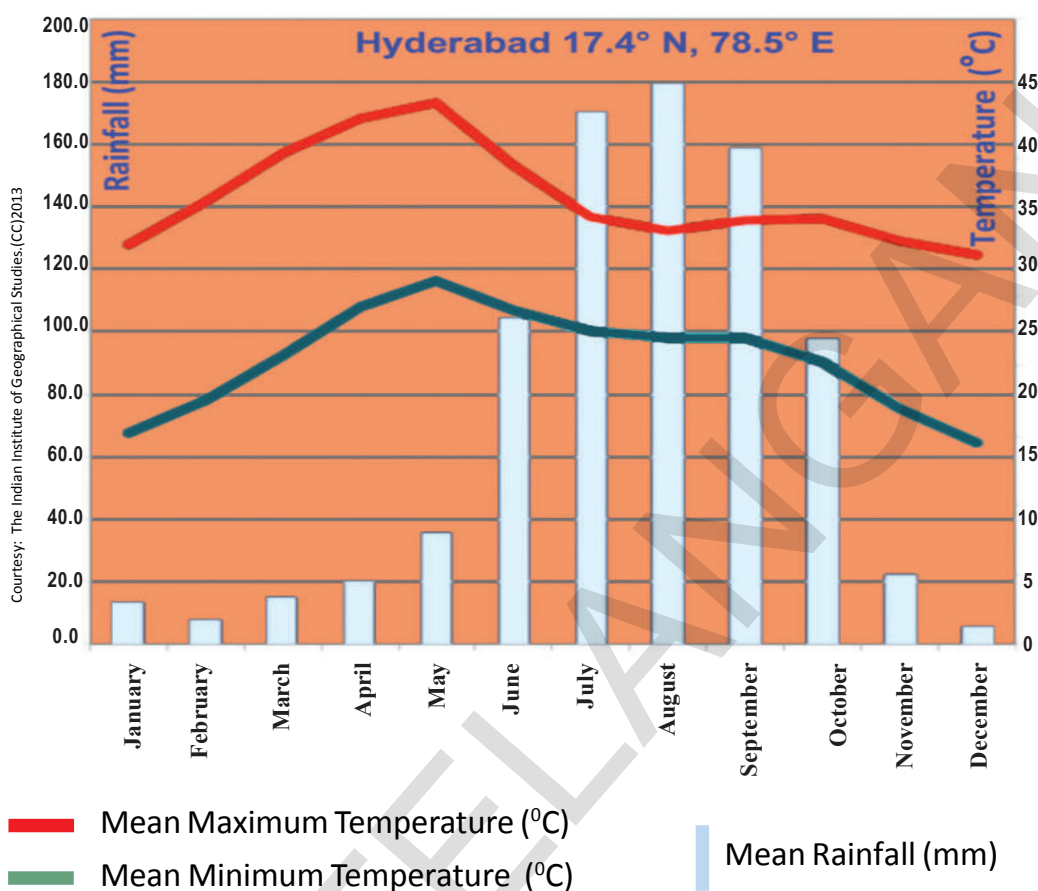
The faster melting of Himalayan glaciers would disturb the livelihood of fresh water fisher folk as their natural habitat of fish is affected. Similarly, freak weather conditions that you read about are likely to increase. Climate change is something that happens at a global level. Therefore, it affects all of us.

## Keywords

Climograph      Weather      Monsoon      Insolation  
Jet Streams      Pressure Zone      Global warming

## Improve your learning

1. Read the following statements and find out whether they are an example of weather or climate (AS<sub>1</sub>)
  - a) During the last few years, many glaciers have melted in Himalayas
  - b) During the last few decades, drought in Vidarbha region has increased
2. Describe India's climate controls. (AS<sub>1</sub>)
3. Write a short note on factors influencing climatic variations in hilly areas and deserts. (AS<sub>1</sub>)
4. How are human activities contributing to global warming? (AS<sub>4</sub>)
5. What are the disagreements between 'developed' and 'developing' countries about AGW? (AS<sub>1</sub>)
6. How is climate change causing global warming? Suggest measures to minimise the influence of the global warming. (AS<sub>4</sub>)
7. Observe the following climograph and answer the following questions. (AS<sub>3</sub>)
  - A. Which month received the highest rainfall?
  - B. Which months experience the highest and the lowest temperature?
  - C. Why does the maximum amount of rainfall happen between June and October?
  - D. Why is the temperature high between March and May?
  - E. Identify relief conditions causing variation in temperature and rainfall.



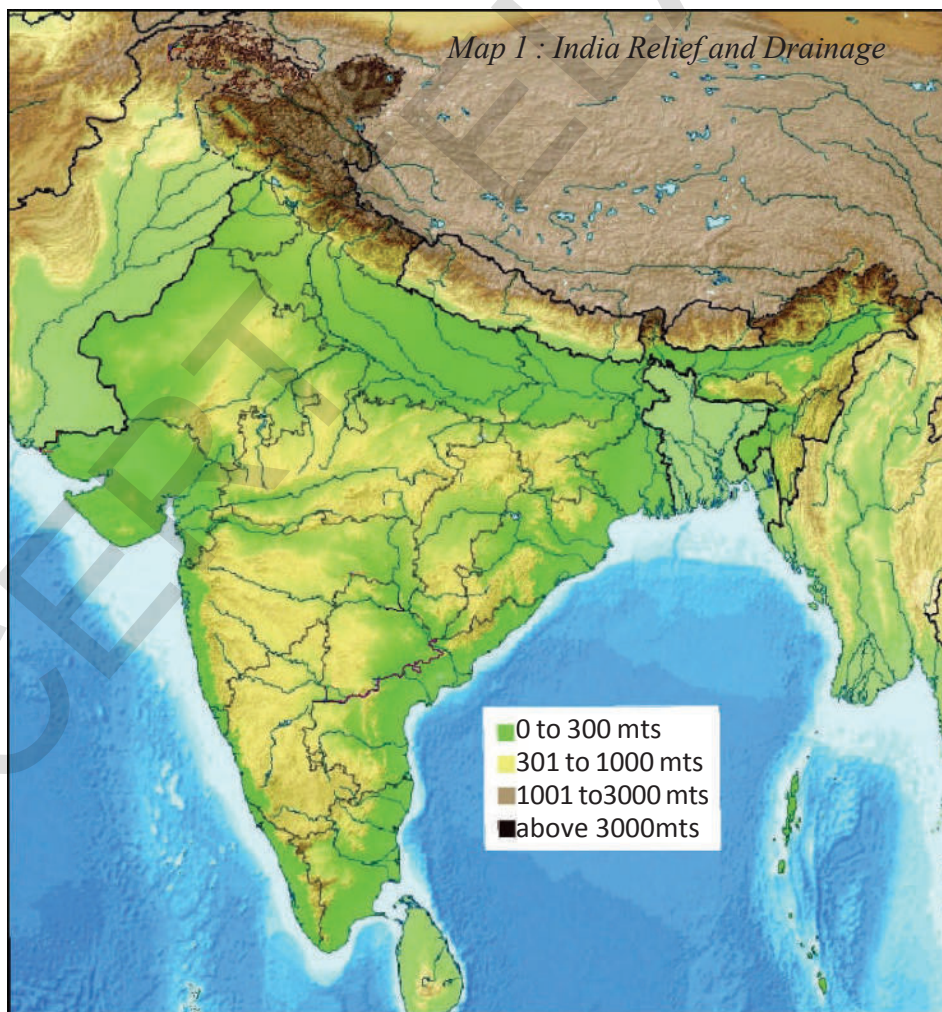
8. Read the 4<sup>th</sup> para of page 53, i.e. “Earlier cycles of ..... because of human activities” and comment on it. (AS<sub>2</sub>)

## Project

- Collect the local proverbs/ sayings related to climate and weather in your region.
  - A Rainbow in the morning is the Sailor’s Warning.
  - A Rainbow at night is the Sailor’s delight.
  - When the dew is on the grass, rain will never come to pass.
- Both the developed and developing countries are releasing Green house gases into atmosphere. As a result, many disasters are happening. Collect information, pictures and discuss, on its sever consequences in classroom.

## Indian Rivers and Water Resources

- On a map of India identify and mark the Himalayas and the Western Ghats.
- Using the colour code, identify the height range in which some of the rivers originate. Using the atlas and the raised relief map, follow the course of these rivers and locate the direction in which they are flowing.
- Discuss: About 5% of the total water on the Earth is used for domestic purposes and yet a large section of the population does not have access to the water.
- 40 million hectares of land in India is flood-prone and an equally large part of the country is also drought prone. What are the causes of this?
- 70% of our surface water resources are polluted. Why?



The drainage system in India has evolved and adjusted itself with the evolution of the three physiographic units: 1) the Himalayas 2) peninsular plateau and 3) the Indo-Gangetic plain. On the basis of its origin, the drainage system in India can be broadly divided into two categories: i) The Himalayan rivers and ii) The Peninsular rivers.

## The Himalayan Rivers

The Himalayan Rivers belong to the three principal systems: the Indus, the Ganga and the Brahmaputra. These rivers originate from almost the same region within few kilometers of each other and are separated by water divides. They first flow parallel to the main axis of the mountains. Then, they take a sudden bend towards the south cutting through the massive mountain chain to reach the north Indian plains. In the process, they have carved out deep 'v' shaped valleys. This is well exhibited by the Indus and the Brahmaputra rivers.

The Himalayan Rivers are perennial. This is because the rivers are supplied on rainfall as well as the melting snow.

### The Indus System

The Indus originates in the northern slopes of the Kailash range in Tibet near Lake Manasarovar. It follows a north-westerly course through Tibet. It enters Indian

- With the help of an atlas trace the course of Indus both in India and Pakistan.

Territory in Jammu and Kashmir. The main tributaries of the Indus in India are Jhelum, Chenab, Ravi, Beas and Sutlej. They cover Jammu and Kashmir, Punjab and Himachal Pradesh states of India.

### The Ganga System

The Ganga has twin sources. The main source is the Gangotri glacier where it is called the Bhagirathi. The other is the Satopanth glacier towards the north-west

- Look at the map of river Ganga (map 2) and name the states which are drained by it.
- From the above map, list out the north-flowing and south-flowing tributaries of the Ganga.

of Badrinath where it is called the Alakananda. The two join at Devprayag to form the Ganga river that emerges from the hills of Haridwar. The Ganga is joined by a

large number of tributaries. A majority of them originate in the Himalayan ranges but some of them have their sources in the peninsular plateau.

### The Brahmaputra System

The Brahmaputra (known as the Tsangpo in Tibet) rises from the snout of the Chemayungdung glacier of the Kailas range near Manasarovar. It flows eastwards through southern Tibet. Near Lhotse Dzong, it opens out into a wide navigable channel for about 640 kms. Thereafter, the river breaks through a succession of rapids. It enters in a great loop southwest through Arunachal Pradesh in India, first as the Siang and then as the Dihang. Emerging into the Assam valley, it is joined by two tributaries-The Dibang and the Lohit. From here, the river is known as the Brahmaputra.



*Map 2 : Ganga joining with Brahmaputra*

## Indian Peninsular Rivers

The Western Ghats are the water divide between the major peninsular rivers, discharging their water in the Bay of Bengal and as small rivulets joining the Arabian Sea. Most of the major Peninsular Rivers, except Narmada and Tapi, flow from west to east. The Chambal, Sind, Betwa, Ken, and Son originating in the northern part of the peninsular, belong to the Ganga river system. The other major river systems of the peninsular drainage are Mahanadi, Godavari, Krishna and Cauveri. Peninsular rivers are characterised by a fixed course, absence of meanders and largely non-perennial flow of water.

The Godavari is the largest peninsular river system. The source of this river is at the Triambak near Nasik in Maharashtra and discharges its water into the Bay of Bengal.

- From the Map and using your atlas, describe the following:

The Godavari originates at \_\_\_\_\_

The Krishna is the second largest east flowing peninsular river which rises near \_\_\_\_\_ .

The Mahanadi rises near Sihawa in Chattishgarh and runs through \_\_\_\_\_

The Narmada originates near \_\_\_\_\_ in Madhya Pradesh.

The Tapi originates from \_\_\_\_\_ and flows \_\_\_\_\_ (fill in the direction of flow)



*Map 3 : Indian Peninsular Rivers*

## Water Use

**Water flowing out via surface flows and groundwater:** Imagine a region such as a village. Some amount of water would flow out of the village as surface flows through streams. During monsoon months, this surface flow would increase substantially. A portion of the rainfall percolates into the soil and travels to the underground strata and re-charges the aquifers. Some of it flows into and becomes available for use through wells and bore wells and a portion of it goes into very deep aquifers that do not become available. Some of the underground water becomes part of flows that eventually appear in streams or rivers.

- Discuss the term “watershed”.

**Water for agriculture:** Water reaches the root zone of crops either through rainfall or the process of irrigation. There’s a capacity of the soil to store moisture. If there’s excess water, such as a flood, and this isn’t able to percolate below, it would damage the roots. On the other hand, in a drought situation, if there isn’t enough moisture in the root zone, the crops will wither/ wilt.

- From the nearest Mandal office, find out the total annual rainfall for your area over the past 5 years.

**Water use for domestic purpose and for animals:** Water used for drinking, cooking, washing, cleaning and for animals is vital. Planning is needed for this component to increase the availability so that a minimum amount is actually made available to all, irrespective of their income.

**Water for industrial use:** Water is required for manufacturing processes and this demand often competes with domestic and agricultural uses. This needs to be taken into account as this conflict is on the increase. The challenge areas that industrial use face are recycling of water and control of pollution.

What is available to a region or a village does not only depend on the inflows but also on what is already available as 'stock' that we use. We often have to keep this distinction between stock and flow clear in our analysis. For example, imagine a tank that is constantly being filled by an inlet pipe and water is also constantly used by an outlet pipe. We can measure the inflow as the amount of water liters/minute and the outflow similarly as the water liters/ min that flows out. The amount of water in the tank keeps varying but at any one moment in time, say at 8.30 am, we can measure the amount in liters. This is the stock of water at that time.

A village may have tanks, ponds, lakes, as surface storages. Most villages in India draw water from wells and tube wells. They are dependent on ground water storage. These inflows and storage are connected. While some of the water flowing in is used directly, one part of this is recharging or replenishing the storage. Similarly, the use of tube wells draws water from storages and lowers the water available in them. Depending on comparative rates of inflow and outflow, we can judge what is happening to the stock of water over many years. The question that we face today is the depletion of ground water storages and a tendency not to care about the availability for future generations.

The annual flows and stocks that recharge wells and tube wells is the water that is available for use. We should keep our needs in this range. When we dig into deeper aquifers - this is like mining water that has collected over thousands of years. This is to be done only in extreme drought situations and replenished in good rainfall years. We will come back later to this question of 'sustainability'.

### **Water use in the Tungabhadra river basin**

Tungabhadra, shared by the three southern states, Karnataka, Telangana and Andhra Pradesh, is a tributary of the larger river system Krishna. It originates in the Western Ghats with a catchment area of 71,417 km<sup>2</sup>, of which 57,671 km<sup>2</sup> are in Karnataka. The Tungabhadra basin has two parts: 1) the upper and middle catchment in Karnataka, and 2) the lower portion of the catchment in Telangana & Andhra Pradesh.

According to official statistics, farmland is the main land cover in these states. Others such as trees, groves, fallow land, cultivable waste, permanent pastures, forests and natural vegetation cover the rest of the area. Some of the territory is used for storage by water harvesting systems called tanks. The lower portions of the basin in Telangana & Andhra Pradesh are characterised by lower rainfall and drought conditions. Some regions depend on rainfall and underground water (wells and tube wells). Other areas depend on surface flows by canals that carry water from dams built along Tungabhadra. There is a lot of difference in water availability between these two types of regions.

- On a map of India, trace the course of Tungabhadra river.

Encroachment of public lands for cultivation is common. It results in more land being brought under cultivation at the expense of tree cover. Rampant

felling of trees and mining activity is resulting in forest degradation along with the destruction of the habitat of highly threatened flora and fauna. Inflows of groundwater depend on the tree cover in the catchment areas. Inadequate tree cover leads to water run-off at surface flow without getting a chance to recharge the underground system. Moreover, this also causes flash floods. If we wish to be fair

to both the rainfed and canal irrigated regions, we must adopt a different plan for water conservation and a system of sharing water.

*Fig 5.1 : Tungabhadra Dam Construction - 1952*



Tungabhadra dam has gradually lost its water storage capacity over the decades. About 50 years ago, the capacity of the reservoir was 3,766 million cubic meters, now with accumulation of silt due to mining, dust, soil erosion and debris, the reservoir has lost its storage capacity by as much as 849 million cubic meters of water. As one study says, “Proper mining standards are not followed in iron ore extraction. The mining of iron ore at Kudremukh and manganese in Sandur has seriously affected the stability of the catchments in the

form of soil erosion and siltation of several small reservoirs, traditional tanks and Tungabhadra reservoir.”

Conflicts between Karnataka, Telangana and Andhra Pradesh are generally related to availability of water for use. Water is a flow resource and its storage or use upstream affects what is available to people downstream. Water is shared based on agreements between state governments.

Access to water is a precondition in this farmland area where 80% of the population depends on agriculture for their livelihoods. Irrigation is provided through canal systems, while in rainfed regions farmers extract groundwater through bore wells. The major crops grown include paddy, jowar, sugarcane, cotton and finger millet.

Although the area is ideal for semi-arid crops, the major crops grown demand a lot of water (paddy and sugarcane). Cultivation of such crops throughout the basin has dramatically altered the water sharing balance. When all the areas desire water for these crops, conflict becomes inevitable. Hence, there is a significant difference between farmers with access to land and irrigated water, and those without access. For a fair use of water for all, a change in cropping pattern would have to be encouraged throughout the basin.

During the last two decades, there has been an increasing trend in the number of small towns and industrial areas. This has made the competing demands for water more complex. While increased industrialisation and growth of urban areas have improved standards of living for some, the same activities have caused pollution especially by industrial units. There are 27 functioning large units and 2543 small units in this river basin. They consume a large amount of water per day. Industries were permitted to discharge effluents into the river but following public protests in 1984 regarding discharge of molasses that killed fish on a large scale, laws were enacted requiring industry to discharge only treated effluents. These laws are not implemented forcefully. Hence, severe pollution of the river system continues.

There has been a mismatch between keeping pace with development activities on various fronts and providing sanitation and drinking water supply for all sections of society, both in small towns and rural areas. Some say that drinking water and sanitation are basic needs and a minimum amount has to be provided irrespective of the ability to pay for these. When we experiment with metered water, we have to allow that a certain section of society would not be able to afford the water that they must get as a basic requirement. A report for this river basin says, “...provision of drinking water to townships is not planned well, particularly the small towns have serious access and equity related issues, more so during summer.”

- How would it help if there was a government river basin authority for overall planning of water use?
- What are the different conflicts in the use of water for Tungabhadra river basin?

Thus, the socio-economic aspects are very important for water use management. Conflicts within communities in a region and across sectors such as use for agriculture, industry or drinking water are common. Apart from this, interstate disputes between Karnataka and combined Andhra Pradesh arise due to the trans-boundary nature of the river.

### Rational and equitable Use of water - an example

We have read about the use of water and the need to look at all the inflows and outflows so that a judicious and fair use of water can be worked out. This could be for a river basin or a village. Such plans and implementation schemes are possible. Hiware Bazar village is an example.

Hiware Bazar was selected under the Adarsh Gram Yojana of Maharashtra government for watershed and all-round development of the village. Hiware Bazar is located in Ahmednagar district in Maharashtra. It is situated on the eastern (rainshadow) side of the Sahayadri mountain ranges that run north-south and separate Konkan, the coastal region, from the rest of Maharashtra. Ahmednagar district is drought prone with an average annual rainfall of about 400 mm.

The soil and water conservation works in Hiware Bazar were implemented on common lands and on private grasslands. Continuous contour trenches (CCTs) were dug on the hill slopes to arrest the erosion of soil, harvest water and encourage growth of grass. A number of water harvesting structures were also built in the village - check dams, percolation tanks, and loose boulder structures. Plantations on forest lands and roadsides were also part of the programme.

When Adarsh Gram Yojana was launched in Maharashtra, there were also some pre-conditions set for selection of villages. Most important were the four *bandis* (or bans) made famous by the Ralegaon Siddhi experience. The four *bandis* were *kurhad bandi* (ban on felling trees), *charai bandi* (ban of free grazing), *nasbandi* (family planning), and *nashabandi* (ban on liquor). People also had to agree to a certain amount of *shramdaan* (voluntary physical labour), except for the landless who were exempt from it.

The significance of these five ideals needs to be understood keeping in mind the situation in Hiware Bazar at that time the late 1980s. Tree felling and open grazing was common among both rich and poor households. The surrounding hillocks, according to many local people, had a barren look, soil erosion was prominent and groundwater levels very low. In addition to this, fodder and fuel wood shortage were common in the village. Though there was a ban on free grazing people were allowed to cut grass and carry it to feed animals.

There are other bans in the village which were added later. Most significant was the ban on borewells for irrigation, growing sugarcane and banana and selling one's land to any outsider. These measures illustrate that issues of long-term sustainability (especially in terms of water use) were very much central to the strategy. The *bandis* were not mere proclamations but ways of community building aimed at people identifying with the common purpose. But it was not always a smooth affair.

The area irrigated for summer crops has increased from 7 to 72 hec. In a year of normal rainfall, there is enough water in the wells to irrigate not only the kharif bajra, but also the rabi jowar and some summer vegetable crops. Even in unirrigated land, the improvement in soil moisture level has helped to increase productivity. The range of crops is also considerably more diverse than in the past with people growing cash crops such as potatoes, onions, fruits (grapes and pomegranates), flowers, and wheat. Perhaps the most significant development is that increased water availability has made a second crop possible and hence migration elsewhere has reduced. Although this has not meant that small and marginal farmers are able to eke out a living on their own lands only, it has made their lands much more productive. The conditions of wage employment have also improved with wage rates going up – though they remain on the low side.

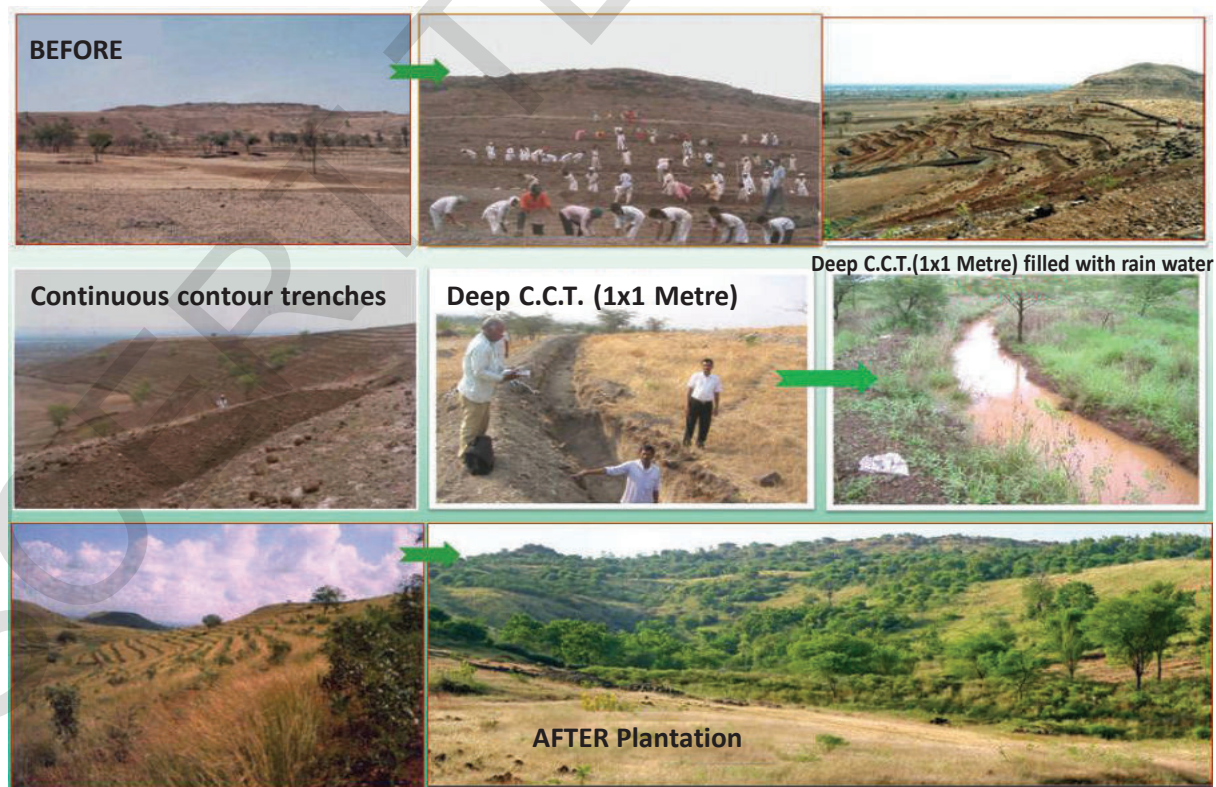


Fig 5.2 : Hiware Bazar - before and after soil and water conservation works

The main thing is the social control over ground water extraction and use – no borewells for irrigation (only for drinking water), no water- intensive crops like sugarcane. Water for irrigation should be taken only through dug wells. They have also worked out certain thumb rules like if they get good rainfall then they can take full rabi crop, if the rainfall is less then they bring down the area under rabi etc. They keep rainfall data meticulously and use it for crop planning and water use prioritisation. Because of this, even in years of continuous drought, there was no drinking water shortage. This is mainly because they plan according to the water available.

The improvement of the livestock economy has also helped marginal and small farmers significantly. Concerted efforts have been made to promote Hiware Bazar's dairy industry as a means to improve the livelihood of all. Loans have been given to many small farmers. As a result, the number of milch animals in the village has increased. These developments are clearly linked to the fact that fodder availability has increased due to better productivity. Milk production in the village has also witnessed a more than 20 fold increase from 140 to 3,000 litres per day.

However, one of the learnings has been that groundwater extraction cannot

- Underline sentences and make a list of steps that reflect the efforts taken for water conservation in Hiware Bazar.
- What was the effort for planning agriculture according to the available water ?
- If you have access to internet, watch a documentary about Hiware Bazar at <http://bit.ly/kothL1>

be controlled at a small unit or within a village boundary. Neighboring villages started going for deep borewells and started extracting groundwater over which Hiware Bazar had no control. Hence, we need institutional norms and understanding at a much larger unit like sub-basin or river basin.

### Water as common pool resource

Over the past few decades, groundwater has become the main source of water especially for domestic use and agriculture. This tremendous increase in the use of groundwater has significant impact on water availability and access to it.

The current laws about groundwater in many states are both outdated and inappropriate. They were developed at a time when groundwater was a marginal source of water. Today, shallow and deep tube wells have the potential to draw a lot of water. What should be the judicious way of using this water?

Current laws on ground water use are inappropriate because the basic link between access to groundwater and land ownership on which these rules are based are flawed. Since groundwater has to be extracted from the land above, a link was established between land ownership and control. The water drawn from the

underground system was assumed to be 'owned' by the landowner. This implies that groundwater is mostly controlled by individuals that own the land. Land owners were not restricted in the amount of water they can take out.

Why is the above understanding flawed? Underground water does not obey human land ownership boundaries that are made on the surface. Water is a flowing resource and what is extracted from an individual tube well or well depends on the underground rock formation, the recharge from rainfall or surface water. All these factors are happening over a large area. Hence, the actions of others in the region will affect this particular well. For example, over-extraction from one tube well often dries up other tube wells around. Each one competes to go deeper than their neighbour and soon all the tube wells up to a certain depth dry up, since these wells are interconnected by the underground structures in the region. It is therefore inappropriate to think of 'ownership' of a flowing resource such as water. Compare this to the air over the plot of land - it is always flowing and there is no way one can create boundaries. Similarly, there are no boundaries in the flowing water underground.

Today, this is the major source of water for people. When there is so much extraction, it affects others in connected areas. It affects the stock of water that would be available for future generations. Therefore, one can't allow individual landowners to extract as much water as they wish from their land. There should be some restrictions. These restrictions will be acceptable if we first delink the connection between ownership of land and water drawn from the underground system through tube wells on the land.

Where control over groundwater is linked to land rights, there are no pressures on individual landowners to use water in a fair manner. Nor is there any way to implement policies that take into account the welfare of a broader community and the environment. For instance, in an unregulated system, there is no authority that can determine how many wells, handpumps and other tubewells can be sunk in a given area. Some form of regulation that takes into account the broader aspects of groundwater use is necessary. Therefore, water should be thought of as a collective pool resource that is meant for all people. Similar to roads, rivers, and parks, underground water is also a 'public property', it belongs to all. While this is being recognised today by some state governments, it has still not become widespread.

Regulation is not easy. This is also because for some resources like water, electricity, oil, natural gas etc consumption by one person or a sector affects what is available for others. In fact, in a number of states, the answer to falling water tables has not been to address the issue itself. State governments have thus often chosen to increase power subsidies to make extraction of ever deeper layers of groundwater possible. The limits of an approach that not only refuses to control access to groundwater but seeks to encourage it with specific subsidies have been clearly understood. The political thinking has to change to make these regulation

work. This is the only way to stop the negative competition to finish off the common pool resource since each person wants their share before someone else does. This is the real contemporary challenge.

What is required are laws and rules to recognise that water is a common flowing resource. Drinking water is the first priority as well as a human right and that panchayati raj institutions must have control over the use of groundwater.

Let us see the dispute over water use between the Perumatty Grama Panchayat in Kerala and the Coca Cola Company. The Panchayat decided not to renew the license for extraction of water because of the lowering of the water table in neighbouring areas. There was also decreasing water quality to the extent that the local government primary health centre had concluded that the water was not fit for drinking. The issue was brought to the courts and is now pending in the Supreme Court as on January 2014. The two decisions given by the judges in Kerala gave two opposing views of groundwater regulation. The first judge found that groundwater is a public resource meant for all and that the state has a duty to protect it against excessive exploitation. Additionally, the judge made the link that drinking water is a priority. The second judge took a completely different perspective and asserted the primacy of landowners' control over groundwater. These two contradictory decisions illustrate the confusion over our laws today.

### In conclusion

In the first section, we looked at the river systems and the diverse physiographic conditions that we find in India. Water use for any region, whether

- Should groundwater regulation be primarily community-led, as in the case of Hiware Bazar?
- “The groundwater laws are both outdated and inappropriate.” Explain.
- Should groundwater be considered a common pool resource? Explain your view.

small watershed or river basin, has to take into account all the inflows and the outflows. With this background, we can understand the inefficient and unfair ways in which water is currently being used. How we could be more judicious and fair is examined through the case study of Tungabhadra river basin. This is a complex exercise but possible. Similarly, for a small region through

careful planning and social initiative, a more judicious use of water for all is feasible. We looked at the effort of the people of Hiware Bazar village and hope that people all over would be inspired towards creative action in their situation. Water resources require both collective action at the local level and appropriate laws and policies at the state and national level. Through the example of groundwater, we can understand the shortcomings in our thinking today.

## Keywords

Flow resources  
Watershed

Groundwater  
Catchment Area

Drainage  
Drought

Water Sharing Law  
Percolation

## Improve your learning

1. Draw a table to describe the major river systems in India with the following items: direction of flow, countries or regions through which they pass and relief features of the areas. (AS<sub>3</sub>)
2. Identify and list arguments that would support or oppose the use of groundwater in various contexts such as agriculture, industry etc. (AS<sub>2</sub>)
3. Make a list of challenges faced in the water resources in the Tungabhadra basin. Identify the solutions that have been discussed in the context of these problems either in this chapter or elsewhere in different classes. (AS<sub>4</sub>)
4. Which aspects of farming practices were regulated in the context of Hiware Bazar to improve the water conservation? (AS<sub>1</sub>)
5. How significant are the laws and people's actions, in the context of water resources? Write a short note based on the ideas discussed in the last two sections of the chapter. (AS<sub>1</sub>)
6. In what ways is water bought and sold in your area and for what purposes? Do you think there should be some checks and balances for this? Discuss. (AS<sub>4</sub>)
7. Availability of water is decreasing day by day. Ground water level is decreasing. How will it affect our lives, if this situation continues? Discuss the preventive measures and our responsibility? (AS<sub>4</sub>)

## Debate:

1. Is social control on drawing out and consumption of ground water necessary? Conduct a debate in classroom.
2. Conduct a debate on, "whether water is a common resource or not"?

## Project

Think of plans for your village or locality, which if implemented would help everyone.

# The Population



*Map 1 : If we were to show the area of countries on the basis of population it would look like this. How is it different from other world maps? Discuss.*

Population is a pivotal element in social studies. When we refer to ‘development for all’, it is people that we have in mind, especially to include those who are normally marginalised in the process of development. The idea of equality is used

- Talk to a few people in your neighbourhood who have different occupations and incomes. Find out about their views on the ideal family size.
- Have you ever wondered how information about the people living in your locality or village, and the country as a whole is collected and recorded? Ask your teacher to explain their experiences of collecting census data.
- What is the difference in collecting information using a census or a sample method? Discuss with a few examples.

with reference to people. On the other hand, you often hear people blaming “population growth” for all the problems we face. They blame the lack of jobs, food, and resources on the fact that we have to share this with many people. Ninety two percent of the working people in India are in the unorganised sector. Most of them are casual labourers or self employed workers who have to struggle for work. They have no other social security apart from their families to support them.

They have to struggle for work and have no other social security apart from their families to support them. How do we make sense of these contradictions? It is important to understand population numbers, its distribution and characteristics that provide the basic background for understanding and appreciating the other aspects.

The census of India provides us with information regarding the population of our country. A census is the procedure of systematically acquiring and recording information about the members of a given population. Once in ten years, information is collected about all the people living in India. The people who do this survey go from house to house and find out the number of people living in every house in every village, town and city. This census provides us with a lot of information such as how old people are, their occupation, houses, education, religion etc. The Registrar General & Census Commission of India organises the collection and recording of this information.

Before we find out more about the census, let us survey our own area and examine the kind of work done by the census.

*Table 1: Distribution of workers as per Census 2011-12*

Category	Organised	Unorganised	Total
Formal	37.18 (45.4)	1.39 (0.4)	38.56 (8.1)
Informal	44.74 (54.6)	390.92 (99.6)	435.66 (91.9)
Total	81.92 (17.3)	392.31 (82.7)	474.23 (100)

### Census in India

In India, the first census was taken in 1872. The first complete census, however, was taken in 1881. Since then, censuses have been held regularly every tenth year. India's population as of 2011 is 121,01,93,422. Out of these 1210 million people, 623,724,248 are men and 586,469,174 are women.

### Conducting a Survey

- Each group of two to three students will collect data from 10 families of their locality. The survey form is given below.
- Each group will fill in the details and construct the tables indicated.
- Based on the tables presented by each group, the class will discuss the questions.

Household 1 Name of each member	Sex (M/F)	Age	Marital status (Married, Unmarried, Widowed)	Literate/ Illiterate	If child 6-14 years, school status **	Occupation
Household 2 Name of each member						

\*\* School status: Never enrolled/ attending/ dropout

### Before the survey:

- The class needs to discuss and arrive at a common meaning for all the terms used in the survey form. Otherwise there will be confusion in the actual survey and we would not be able to compare the result of one group with another. With the help of your teacher, discuss the following:

- How would a “household” be defined? Whom all would you include in a household?
- For “Education”, what are the categories that you would use?

Examples: child below six; studying in school/ college, class....; should be in school but not enrolled; studied up to class ..; did not attend school

- What categories would you use for occupation?

Examples: Homemaker, Student, self-employed as..., Unemployed, retired, non-employed, senior citizen

### After the survey:

A) Each group would construct a table to show number of people in the surveyed families:

Male	Female	Total Population

B) What is the female/ male ratio for your group? Are the ratios very different among the groups? Discuss.

For all children 6-14 years			
Children	Boys	Girls	Total
At school			
Dropped out			
Never enrolled			

C) What is the percentage of dropouts & never enrolled children as a whole- for all groups? What are the reasons for this?

D) For those above 20 years, what is the average time they have spent at school? Find this for your group. Is this data useful?

E) For all the people in the age group 15-59

Occupation	No	%
Agriculture		
Agricultural Labourer		
Self-employed		
Homemaker		
Job		
Unemployed		
Student		
Total		

How do you classify those who are “working” and those who are “dependent” in your sample?

## What does the census show?

### Age Structure

The age structure of a population refers to the number of males and females in different age groups in a country. It is one of the most basic characteristics of a population. To an important degree, a person's age influences what she requires, her capacity to work, whether she is dependent on others etc. Consequently, the number and percentage of children in a population, people of working age, and aged persons are notable determinants of the population's social and economic structure.

The population of a nation is generally grouped into three broad categories:

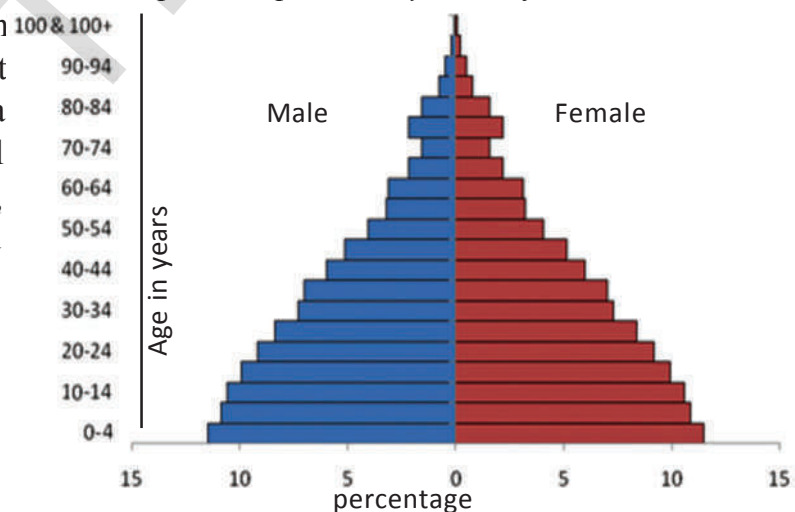
**1. Children (generally below 15 years) :** They are taken care of by the family and like everyone else, they require food, clothing, education and medical care and all other opportunities for growth. However, usually they do not earn their income to support themselves. It is not desirable that some children are forced to work because of their economic conditions.

**2. Working Age (15-59 years) :** Usually this group forms the working population in a society. They are also biologically reproductive. Most people in this age group desire decent income and security of work. Children and the aged often depend on the earnings of this group.

**3. Aged (Above 59 years) :**

Those who have been in a salaried employment or in organised sector may get retirement pension. However, a vast majority of agricultural labourers, domestic workers, construction workers, and others usually continue their work as long as it is physically possible. This group also depends on their families for support in old age when unable to work. It is also possible that their medical expenses are higher than that of the other age groups.

Graph 1 : Population Pyramid of India, 2011

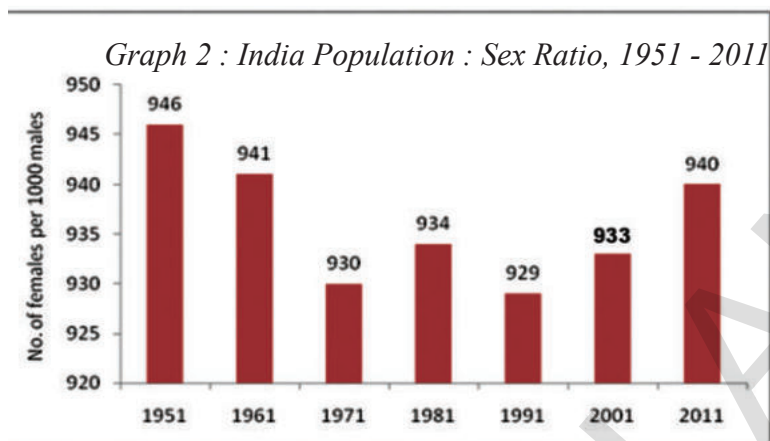


- From the age pyramid above, make a rough estimate of the percentage of children in the population.
- Based on your survey, present the following items in a table : Total Population, Children, Working, Aged.

Think of the various ways in which government should have special schemes for different age groups. Examples could be midday meal schemes; anganwadi programmes etc. Why are they necessary?

## Sex Ratio

Sex ratio is the number of females per 1000 males in the population. This information is an important social indicator to measure the extent of equality between men and women in a society. You have calculated this for the families that



you surveyed. Now, examine these figures for the country as a whole.

We notice that the number of women in India has consistently been lower than that of men. This female/ male ratio, the 'sex ratio' is a cause of concern since it indicates a hidden form of discrimination.

Women and girls in particular face unequal opportunities for education and development. They are discriminated against in the most basic needs of nutrition, child care and health also – they get less of these things as compared to males. This often happens within the family. Yes, this discrimination is not always obvious.

Medical research shows that given similar circumstances, girl children survive much better than boys. Hence, if there was no discrimination, the number of girls should be higher or as much as boys. From the census survey, we get another indicator. In India, sex ratio at birth is estimated to be 105 boys for 100 girls. More female babies die than male babies. The census shows that in the age group 0-5, the number of girls who survive is much lower than boys. This can only happen if there is some discrimination in their care and nutrition because otherwise the physical chance of survival is better for girls.

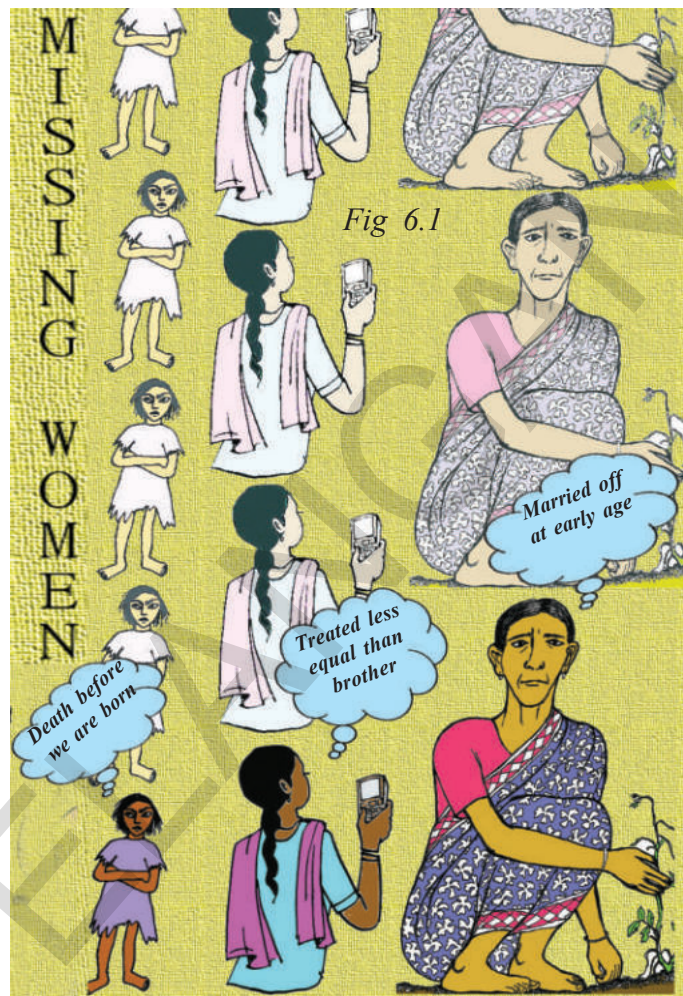
The other evidence that we have is from comparative figures. If we look at societies or regions that have provided equality to women and provided equal opportunities for them, the sex ratios are different. Regions that have unequal gender relations that favour the males and discriminate against the females tend towards unequal sex ratios. This can happen even though they have high incomes. For example, look at the following data:

*Table 2 : No. of women per 1000 men*

Area	Haryana	Punjab	Telangana	Kerala	USA
Sex ratio	870	880	988	1040	1050

It is noted that within India certain parts like Kerala have a positive sex ratio while some other regions are extremely biased against women. A distressing aspect of gender bias in India that shows little sign of going away is the preference for boys over girls. One of the worst manifestations of this pro-male bias is the relatively higher mortality rates of girls compared with boys. This is mainly because of the quiet violence of the neglect of their health and illness in comparison with the attention that male children receive. There has also been the case of female selective abortion. Due to the preference for male children, parents may decide to abort the female child before birth. Many families consider female children as a burden. Studies have shown that the priority, for male children in health continues for adults, raising the mortality rates of even adult women above those of adult men.

Women's education has been a powerful force in reducing discrimination against women. There is definitive evidence that women's literacy and schooling reduces child mortality and work against the selective neglect of the health of girls. To understand such situations, discuss the questions on the right and whether this would impact the sex ratio.



- Do girls get similar opportunities for further studies as boys?
- Do married women have opportunities for travel and work outside home?
- Are women expected to maintain a separation from their natal family and not to ask for security or property rights?
- Do you think married women to be given freedom to visit their parent's house?
- Is there a strong preference for boys in your region?

### Literacy Rates (As per Census of 2011)

A person aged 7 years and above who can read and write with understanding in any language is treated as literate. Literacy is the key to socio-economic progress in a country.

- Find out if there are illiterate people in your village or town. What does your survey reveal?
- Discuss: How does literacy impact development?

At the time of independence in 1947, 12% of the population was literate. In 2001, it was 65%. It grew to 74% by 2011. However, the 2011 census shows that there is a wide disparity in literacy rates for men (82%) and women (65%).

### Working population

It was pointed out earlier that those who are in the age group of 15-59 are working people. They might work throughout the year or only for a part of the year. This depends on the availability of work. As discussed earlier, this does not cover the unpaid work of home makers

Table 3 : Distribution of workers as per Census -2011 (see Table 2).

Workers	Percentage of workers
Cultivators	25
Agri. Labourers	30
Workers in household industries	04
Other workers	41
Total	100

- How is an agricultural labourer different from a cultivator?
- Compare the type of workers that you find in your survey with that of the Census?

The Census of India groups them into four categories. Cultivators are farmers, who farm or supervise the land that they own or take on rent. Agricultural labourers are those who work on another's farm for wages in cash or kind. Workers in household industries would be those who are manufacturing or repairing some product at home such as dehusking of paddy, *bidi* workers, potters, weavers, repair of footwear, manufacture of toys, matches, etc. Other workers would be those who are employed in factories, trading, casual labour and all other occupations.

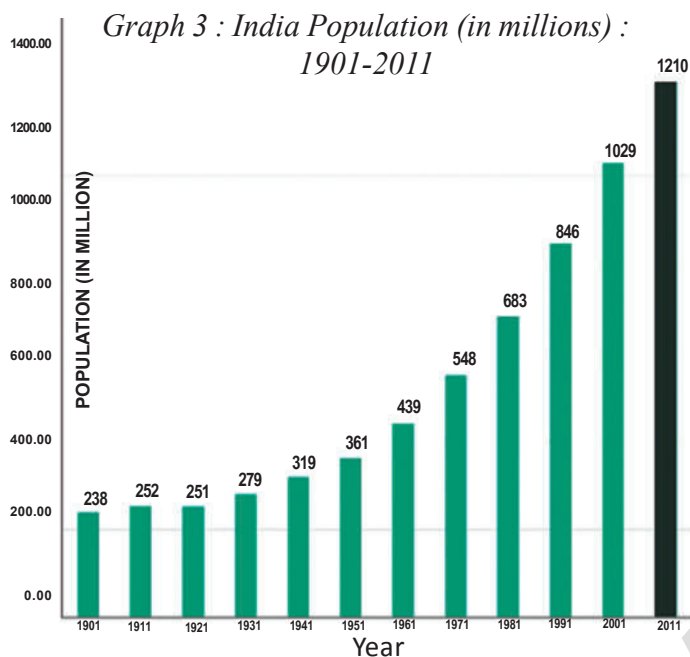
### Changing population size

Population is dynamic. The numbers, distribution and composition of the population are always changing. This is because of the interaction of the three processes: (1) births, (2) deaths and (3) migrations.

Change in the size of a population is the difference in the number of inhabitants of a country/ territory during a specific period, say during the last ten years. Such a change can be expressed in two ways: (1) as absolute numbers or (2) as percentage change.

The absolute numbers added each decade is the magnitude of increase. It is obtained by simply subtracting the earlier population (e.g. that of 2001) from the later population (e.g. that of 2011). If the result is a positive number, the population has increased. If it is a negative number, the population has decreased by that number.

Population change (absolute numbers) = (population at later date) – (population at earlier date)



Observe the increment in population of India and its growth - 1901-2011 (Graph 2)

- In which year did the population decrease?
- From which year onwards is the population continuously increasing?
- What could be the reasons for the speed with which increases took place after Indian independence?

Population change in a place = (number of births + number of in-migrants) – (number of deaths + number of out-migrants). A positive number means the population has increased by that number. A negative number shows that it has decreased by that number.

Assume for the moment that there is no migration. In order to calculate these increases we examine two rates. (1) Birth rate is the number of live births per thousand persons in a year. In 1992, the birth rate in India was 29. This means that for every 1000 people living in the country during that year, 29 live births took place. (2) Death rate is the number of deaths per thousand persons in a year. In the year 1992, for every 1000 persons living at that time, 10 people died during the year. Therefore, 19 people for every 1000 was the addition during the year. This number can be expressed as a percentage i.e. 1.9%. Hence, we say that the population growth rate was 1.9% for the year 1992.

The rate or the pace of population increase is important. It is studied in per cent per annum. For example a rate of increase of 2 per cent per annum means that in a given year, there was an increase of two persons for every 100 persons in the base year. This is calculated year by year like in compound interest. This is referred to as the annual growth rate. India's population has been steadily increasing.

In order to examine the causes for the growth of Indian population, as seen from the graph above, we need to look at both death rate and birth rate. There has been a rapid decline in the death rate but till recent times, birth rate has not been decreasing substantially. The period 1901-21 witnessed high death rates due to famines, epidemics including influenza epidemic of 1918 that is estimated to have killed 15 million people. From 1921 onwards and especially post independence,

impact of famines declined because of famine relief, movement of grain, ration shops and an active public voice in a democracy. Similarly, epidemics such as cholera, plague and to some extent malaria have also been controlled. Polluted water, congested living and un-cleared garbage were the real causes of several diseases. These causes have to be met with better sanitation, clean water and nutrition and several steps have been initiated. Later on advances in medicine, especially antibiotics and vaccines contributed to better health care. Compared to 1921, death rates fell rapidly. High birth rates along with declining death rate led to higher rate of population growth.

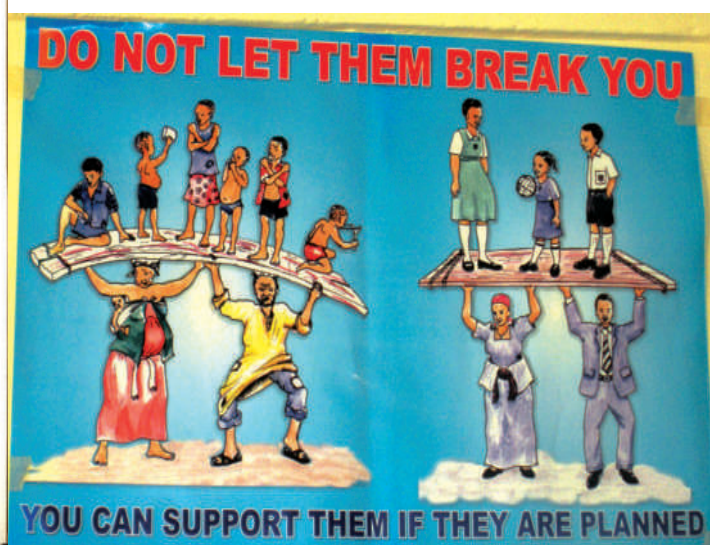
Why did birth rate remain high for such a long period? One set of reasons has to do with what has happened in the past. If in the overall population, the percentage of young people is high, then in the coming years they would grow up, get married and have children. The total number of such children added each year would be high because we began with a population with a large number of young people.

The other reason is the number of children that couples wish to have. This in turn is related to how many children survive, what social security people have and the preference for a male child in society. For example, look at the three generations of Umed Singh's family.

“Umed Singh's grandfather and grand mother died because of a plague and cholera epidemic. His father, born around 1900, was brought up by his uncle. They owned some land but faced constant crisis, sometimes crop failure and famine with only occasional good harvest. Umed Singh's father had nine children but six of them died very young. Out of the three surviving children, one was



Fig 6.1 : Here are two posters from other countries. Can you guess the message given in them? Have you seen similar posters in India? Discuss.



Umed Singh, born around 1935. He has two sisters. Umed was able to go to a secondary school and become a policeman. Unlike his father, he had regular salary and some income from land. Umed initially had two daughters but was worried about their survival. He also wanted a son. He then had four more children, three of them were sons. However, now Umed's eldest daughter who has trained to be a teacher does not want more than three children."

*Table 4 : The Magnitude and Rate of India's Population Growth (calculate the missing figures and write them down)*

Year	Total Population (In millions)	Absolute increase in the decade	Percentage change in the decade	Annual change
1951	361			
1961	439	78	21.60	2.16
1971	548	?		
1981	683	?		
1991	846	?		
2001	1029	?		
2011	1210	?		

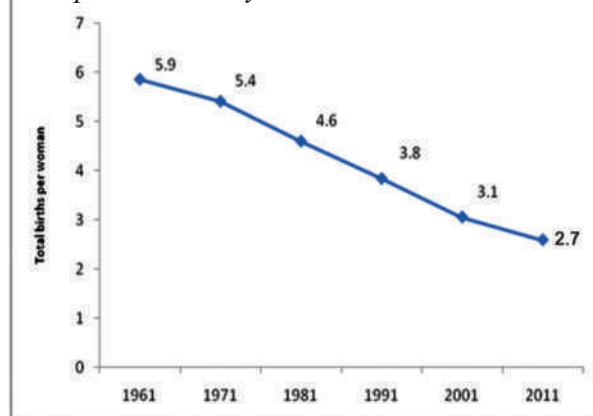
[439-361=78; 78 increased for 361. Hence, in % it is  $78 \times 100 / 361 = 21.60$ , annual growth is 2.16]

Since 1981, birth rate had also started declining gradually, resulting in a gradual decline in the rate of population growth. Calculate the % of change over the decades 1951 to 2011 and see if this is happening in the table above.

How do we understand this trend? We use another concept called the Fertility rate (total births per woman). Total fertility rate is the number of children that is are likely to be born to a woman if she were to live to the end of her childbearing years and bear children in accordance with current patterns. If this declines, then we can say that couples are deciding to have fewer children. Factors both within the family and outside are contributing to these decisions. Examine the Graph 4.

The fertility rate for India in 1961 was 5.9, which indicates that on an average each woman was likely to bear five or six children. The family decides the number of children they want depending on security, opportunities for children and social norms. There have been some changes in this outlook. Present fertility rate in India is 2.7,

*Graph 4 : Fertility Rate in India, 1961 -2011*



- When the fertility rate is near 2, what does this imply? Discuss.
- In your family, trace the number of children for every woman in three generations. What changes do you observe?
- Use the survey you have done in groups and find out the total number of women in the age group of 45 and above and the number of children they have. What is the average number of children per woman in your sample?
- What are the factors that influenced the decisions about children for Umed Singh? Do you think his daughter is thinking in a similar manner?

in combined Andhra Pradesh fertility rate is 1.9.

The third component of population change is migration. Migration is the movement of people across regions and territories. Migration can be internal (within the country) or international (between the countries). Internal migration does not change the size of the population, but influences the distribution of population within the nation. Migration plays a very significant role in changing the composition and distribution of population. You will learn more about migration in the forthcoming chapter.

We often hear people talk of population growth in alarmed tones. These people are often literate and talk about others not benefitting because there are too many people who have to

share very few resources. However, families decide the number of children they want to have based on many considerations such as the resources they own, their security in old age etc. Most often, families with larger number of children are poorer than the rest, don't own many assets, and rely on their children for old age security. How do we understand these different points of view?

### **Population density**

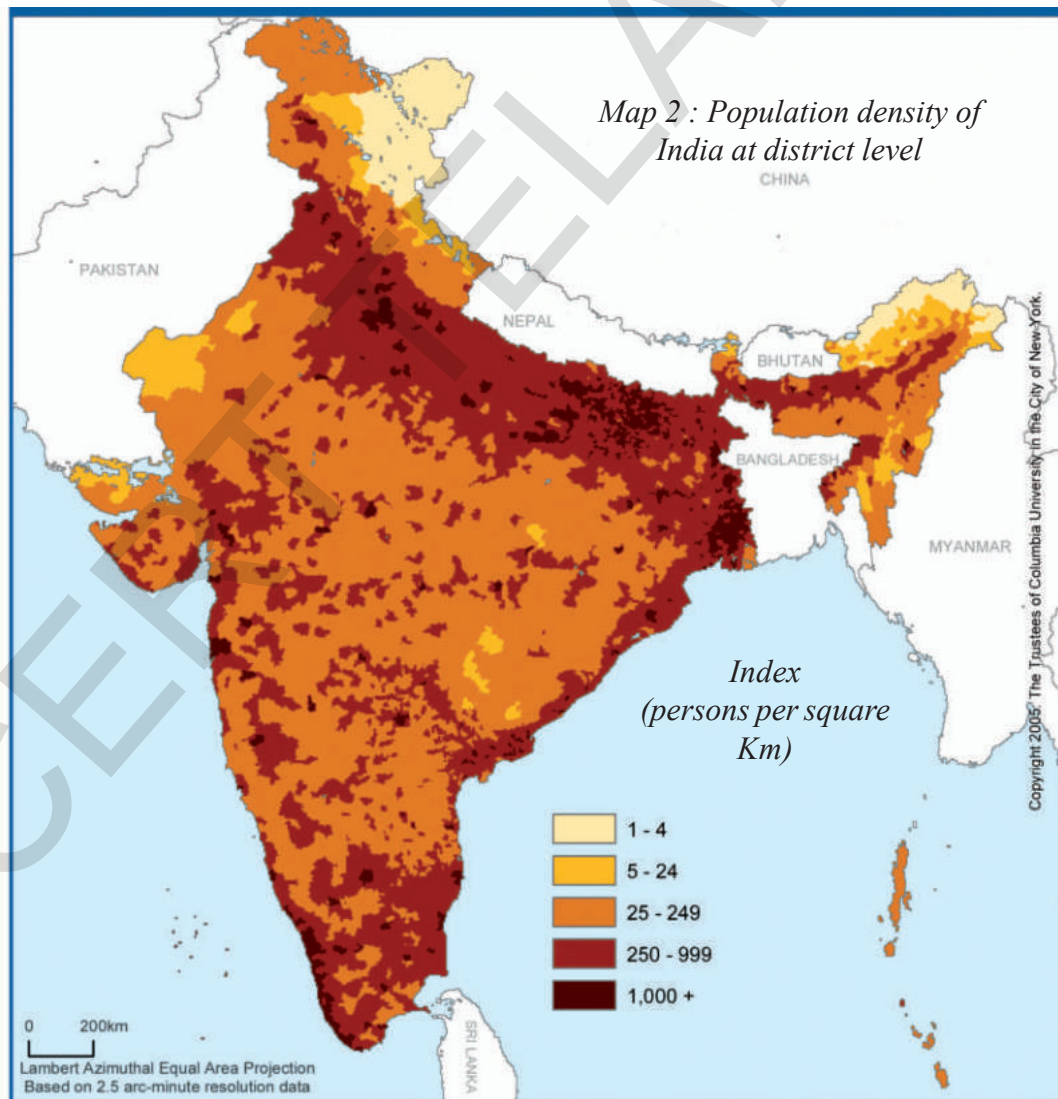
Population density provides a better picture of its distribution. Population density is calculated as the number of persons per unit area.

India is one of the most densely populated countries of the world. The population density of India in the year 2011 was 382 persons per sq km. Densities vary from 1102 persons per sq km in Bihar to only 17 persons per sq km in Arunachal Pradesh. Assam and most of the peninsular states have moderate population densities. Hilly, dissected and rocky nature of the terrain, moderate to low rainfall, shallow and less fertile soils have influenced population densities in these areas. The Northern Plains and Kerala in the south have high to very high population densities because of the flat plains with fertile soils and abundant rainfall.

Identify the three states of the Northern Plains with high population densities. How does the density of population vary so much? We have to examine the history

of the region, the terrain and climatic conditions to be able to understand this variation. For example, read the section on ‘Land and other natural resources’ in chapter 8. Even though fertile land and irrigation is able to support a larger population than before, the impact on each group is different, especially for small farmers and landless labourers.

- By which year was all the land in the village cultivated?
- How do you think did the landed people respond to increasing family size?
- What was the response of small farmers, like Govind, when families expanded? How far was tube well irrigation useful ?
- Look at the map 2. Find out if there is any relationship between relief features of India and population density. Identify the major urban centers across the country. How do you explain the high population density in the cities?



Map 3 : Telangana out line map of 31 districts



Collect the present population density, with the help of your teacher on the above blank district map of Telangana plot them in ranges.

Compare a high density district and a low density district on the following

- a. Terrain and potential for agriculture development
- b. History of agriculture in that region- use of land, water and other natural resources

## Keywords

Population growth

Population density

Sex Ratio

Fertility Rate

Population distribution

Infanticide

Literacy rate

## Improve your learning

1. Based on the following table, answer the questions below: (AS<sub>3</sub>)

### World historical and predicted populations (in millions)

Region/ year	1500	1600	1700	1800	1900	1950	1999	2012	2050	2150
World	458	580	682	978	1,650	2,521	5,978	7,052	8,909	9,746
Africa	86	114	106	107	133	221	767	1,052	1,766	2,308
Asia	243	339	436	635	947	1,402	3,634	4,250	5,268	5,561
Europe	84	111	125	203	408	547	729	740	628	517
Latin America and the Caribbean	39	10	10	24	74	167	511	603	809	912
Northern America	3	3	2	7	82	172	307	351	392	398
Oceania	3	3	3	2	6	13	30	38	46	51

- Identify the number of centuries it took for the world population to double for the first time.
- In earlier classes, you had studied about colonisation. Look at the table and identify the continents in which the population decreased by 1800.
- Which continent has been most populous for most period of time?
- Is there any continent that is projected to show a significant decrease in population in future?

2. List out the impacts on society if the sex ratio is too low or too high. (AS<sub>4</sub>)

3. Compare Indian literacy rates with other countries: (Page No:23, Table 5) (AS<sub>1</sub>)

Sri Lanka, Nepal, Bangladesh, Myanmar, Pakistan

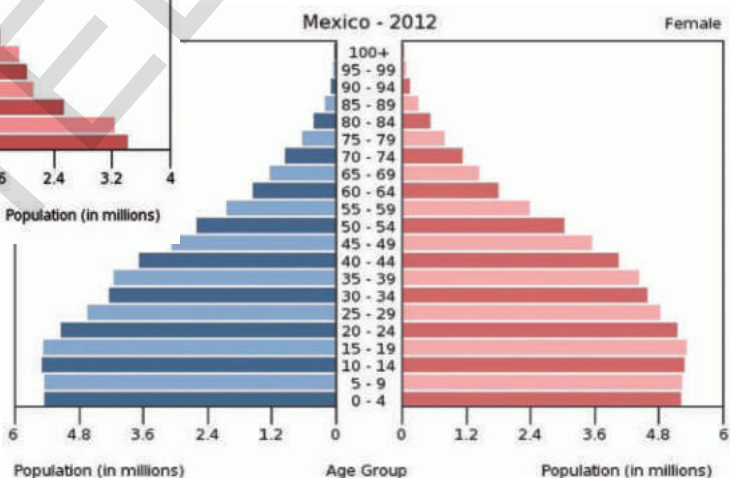
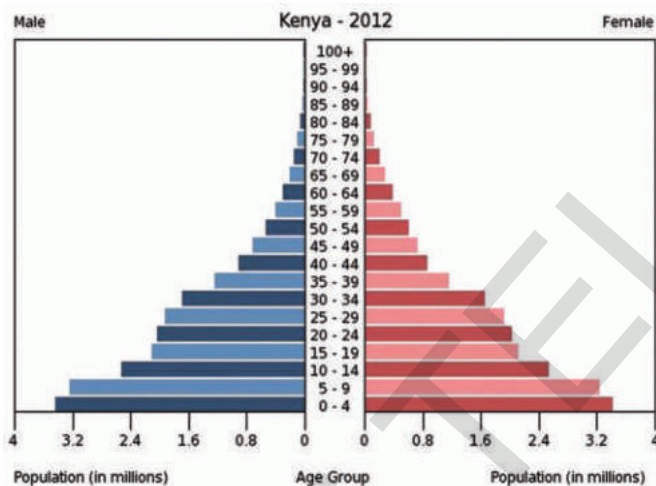
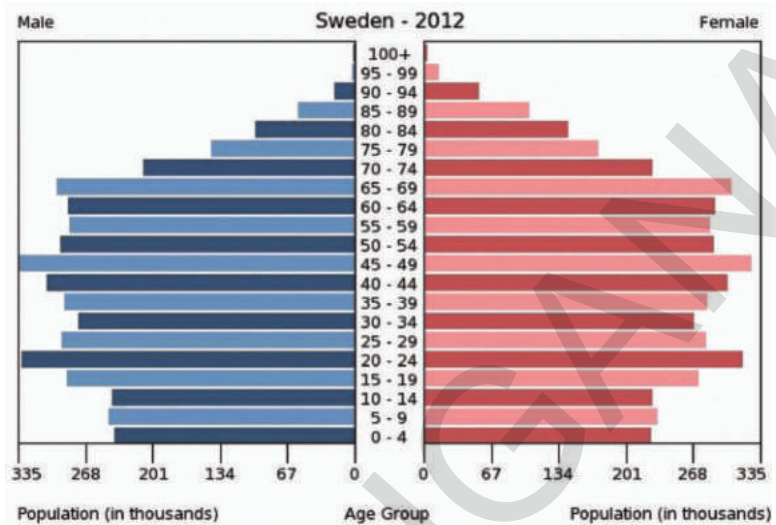
What similarities and differences do you note?

4. Which areas of Telangana have high density of population and what may be some of the reasons behind it? (AS<sub>1</sub>)

5. Distinguish population growth and population change. (AS<sub>1</sub>)

6. Compare the population pyramid of India with data of three other countries given here. (AS<sub>3</sub>)

- Which country's population is likely to grow?
- Which country's population is likely to reduce?
- Compare the gender balance: What can you tell about each country's family and welfare policies?

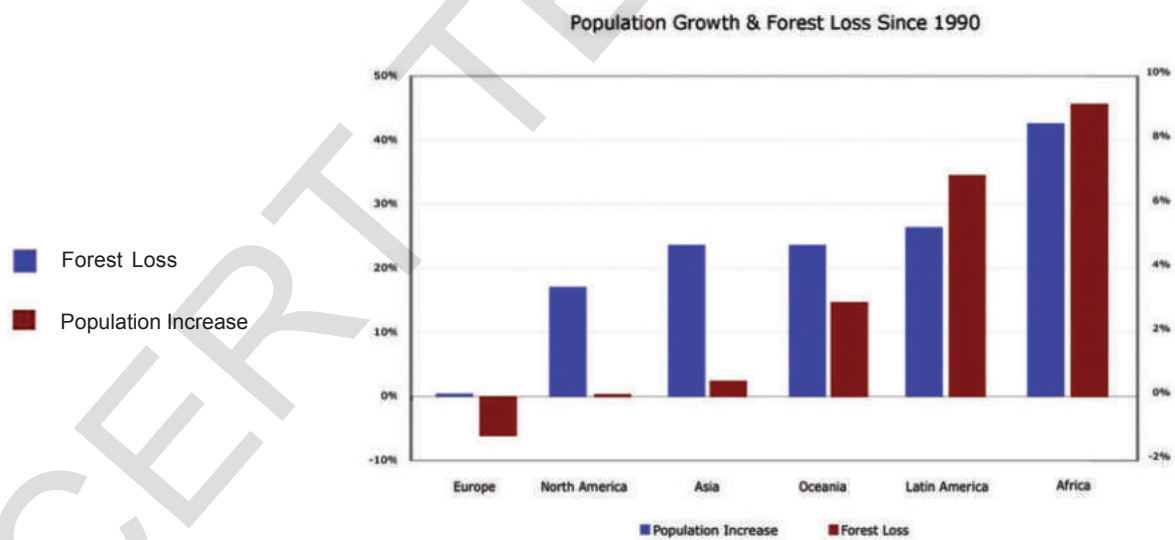
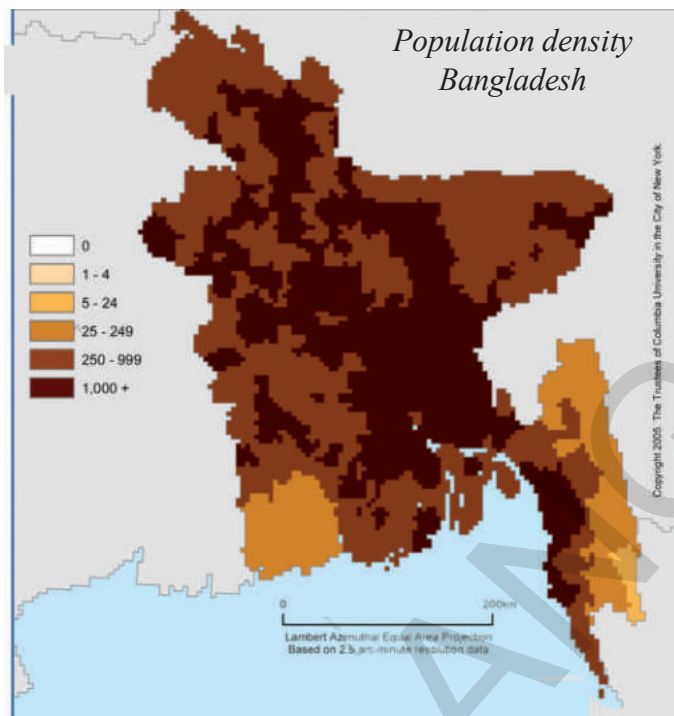


## 7. Map work: (AS<sub>3</sub>)

- On a blank map of India showing state boundaries, plot the state-wise population density based on the 2011 census by taking five ranges.
- On a blank map of Telangana showing district boundaries, plot the population distribution using the dot method (one dot is equivalent to 10,000 population).

## Project

Look at the following two maps of density and the graphs on growth of population. Use the various aspects of population you studied in this chapter and describe them.



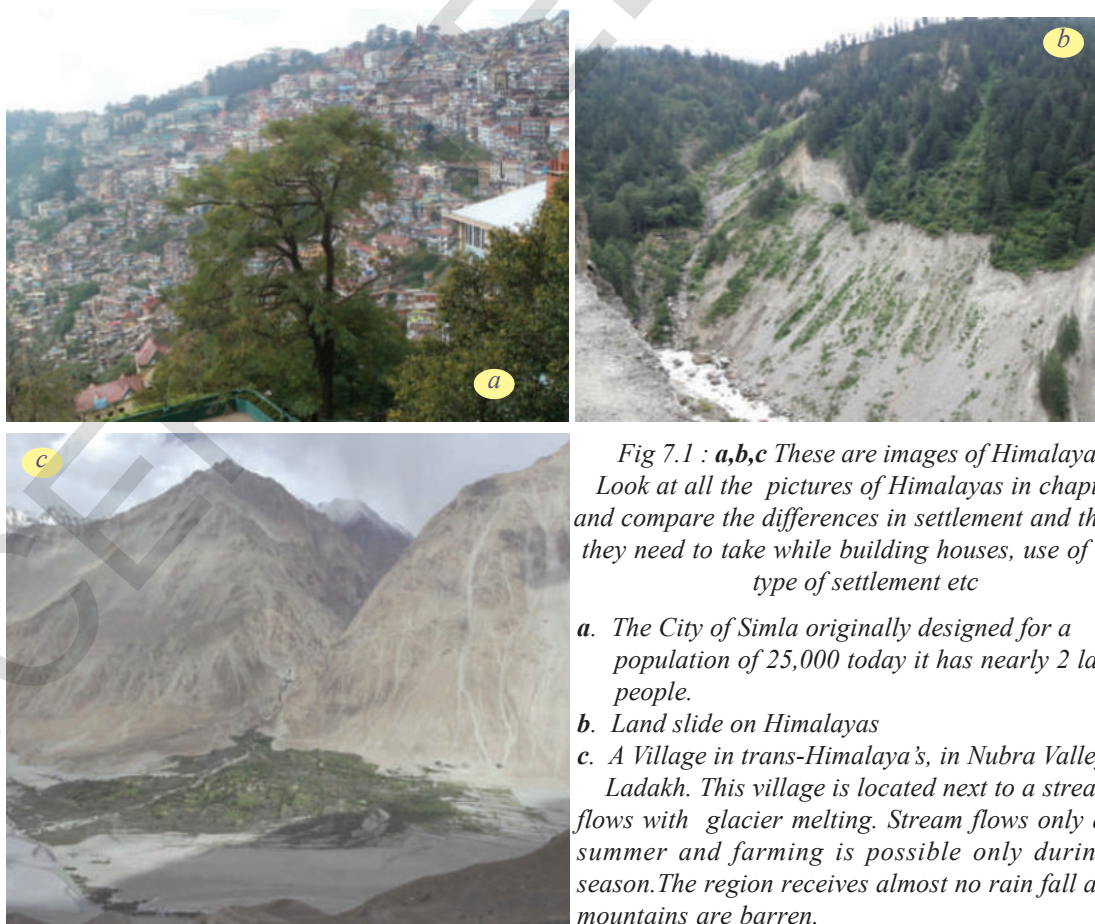
# Settlements - Migrations

## What is a settlement?

Look around the city, town or village in which you live. Compare it with the below figures. You will find that the buildings, roads, drains etc. are organised in some way. This arrangement varies widely across the world as we shall see now.

The way we organise ourselves and our living spaces in a place is called a settlement – that is, the geographic space where we live and work. In a settlement, we have different kinds of activities – Educational, Medical, Religious, Commercial etc.

In this chapter, we will take a brief look at some aspects of human settlement and the geography related to it.



**Fig 7.1 : a,b,c** These are images of Himalayas. Look at all the pictures of Himalayas in chapter-1 and compare the differences in settlement and the risk they need to take while building houses, use of land, type of settlement etc

- a.** The City of Simla originally designed for a population of 25,000 today it has nearly 2 lakh people.
- b.** Land slide on Himalayas
- c.** A Village in trans-Himalaya's, in Nubra Valley of Ladakh. This village is located next to a stream that flows with glacier melting. Stream flows only during summer and farming is possible only during this season. The region receives almost no rain fall and the mountains are barren.

### Field work

Look at your own city, town or village. Draw a sketch map of a selected area using the methods you had learnt earlier. Your map should show the following:

Roads, Houses, Shops and markets, Streams and drains, some Public places like hospitals, schools, bus stand, railway station etc;

- Are the public places located at points that would be convenient to most people?
- Do you find any patterns in the location of markets?
- Are the houses in clusters? Are they linked to the main road?

Talk to people in the selected area and find out the changes in the settlement during the past twenty years and the reasons for this.

What amenities should have been provided for, but have not been done?

### How were settlements begun?

For about 1.8 lakh years, Early humans lived in bands as hunter-gatherers. They did not practice agriculture. However owing to changes in ways of obtaining food, some bands took to the deliberate method of production of food - agriculture. As agriculturalists, they were increasingly sedentary (staying in one place).

*Fig 7. 2 : A rockshelter used by early humans at Bhimbetka, Madhya Pradesh. Read the Chapter on hunter gatherers from class VI for details.*



*Table : 1*

- Compare and contrast : Using the information given above, compare and contrast nomadic and sedentary life styles. How many points could you identify? (Make another table if this space is not enough.)

Nomadic life style	Sedentary life style

## Why do settlements change?



*Fig 7. 3 : A middle class housing colony.*

Settlements change for many reasons. Read the following story about Delhi.

The city of Delhi can claim to have been central to many empires that ruled India. When India gained independence, the city remained its capital. Over the decades, the city has attracted people from all parts of India as

they migrated in search of livelihood, jobs, education, dispensary etc. As the capital of the country, with the Parliament and Central Government offices, there are people from all parts living in the city. Because of this, the population increased eight fold from 60 lakhs to 1 crore and 60 lakhs.

Every city usually has a master plan to design and allocate different types of areas. In any city, there should be housing areas, markets, schools, industrial areas, office areas, parks and recreational areas and so on. Based on this, planners can decide the types of roads, the amount of water or electricity required, how to dispose waste, how to clean sewage etc that would be necessary. The city of Delhi had three such master plans. However, if we look at the current scenario, it would appear that these plans have not been implemented properly. In fact, Delhi has grown in an unplanned manner. A planned colony usually has all the facilities in place. Government has to announce areas demarcated for different purposes. The constructions in that area are expected to follow such an order. However, it is clear that such plans have not been followed.

On one hand, there is growing population in the cities and on the other hand, there is long delay in planning and announcing how the areas are to be used. People who migrate to the city looking for work, occupy land and settles, after that without necessary permission and build on it in the way they can afford with no help or facility from anyone. They remain unauthorised for long periods. When the plan is finally announced, these areas may be marked for a different purpose.

This leads to a difficult conflict situation. People face constant threat of eviction. They seek political patronage from being evicted from their homes. These colonies are not likely to be recognised because the master plan ignored their existence. Thus these colonies also do not receive many public amenities. People here are poor but provide essential services to the city.

## What type of places are formed as settlements?

To understand this, we need to look at these basic concepts: (1) site (2) situation (3) the history of the place.

Site refers to the characteristics of the place – its topography, altitude, characteristics of water bodies like lakes, rivers, underground water, types of soils, security, shelter from natural forces, and so on.

In early settlement periods, places which had favourable water supply and good protection from invasions were preferred. For example, Chhatrapati Shivaji built a fort in Pratapgadh, Maharashtra. This site was chosen because of its altitude from where all the surrounding areas could be seen. This provided military security.



*Fig 7.4 : Fort in Pratapgadh*

Places do not exist in isolation. They are in some way connected to other places. Situation describes the connections with other places. For example: Visakhapatnam is located on the coast and connects to many places in and outside of India.

Over the decades, Visakhapatnam's population has grown significantly (see next table 2). This growth is a result of the importance of Visakhapatnam as a port city. This population increase also indicates growth in economic and social opportunities.

Visakhapatnam has a long history. It was ruled by different dynasties during pre-colonial times. During the 19th century, the British and French fought a naval battle over this city. Coastal places were of immense significance for colonial powers because they could build ports there. These ports would enable export of raw materials to the colonising country.



*Fig 7.5 : Visakhapatnam*

In fact, cities such as Mumbai and Chennai were further developed by the colonial powers to better exploit the natural resources of India. The fight for Visakhapatnam was for similar reasons.

Table 2		
Population of Visakhapatnam		
Year	Population	%change
1901	40,892	
1911	43,414	+6.2%
1921	44,711	+3.0%
1931	57,303	+28.2%
1941	70,243	+22.6%
1951	1,08,042	+53.8%
1961	2,11,190	+95.5%
1971	3,63,467	+72.1%
1981	6,03,630	+66.1%
1991	7,52,031	+24.6%
2001	13,45,938	+78.97%
2011	20,35,690	+51.2%

#### Population change in Visakhapatnam :

1. In the population data given in the table, are the percentages reported for every decade? If not, which decade's data is not reported here?
2. From which decade to which decade has the population increase been the highest (in percentage)?
3. From which decade to which decade has the population increase been the lowest (in percentage)?
4. Plot the absolute population of Visakhapatnam on a line graph covering 1901-2011. What observations can you make about the changes in the absolute population size?

### Indian settlements in hierarchy

The Census of India organises settlements in India using certain criteria. In the Table 3, the Census department's definitions of various settlement types are given. Read them carefully and complete the exercise.

A pyramid is given in the next page. The bottom-most part of the pyramid shows the lowest level of the settlement hierarchy according to the Indian census. The top-most shows the highest level. Fill in the details that are left blank:

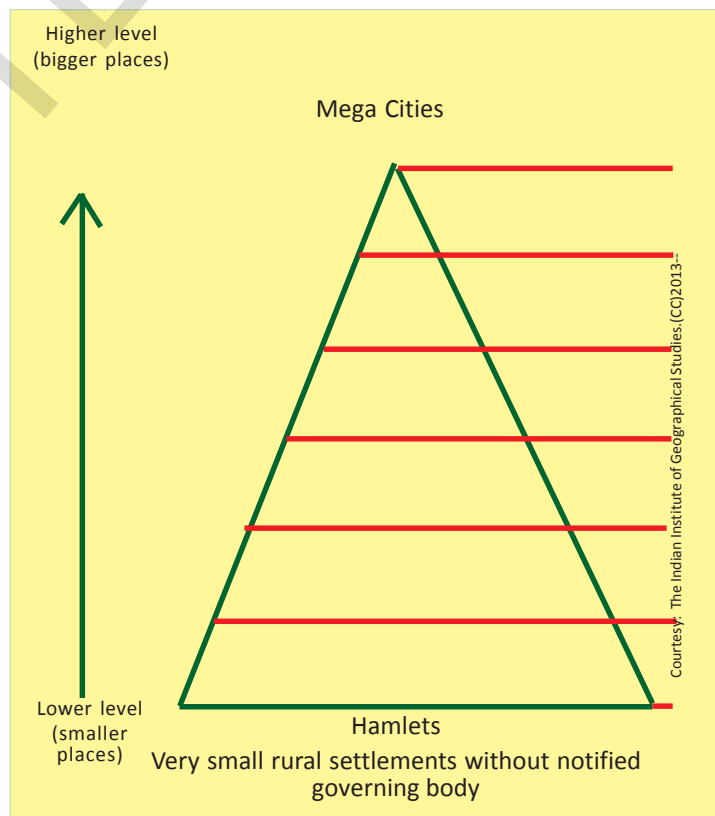
1. The name given to the particular level of settlement (Two examples are shown).
2. Give one example of a settlement from Telangana. (Other than mega cities, why?)
3. Try to place the town where you live (if you live in a village, show the town in which your school is located) at the correct level, give 1 or 2 reasons for your choice.

Table 3 : Indian settlements in hierarchy

Settlement type	Criteria used	Examples
Mega Cities	Cities having more than 10 million people	* Greater Mumbai UA (population 18.4 million) * Delhi UA (population 16.3 million) * Kolkata UA (population 14.1 million).
Metropolitan Cities / Million Plus cities	Cities having population between one million and 10 million	* Chennai (8.6 million) * Hyderabad (7.2 million) * Ahmedabad (6.2 million)
Cities/ Class 1 cities	Urban areas having population between 1 lakh and one million	With the help of your teacher identify 2 cities and give the details of population within Telangana
Towns	All the urban areas having population between 5000 and 1 lakh	With the help of your teacher identify 3 towns in / nearby your area and give the details of population
Revenue / Census Village	A village with defined borders	With the help of your teacher identify 3 revenue villages in / nearby your area and give the details of population
Hamlets	A group of houses within the revenue village	With the help of your teacher identify one or two in a revenue villages in / nearby your area

4. Do you think settlements should be classified only on the basis of population? Can you think of any other way? Discuss with your teacher and identify the criteria for such classification.

In the future, India is poised to follow the trend of many 'economically developed' nations in becoming predominantly urban.





*Fig 7.6 : Residential area of Low income people in Delhi*

## Urbanisation in India

In India, nearly 350 million i.e. one-third of population lives in cities and towns. People have been increasingly taking up non agriculture work and living in cities and towns: This process is called urbanisation. A considerable section of population in the 1950s lived in 5.6 lakh villages and there were only 5 cities that had a population of more than 1 million each and the number of cities with 1 lakh population was around 40. Today, the number of villages has increased to 6.4 lakhs

and about 850 million people live in these villages. Three cities – Mumbai, Delhi and Kolkata - accommodate more than 10 million people each. There are more than 50 cities that have a population of 1 million and above.

Though there has been an increase in urbanisation, the necessity of providing basic infrastructure that can support this growth is missing. You require roads, drainage, electricity, water and other public facilities. Government intervention is making some headway in improving the urban infrastructure particularly those associated with road transport. However, the provision of electricity, water and health infrastructure is not sufficient. For poorer people in the cities and towns, this situation is even worse.

How does urban India contribute to India's economic development? Service sector activities such as finance, insurance, real estate and business related service activities such as transport, storage and communication contribute more than industrial activities. There is no major growth of industrial output over the last few decades.

Living in or moving into cities and towns is a boon only for a few. Although the level of poverty in urban areas is relatively lower than what is noticed in rural areas, there is a huge gap between the average income of a low income family and a high income family. This gap has also been increasing in cities and towns. Incomes earned in urban areas by the SC/ STs are far lower than other caste groups. In 2009-10, only about one-sixth of urbanites belonging to castes other than SC/ STs were poor whereas in the case of SC/ ST urbanites the poverty level is double. Most of these poor live in non metropolitan towns and work in the unorganised sector.

Most of the population increase in cities and towns took place as a consequence of natural growth within the urban areas. The population of these urban areas increased over time. Some of the growth in urban settlements took place by expansion, with the inclusion of rural areas surrounding older cities and towns. Only one-fifth of the growth is due to rural - to - urban migration.

## Problems of Urbanisation

Increasing urbanisation is not just all about greater opportunities for people, more economic productivity, etc. It also results in many problems. The growing urban population has to be housed. It needs water supply, sewage and other waste disposal, transportation and many other things. All these result in environmental stress. As vehicle use increases, urban air pollution increases, causing health problems and localised climatic change. Improper sewage disposal can also lead to greater threat of infectious diseases.

One of the impacts of increased urbanisation is the use of materials that either do not degrade or take a long time to do so. This produces waste that has to be disposed off. Where do we put such waste? As urban areas expand, the waste is increasingly pushed to rural areas where they are either just dumped or taken to waste treatment plants.

## Aerotropolis

A new kind of settlement is happening in many countries, including India. These settlements are centered around large airports. Hence, the name aerotropolis or airport city.

In an aerotropolis, the airport functions as a city in its own right. Many facilities like hotels, shopping, entertainment, food, business conferencing etc, are provided right there. People can fly in, conduct their business with their counterparts right there and fly out with all the comforts of a city, without the traffic and other problems.

Some form of aerotropolises are emerging in these places in India: Kempegouda International Airport (Bengaluru), Indira Gandhi Inter-national Airport (Delhi), and Rajiv Gandhi International Airport (Hyderabad).

Elsewhere, examples of emerging aerotropolises include: Suvarnabhumi International Airport (Bangkok, Thailand), Dubai International Airport (Dubai, UAE), Cairo International Airport (Cairo, Egypt), and London Heathrow Airport (London, UK).

In India, the history and geographical features are a reason for expansion of a settlement and migration of people is another reason.

- What is the centre of an aerotropolis?
- Name any two facilities located at or near the centre of an aerotropolis.
- On an outline map of the world, locate and label the cities given here in the examples. Name the country and the airport also on the map. Remember to use different types of text to identify the names of the country and the names of the cities and airports, so that it will be easier to see which words are names of countries, and which are for cities and their airports.
- Suppose that the place you have studied about in this chapter gets an aerotropolis near it. Mention 3 ways in which the site features of your place may change. Similarly, mention 3 ways in which the situation features of your place may change.

## Migrations

People moving from their places to other places to searching of better opportunities is called 'Migrations'. Migration arises out of various social, economic or political reasons.

### Measure and classify migration patterns

For identifying a person as a migrant, two criteria are used by the census:

- ♣ "birth place" – place where the person was born
- ♣ "last usual place of residence" – a place where the person had stayed continuously for a period of six months or more

- Here is a list of a few people. Categorise them as migrant or non-migrant. Indicate the pattern and guess the probable reasons for migration.

Name	Present address for the last six months	Place of birth	Migrant or non-migrant	Pattern of migration, rural to urban; urban to urban etc and possible reason
Sindhu	Bijwaram	Village in Jogulamba Dt.		
Grace Oviya	Hyderabad	Mumbai		
Ali (an NRI)	New Delhi	London		
Lakshmi	Thimmapuram (for only two months)	Vikarabad Dt		
Swathi	Manakondur Karimnagar Dt.	Hyderabad		Selected for Group IV TSPSC

In India, according to census 2011, about 307 million people have been reported as migrants. Migrations can happen due to many reasons. While females report marriage as the most common reason for migration, employment or seeking employment is the most common reason for males to migrate. Dissatisfaction with employment opportunities in the native place, better opportunity for studies, losses in business, family feuds etc are also some of the other reasons that people have stated as reasons for migration in the census surveys.

*\* Do you agree with " Most of the children are dropouts in migrant families" . Explain with examples related to your area.*

## Seasonal and Temporary Migration

According to the national census surveys, every fourth person in India is a migrant. During 2001-2011, migration increased but not as much as in the 1980s. This may be within a state or outside. We have examined the statistics of rural – urban migration and the multiple reasons for migration. However, it is significant to note that rural to rural migration is increased. Some of this may not be captured by census data because the period of stay is often less than six months. The number of seasonal migrants is underestimated in India due to limitations in the definition of the term ‘migrant’ used in the national surveys.

### Rural to rural migration

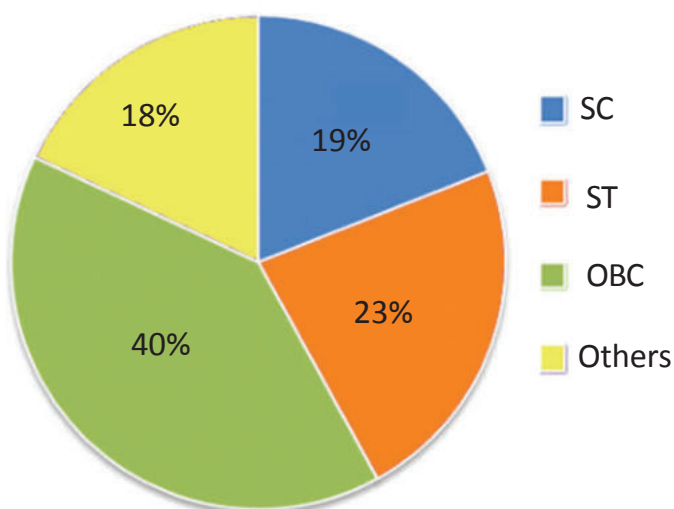
Maharashtra is one of the popular states of India which produces sugar. It has 186 cooperative sugar factories. Large scale sugarcane cultivation began here in the early 1970s after the Koina dam was built. A study estimates that about 6,50,000 labourers migrate from central to western Maharashtra for sugarcane cutting each year. Of these, around 2,00,000 are children in the school age group of 6-14 years. They come with their family members.

The sugarcane cutters camp for the season in clearings earmarked by factories. These are in the vicinity of the fields. Each family is provided with a bamboo mat and poles.

A large section of rural workers migrate for a short duration and particularly due to distress caused in rural areas. They are mainly agricultural labourers or marginal farmers in their place of origin and mostly belong to low income households, dalits and adivasis.

The National Commission of Rural Labour in its report in 1990s found that uneven development and regional disparity triggered and accelerated seasonal migration. In some tribal areas, intrusion of outsiders and displacement of people for construction of dams and mining have increased distress seasonal migration.

*Pie Chart 1 : Social Background of short term migrants in India, 2007-08*



In agriculture sector, employers go to the native place of migrants and recruit them. Contractors (also called agents), traders who belong to the same caste, community or source area are used by employers of quarries in Delhi, coffee plantations of Karnataka, and farming in Punjab. Such workers come with workers who have already migrated. Contractors retain part of the migrants earnings apart from the payments they receive from employers. Sometimes, the contractors also work as supervisors.

### Rural - Urban migration

- When people move out of rural areas, which sector of the economy in the rural area loses the most number of people? Why?
- In urban areas, what are the common sector(s) of the economy in which migrants from the rural areas find employment? What are the reasons for this?

People migrate from rural areas mainly due to insufficient employment opportunities and inadequate income available in rural employment. People also migrate with the expectation of higher income and more opportunities for family members and may be better services. Most urban migrants have to work as labourers and find

employment in the unorganised sector. They could be working as hawkers, painters, repair persons, rickshaw pullers, construction labour etc.

People from rural areas, move to cities and towns to work in industry and other service activities. This has been recognised as a natural reason to increase their income and for better family prospects. In this process, they have opportunities for education, new jobs and to acquire new skills. Towns also appear to offer greater freedom and somewhat less discrimination based on caste and gender. However, many move to urban areas more out of desperation and not having adequate

employment opportunities in the rural areas. For these people, living conditions in slums in towns and cities are worse because space is cramped and even basic facilities such as drinking water and sanitation aren't available. These people are not able to find jobs in the 'organised sector' and therefore there is no job security and decent income that they were aspiring for. They continue to live as daily workers.

- Interview a person who has come to a town to work in the unorganised sector as a labourer or domestic servant and write her story
- If you live in a rural area, interview a person who has come on a vacation from working in a town in the unorganised sector, write his story
- Compare and contrast these two situations.

Many families have residences both at their origin (native place) and at the destination. They shift between the two places depending on work and seasons. Migration does not necessarily involve movement of all members of the family, and often the wife remains in the rural area.

Urban migrants use different job searching mechanisms depending upon their skills and educational qualifications. Contacts and networks are crucial for getting urban jobs. In fact, villagers pre-arrange their jobs from rural areas and come to urban areas through their contacts or networks. They keep close ties with their rural areas for a variety of reasons. Migrants also pass on the urban opportunities to the rural areas so that potential migrants can engage in rural-based job search. In most cases, migration is the survival strategy for many families.

### International migration

One-third of the world's 200 million international migrants, less than 70 million people, according to the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), have moved from one developing country to another. International migration from India is of two types:

People with technical skills and professional expertise have migrated to countries such as USA, Canada, United Kingdom, Australia and other developed countries. IT professionals, doctors and management professionals are an example of this type. Indians migrating to countries such as UK and Canada in 1950s and 1960s were unskilled whereas in the later years, mostly professionals went to these countries. In recent times, Indian professionals also go to countries such as Germany, Norway, Japan and Malaysia. In the 1950s, about 10,000 persons a year went to developed countries and in 1990s, this has increased to more than 60,000 a year.

The second type of international migration is unskilled and semi-skilled workers migrating to oil exporting countries of the West Asia on temporary contracts. Almost



- Draw arrow lines on the World Map depicting people from India going to different countries mentioned in the above passages.

all these workers come back after a specific period depending on the employment situation in the destination countries. During the last few decades, Saudi Arabia and UAE (United Arab Emirates) have been the important destinations for most of the 3 million Indian workers in the West Asia. Every year, more than 3 lakh workers migrate to West Asia. Nearly three-fifths of workers going to West Asia are from Kerala, Tamil Nadu, Telangana and Andhra Pradesh. A considerable section of these workers are engaged in construction projects, maintenance, services, transport and telecommunications.

### **What happens when people migrate?**

Migrant labourers spend more on food as they cannot get food grains from fair price shops at their workplaces. As they live in harsh circumstances and unhygienic conditions, they suffer from health problems and are prone to disease. Those working in quarries, brick kilns, construction sites and mines suffer from body ache, sun stroke, skin irritation and lung diseases. When employers do not follow safety measures, accidents in industrial areas and construction sites are also common. Migrants are not able to access various health and family care programmes as they do not belong to the organised sector. In the case of women migrant workers, there is no maternity leave. This means they have to go back to work soon after childbirth.

When families migrate, children accompanying their parents do not have creche facilities. Grown up children are not able to continue their studies at their parents' new workplaces. Schools in their native place refuse to take them again when they come back. They finally become dropouts. When males leave their families, it is also a major challenge for women who have to take care of all the responsibilities of the family and elderly people who need care. Young girls in such families are required to take care of siblings and many of them become dropouts.

Migration leaves a considerable mark on the migrants also. Exposure to different

environment, stress associated with it, food available and social atmosphere leave a deep impact on migrants. This also depends on the length of migration.

Most migrants and particularly those going for a long term send remittances. In some regions of India, nearly one-third of households depend on the remittances sent by their migrant members. Majority of seasonal migrants either remit or bring

- What can be done so that migrants are able to get access to food, health and family care programmes?
- There are some initiatives taken by government and voluntary agencies. Find out if there is any such initiative in your area. Invite some persons from such agencies to talk in the school.

back savings. Migration allows households to meet debts and other obligations without having to sell assets. It is also common to find migrant families buying house, land, agricultural machinery and consumer durables. Some migrants might take up jobs in the destination, acquire skills required in the destination area, become aware of how to get regular jobs and migrate regularly or permanently.

### Monitoring of International Migration

The Emigration Act, 1983 is the Indian law governing migration and employment of Indians abroad. It also lays out conditions to safeguard the interests of workers emigrating for employment. Embassies set up by the Indian Government in different countries are expected to follow the legal procedures and protect the welfare of the international migrants as given in the Emigration Act. At times, migrant workers are not paid their salaries, recruitment agents cheat prospective workers or collect more than the prescribed fees for their role in getting work for workers abroad. Employers also terminate the job contract before its expiry, change the employment contract to the disadvantage of migrant workers, pay less than the agreed salary and freeze fringe benefits and other perks. They often force workers to do overtime without making additional payments, and deny permission to keep one's own passport. Indian migrant workers seldom lodge any complaint against their foreign employers for the fear of losing their jobs.



Fig 7.7 : National boundaries are protected against migrants. Here are examples of a) USA on Mexican border b) South Korea on North Korean border c) India on Bangladesh border. What do you think of migrants across the border?

## Keywords

1. Settlement
2. Megacities
3. Aerotropolis
4. Urbanisation
5. Metropolitan city
6. Migration
7. Immigration
8. Emigration
9. Seasonal migration
10. Border

## Improve your learning

1. What is a settlement? (AS<sub>1</sub>)
2. How was human lifestyle changed with settlements? (AS<sub>1</sub>)
3. How does the Census of India define various kinds of places? How does it organize them in order of size and other characteristics? (AS<sub>1</sub>)
4. What is an aerotropolis? How is it structured? (AS<sub>1</sub>)
5. Read the last para of page 99 “When families migrate ..... many of them become dropouts”, and comment on it. (AS<sub>2</sub>)
6. Compare and contrast the migration from rural to urban areas and rural to rural areas. (AS<sub>1</sub>)
7. Do you think migrants are trouble makers/ trouble shooters in their destinations? Justify your answer. (AS<sub>4</sub>)
8. How does rural to urban migration increase the purchasing power of people in rural areas? (AS<sub>1</sub>)
9. Why are only professionals able to go to developed countries? Why cannot unskilled workers migrate to these countries? (AS<sub>1</sub>)
10. Describe the similarities and differences between the impacts of internal and international migration. (AS<sub>1</sub>)
11. Locate the following in the map of India. (AS<sub>5</sub>)
  - a) Chennai
  - b) Bengaluru
  - c) Delhi
  - d) Hyderabad
  - e) Kolkata

## Project

Collect Information either from emigrants or Immigrants.

Sl. No.	Emigrant's family head	Total emigrants	Place where they migrated to	Reasons for migration	Conditions at the place	Conditions after migration

After Collecting the information from the families, analyse the situation and find out solutions.

**Debate:** Is urbanisation a symbol of development or does it lead to problems. Conduct a debate on it.

## Rampur : A Village Economy

### The story of Rampur village

This story of a village will take us through the different types of production activities in a village. In villages across India, farming is the main production activity. The other production activities, referred to as non-farm activities, include small manufacturing, transport, shop-keeping etc. Let us look at both the types of activities in this chapter. The production systems - whether at a farm or a factory can be analysed using some ideas of the essential elements in any production process. How the production is organised in turn has an important bearing on people's lives.

The story of Rampur village (*name changed*) is based on a detailed case study where the writer went and stayed in the area and closely observed the various aspects of life in the village. The study of the village was followed by subsequent visits. The writer could therefore note many changes in the village across time. As you read the story, you may want to think and enquire, about whether the phenomenon observed for Rampur is also present in your area. Or is the situation different? If so, in what ways?

In this chapter, you will come across occasional reference to your own situation or the all-India situation. For instance, when we discuss distribution of land in Rampur, we also examine what has happened to India as a whole. Interestingly, we find that there are strong parallels. This helps us to understand that while Rampur has some specific features, many of its features are prevalent across India with some variations. These could also be compared with your region.

- What do you know about agriculture? How do crops change in various seasons? Do most people depending on agriculture belong to land owning groups or labourers?

### Farming in Rampur



Rampur lies in the fertile alluvial plains of the Gangetic basin in the western part of Uttar Pradesh. Along with Punjab and Haryana, western Uttar Pradesh forms a contiguous belt of agriculturally prosperous region. The village is well-connected with the neighbouring villages and cities. Raiganj, a big village, is 3 kms from Rampur. An all weather road connects Raiganj to the nearest small town Jahangirabad (12 kms away). Many kinds of transport are visible on this road starting from bullock carts, *tongas*, *bogeys* (wooden

cart drawn by buffalos) loaded with jaggery and other commodities to motor vehicles like motorcycles, jeeps, tractors and trucks.

Farming is the main production activity in Rampur. Majority of the working people are dependent on farming for their livelihood. They could be farmers or farm labourers. The well-being of these people is closely related to the production on the farms.

### Land and other natural resources

Land is the most crucial factor necessary for farm production. Land area under cultivation, however, is practically fixed. In Rampur, since 1921, there has been no expansion in land area under cultivation. By then, the nearby forests had been cleared and some of the wastelands in the village were converted to cultivable

#### Measuring Land

The standard unit of measuring land is hectare, though in the villages you may find land being measured in local units such as acre and cents or *gunta*. One hectare is 10000 square meters. Compare the area of 1 hectare field with the area of your school ground. Discuss with your teacher.

land. There is no further scope to increase agricultural production by bringing new land under cultivation.

There is no land that is left idle in Rampur. During the rainy season (*kharif*), farmers grow *jowar* and *bajra*. These are grown as cattle feed also. It is followed by cultivation of potato between October and December. In the winter season (*rabi*), fields are sown with wheat. From the total produce, farmers keep enough wheat for the family's consumption and sell the surplus at the market-

yard at Raiganj. A part of the land is used for sugarcane production which is harvested once every year. Sugarcane, in raw form, or as jaggery, is sold to traders in Jahangirabad, the nearby town.

Growing more than one crop on the same piece of land during the year is known as multiple cropping. It is the most common way of increasing production from land. All farmers in Rampur grow at least two main crops; many are growing potato as the third crop.

Farmers in Rampur are able to grow three different crops in a year due to the well-developed irrigation system. Electricity came early to Rampur. It transformed the system of irrigation. Till then, Persian wheels were used by farmers to draw water from the wells and irrigate small areas. People saw that the electric-run tubewells could irrigate much larger areas of land easily. The first few tubewells were installed by the government almost fifty years ago. Soon, however, farmers started setting up their own tubewells. As a result, by mid-1970s, the whole of the cultivated area of 264 hectares (ha.) was irrigated.

Not all villages in India have such high levels of irrigation. Apart from the riverine plains, coastal regions in our country are well-irrigated. In contrast, plateau regions such as the Deccan plateau have low levels of irrigation. Even today, a little less than 40 percent of the total cultivated area in the country is irrigated. In

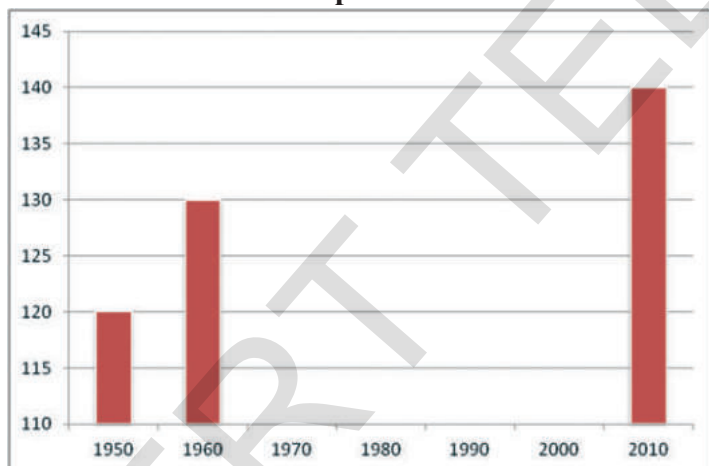
the remaining areas, farming is largely dependent on rainfall. See chapter 1 about India relief features.

- Looking at an atlas, identify the areas that are well irrigated. Does your region fall under this category?

While intensive use of natural resources like land and water has led to increased production and yields, the use of the natural resources has not always been judicious. Experience shows fertility of land is declining due to overuse-excessive use of chemical fertilisers and pesticides. The situation of water is equally alarming. Like Rampur, mostly irrigation in India is based on tapping underground water. As a result, underground water tables have fallen rapidly across the country. Even in regions with bountiful rains and favourable natural systems of recharge, the water tables have reached dangerously low levels. As the water tables decline, farmers have to drill deeper tube wells than before. The use of diesel/ electricity for irrigation rises accordingly. In order to understand these issues, further recall what you learnt in chapter 5: Indian Rivers and Water resources and read chapter 11: Sustainable Development with equity.

- The following table shows the land under cultivation in India in units of million hectares. Plot this on the graph provided. What does the graph show? Discuss in class.

**Graph : 1**



Year	Cultivated Area (in million hec)
1950	120
1960	130
1970	140
1980	140
1990	140
2000	140
2010	140
2015	140

- You have read about the crops grown in Rampur. Fill the following table based on information on the crops grown in your region.

Name of crop	Month sown	Month harvested	Source of water/ irrigation (Rain, tanks, tube wells, canals, etc.)

- What are the reasons for multiple cropping in cultivation.

## Land Distribution in Rampur

You must have realised how important land is for farming. Unfortunately, not all the people engaged in agriculture have sufficient land for cultivation. The population of Rampur is about 2,660; there are about 450 families belonging to different castes. The upper caste families own majority of the land in the village. Their houses, some of them quite large, are made of brick with cement plastering. The SCs (dalits) comprise 1/3rd of the population and live in more modest houses, some portions of which may be thatched and are located in one corner, outside the main village area.

In Rampur, about 1/3rd of the population, i.e. 150 families are landless. Most of the landless families are dalits. There are 60 families of medium and large farmers who cultivate more than 2 hectares of land. A few of the large farmers have land extending over 10 hectares or more. About 240 families cultivate small plots of land less than 2 hectares in size. Cultivation of such plots doesn't bring adequate income to the farmer families.

In 1960, Gobind was a farmer with 2.25 hectares of largely unirrigated land. With the help of his three sons, Gobind cultivated the land. Though they didn't live very comfortably, the family managed to feed itself with a little bit of extra income from one buffalo that the family possessed. Some years after Gobind's death, this land was divided among his three sons. Each one now has a plot of land that is only 0.75 hectare in size. Even with improved irrigation and modern farming methods,



Map 1 : Distribution of land in a Telangana Village.

Gobind's sons are not able to make a living from their land. They have to look for additional work during part of the year.

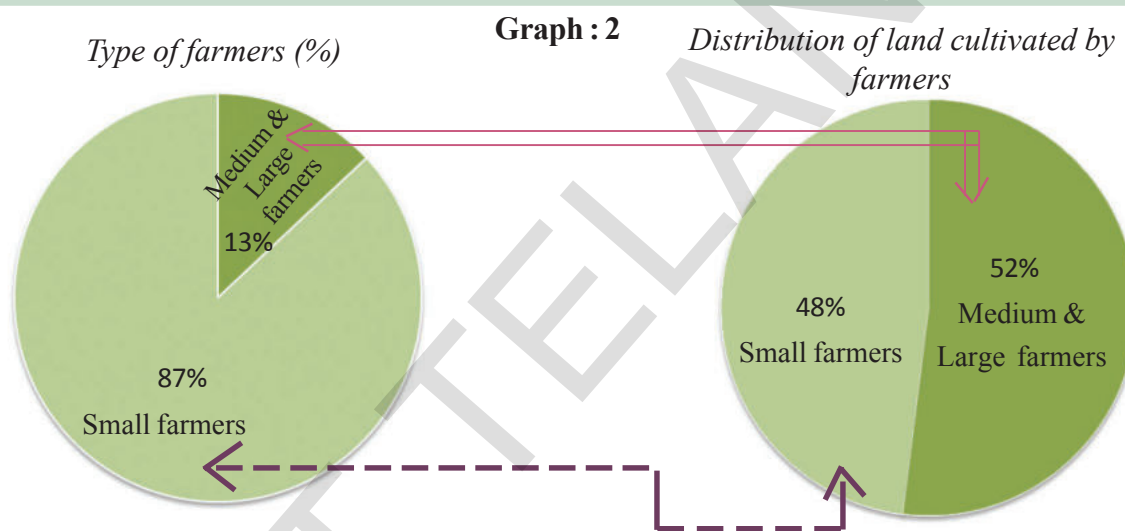
Map 1 is a map of land holdings in a Telangana village. You can see the different size of plots and the relatively large number of small plots.

- In map 1, shade the small plots of land.
- Why do so many families of farmers cultivate such small plots of land?
- The distribution of farmers in India and the amount of land they cultivate are given in the following table and pie-charts.

Type of Farmers	Size of Plots	Percentage of Farmers	Percentage of Cultivated Area
Small farmers	Less than 2 ha.	87%	48%
Medium and Large farmers	More than 2 ha.	13%	52%

**Note:** The data here refers to the land cultivated by farmers. It could be owned or taken on rent

- What do the arrows indicate? Would you agree that the distribution of cultivated land is unequal in India? Explain.



## Organisation of Production

Let us try to understand the overall process of production in Rampur.

The aim of production is to produce goods and services that people need. Further, the producer requires a number of items to produce a good or service. These can be classified as follows :

**The first requirement** is land and other natural resources such as water, forests, minerals. We have read above how land and water are used for farming in Rampur.

**The second requirement** is labour i.e. people who do the work. Some production activities require highly trained and educated workers to perform the necessary tasks. Other activities require workers who can do manual work. Each worker is providing the necessary labour for production. Unlike common usage, labour refers to all human effort in production, not just manual labour. Hence, for example, whether one is an engineer, manager, accountant, supervisor, machine operator, sales representative or casual labour - all of them provide labour for a factory to produce and sell its product.

**The third requirement** is capital, i.e. the variety of inputs required at every stage during production. What are the items that come under capital?

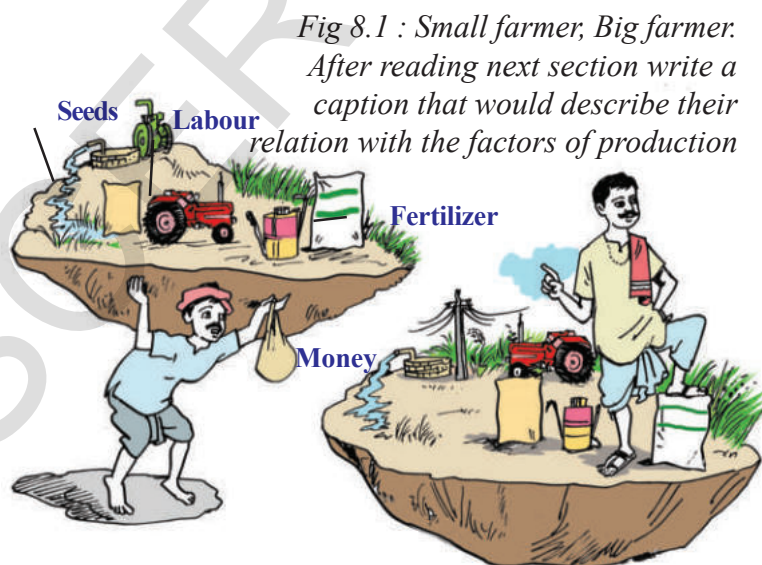
**(a) Tools, machines, buildings:** Tools and machines range from very simple tools such as a farmer's plough to sophisticated machines such as generators, turbines, computer automated machines etc. They are not used up or consumed immediately in the production process. They help to produce these goods over many years. They require some repair and maintenance so that they remain useful and can be used year after year. These are called fixed capital or physical capital. However, all machines have to be replaced due to many years of use by new and often better tools and machines.

**(b) Raw materials and money required:** The various raw materials such as the yarn used by the weaver and the clay used by the potter are used in production. Some money is also required to buy other necessary materials for production and make payments for completing the production. It takes time to complete the production and then sell these goods or services in the market. Only then does money flow back into the production process. This requirement for raw material and money is therefore called working capital. This is different from physical capital because unlike tools, machines or buildings, these are used up in the production cycle.

**The fourth requirement is technology and enterprise:** To be able to use land, labour and physical capital in a meaningful way to produce some goods or services, knowledge of the process of production and confidence is essential. Owners of the physical capital or managers hired by them provide this knowledge. The owners also have to take the risks of the market i.e. whether the goods or services produced would find sufficient buyers. In our society, most goods and services are produced for sale in the market, hence the entrepreneurs who produce for the market have to plan, organise and manage. These entrepreneurs could be

farmers, shopkeepers, small scale manufacturers, service providers such as doctors, lawyers etc or large companies. Their goods and services are bought by people. They may earn a profit or could suffer a loss.

Every production is organised by people or entrepreneurs combining the elements of land, labour and capital. These are known as factors of production.



## Labour for the Farm

After land, labour is the next necessary factor for production. Farming requires a great deal of hard work. Small farmers, along with their families, mostly cultivate their own fields. Generally, they provide the labour required for farming themselves. Medium and large farmers hire farm labourers to work on their fields.

Farm labourers come either from landless families or families cultivating small plots of land. Unlike farmers working on their own fields, farm labourers do not have a right over the crops grown on the land. Instead they are paid wages by the farmer for whom they work. They have been employed to do the work.

Wages can be in cash or in kind (crop). Sometimes labourers get meals too. Wages vary widely from region to region, from crop to crop, from one farm activity to another (like sowing and harvesting). There is also a wide variation in the duration of employment. A farm labourer might be employed on a daily basis or on contract for one particular farm activity like harvesting or for the whole year.



Fig 8.2 Potato harvesting in the Himalayas

Shivaiah is a landless farm labourer who works on daily wages in Rampur. This means that he must regularly look for work. Shivaiah's wages are less than what the Uttar Pradesh government has set as minimum wages for labourers. There is heavy competition for work among the farm labourers in Rampur, so people agree to work for lower wages. With large farmers increasingly relying on machines like tractors, threshers, harvesters, the number of days of work available to a worker is very low in rural areas. In the whole of last year, Shivaiah got less than five months of work on the farm. During the periods when no work is available, Shivaiah and many like him have applied to village Panchayat for work under MGNREGA.

- Why are farm labourers like Shivaiah poor?
- What do the large and medium farmers in Rampur do to get labour for their farms? Compare this with your region.
- Fill in the following table:

Labour in production process	Give three different examples of production activity for each
Where owner/ family also provides the labour required	
Where owners hire labourers to do the work	

- What are the ways for providing labour, in the production of goods or services that you observe in your region?

**Table 1 : Daily Wages for different farm activities in combined Andhra Pradesh in December 2011 (in Rupees)**

Workers	Ploughing	Sowing	Weeding	Trans-planting	Harvesting	Winnowing	Threshing	Picking Cotton
Male	214	197	215	-	164	168	152	-
Female	-	152	130	143	126	124	118	136

The table gives information about the average daily wages that are paid for different farm activities to workers in combined Andhra Pradesh. However, there's a lot of variation across regions.

A woman worker gets Rs. 136 for picking cotton for a full day. You will notice that certain tasks like ploughing are done primarily by men, so there is no wage recorded for women. Tasks such as transplanting paddy and picking cotton are primarily done by women. There are certain production activities that are done by both men and women. The wages for men are higher than women even when they are doing the same job. The State governments fix a common minimum wage to be paid by all employers (private and public) within the state.

- Compare the figures for daily wages given above with those prevailing in your region for any of the operations.
- Find out the minimum wage and compare it with this.
- Why do you think do men receive a higher wage than women for the same job? Discuss.

### **Capital: Arranging physical and working capital**

You have read in earlier classes about how modern farming involves high yielding variety of seeds, assured irrigation, fertiliser and pesticides. This, in turn, means that the farmers require a sufficient amount of capital for production, and therefore money. Let's see how farmers arrange for physical capital and working capital required in farming.

Most small farmers have to borrow money to arrange for the working capital. They borrow from large farmers or the village moneylenders or the traders who supply various inputs for cultivation. The rate of interest on such loans is very high. They are put to a great distress to repay the loan.

Savita is a small farmer. She plans to cultivate wheat on her 1 ha. of land. Besides seeds, fertilisers and pesticides, she needs cash to buy water and repair her farm instruments. She estimates that the working capital itself would cost a minimum of Rs. 6000. She doesn't have the money, so she decides to borrow from Tejpal, a large farmer. Tejpal agrees to give the loan to Savita at 36% per annum interest rate, which is a high rate for four months. Savita also has to

promise to work on his field as a farm labourer during the harvest season at Rs 100 per day. As you can tell, this wage is quite low. Savita knows that she will have to work very hard to complete the harvesting on her own field and then work as a farm labourer for Tejpal. The harvest time is a very busy time. As a mother of three children, she has a lot of household responsibilities. Savita agrees to these tough conditions as she knows that getting a loan is difficult for a small farmer.

In contrast to the small farmers, the medium and large farmers generally have their own savings from farming. They are thus able to arrange for seeds, fertiliser, pesticide, payments to labourers etc - the working capital needed for farming. How do these farmers have their own savings? You shall find the answer in the next section.

All large farmers in this village have tractors. They use them for ploughing and sowing their farms and hire out these tractors to other small farmers. Most of them also have threshers and some own harvesters. All such farmers have many tube wells to irrigate their farms. These tools and machines are all part of physical capital for farming.

### Surplus or Loss for the farmer

Let us suppose that the farmers have produced wheat on their lands using the three factors of production. They retain a part of the wheat for the family's consumption and sell the surplus. Small farmers like Savita and Gobind's sons have little surplus wheat because their total production is small and from this, a substantial share is kept for their own family needs. So, generally it is the medium and large farmers who supply wheat to the wholesale market yard. The traders at the market yard buy the wheat and sell it further to shopkeepers in the towns and cities.

Tejpal, the large farmer, has a surplus of 350 quintals of wheat from all his lands. He sells the surplus wheat at the Raiganj market yard and has good earnings.



*Fig 8.3 : Grain being taken to the*

What does Tejpal do with his earnings? Last year, Tejpal had put most of the money in his bank account. Later, he used the savings for lending to farmers like Savita who were in need of a loan. He also used the savings to arrange for the working capital for farming in the next season.

This year Tejpal plans to use his earnings to buy another tractor. There is good business in hiring out tractors in the neighbouring villages. Another tractor would increase his fixed capital.

Like Tejpal, other large and medium farmers sell the surplus farm produce. A part of the earnings is saved and kept for buying capital for the next season. Some farmers might also use the savings to buy cattle, trucks or to set up shops. These constitute the capital for non-farm activities. They may also buy more land.

There is often a loss in farm activities, especially when crops are damaged because of floods, pests etc. The other risk is sudden fall in the price of agricultural produce. In such situations, farmers find it difficult to recover the working capital that they had spent.

### Surplus and Capital for Production

- Consider three farmers. Each has grown wheat on his field though the production is different as in Column 2. To analyse the situation faced by different farmers, we need to assume that some conditions are the same for all. To keep things simple, let us suppose the following conditions:

- The consumption of wheat by each farmer family is the same (Column 3).
- The whole of surplus wheat this year is used as seeds for working capital for the next year's production by all the farmers. They also have land to do so.
- Also suppose, production output is twice the working capital used in production in all the farms. There is no sudden loss in production.

Complete the table.

#### Farmer 1

Year	Production	Consumption	Surplus = Production - Consumption	Capital for the next year
Year 1	100	40	60	60
Year 2	120	40		
Year 3		40		

#### Farmer 2

Year	Production	Consumption	Surplus	Capital for the next year
Year 1	80	40		
Year 2		40		
Year 3		40		

#### Farmer 3

Year	Production	Consumption	Surplus	Capital for the next year
Year 1	60	40		
Year 2		40		
Year 3		40		

- Compare the production of wheat by the three farmers over the years.
- What happens to the Farmer 3 in Year 3? Can he continue production? What will he have to do to continue production?



*Fig 8.4 : Tea and Rubber Plantations. Farming sector also includes crops like Tea, Coffee, Rubber plantations and fruit orchards*

### NON-FARM ACTIVITIES IN RAMPUR

Apart from farming, which is the main production activity, there are some non-farm production activities. Only 25 percent of the people working in Rampur are engaged in activities other than agriculture.

#### Dairy - The other common activity

Dairy production is a common activity in many families of Rampur. People feed their buffaloes on various kinds of grass and jowar and bajra fodder cultivated during the rainy season. The milk is sold in Raiganj. Two traders from Jahangirabad have set up collection cum chilling centers at Raiganj from where the milk is transported to faraway places such as Bulandshahr and Delhi. The production factors of this activity are briefly described:

**Land:** Own shed in the village

**Labour:** Family labour, especially women to look after the buffaloes

**Physical Capital:** Buffaloes purchased at the cattle fair

**Working capital:** Feed from their land, some medicines are purchased

#### Small-scale manufacturing activities in Rampur

At present, less than fifty people are engaged in manufacturing activities in Rampur. Unlike manufacturing which takes place in big factories in the towns and cities, manufacturing in Rampur involves very simple production methods and is done on a small scale. Manufacturing is carried out mostly at home or in the fields with the help of family labour. Labourers are rarely hired.

Mishrilal has purchased a mechanical sugarcane crushing machine run on electricity and prepares jaggery. Earlier, sugarcane was crushed by using bullocks, but these days people prefer to do it with machines. Apart from using the

- What physical capital did Mishrilal need to set up this process?
- Who provides the labour in this case?
- Why is Mishrilal unable to increase his profit? Think of the situation when he could face a loss.
- Why does Mishrilal sell jaggery to traders in Jahangirabad and not in his village?

sugarcane that Mishrilal has cultivated, he also buys sugarcane from other farmers and processes it into jaggery. The jaggery is then sold to traders at Jahangirabad. In the process, Mishrilal makes a small profit.

### The shopkeepers of Rampur

There are not many people involved in trade (exchange of goods) in Rampur. The traders of Rampur buy various goods from wholesale markets in the cities and sell them

in the village. Small general stores in the village sell a wide range of items like rice, wheat, sugar, tea, oil, biscuits, soap, toothpaste, batteries, candles, notebooks, pen, pencil and sometimes even cloth.

A few families whose houses are close to the bus stand have used a part of the

- On whose land is the shop located?
- Who supplies labour to these small shops selling eatables?
- Guess what working capital would such shops require.
- List the physical capital items.
- From a hawker in your area, find out about his daily sales. How will you find out if there is some savings? Discuss with your teacher.

space to open small shops. They sell eatables like tea, *samosa*, *kachori*, *namkeen*, sweets, toffees, cold drink, etc. The women and the children in the family share the work together. In our country, a large section of people are self employed like farmers, shopkeepers, hawkers etc. They are owners because they have to plan and organise and take the risk of producing goods or services. At the same time they also provide their own labour to manage the process.

A few shopkeepers also buy goods that the villagers produce and supply it to shops/ markets in the bigger villages and towns. For instance, the person running the flour mill also buys wheat from the small farmers in the village and sells it at the Raiganj market. Flour milling and trading are two different businesses.

### Transport: A fast developing sector

A variety of vehicles on the road connect Rampur to Raiganj. *Rickshawallahs*, *tongawallahs*, jeep- tractor- truck- drivers and people driving the traditional bullock cart and *bogey* are in the transport services. They ferry people and goods from one place to another and get paid for it in return. The number of people involved in transport has grown over the last several years.

Kishore is a farm labourer. Like other labourers, Kishore found it difficult to meet his family's needs from the wages that he received. A few years back, Kishore

took a loan from the bank. This was under a government programme which was giving cheap loans to poor landless households. Kishore bought a buffalo with this money. He now sells the buffalo's milk. Further, he has attached a wooden cart to his buffalo and uses it to transport various items. Once a week, he goes to the river Ganga to bring back clay for the potter. Or sometimes he goes to Jahangirabad with a load of jaggery or other commodities. Every month, he gets some work in the transport services. As a result, Kishore is able to earn more than what he used to some years back.

- What is Kishore's fixed capital?
- What do you think would be his working capital?
- In how many production activities is Kishore involved?
- Would you say that Kishore has been benefited from better roads in Rampur?

### Summing up

Farming is the main production activity in the village. Over the years there have been many important changes in the way farming is practiced. These have allowed the farmers to produce more crops from the same amount of land. This is an important achievement, since land is fixed and scarce. But in raising production a great deal of pressure has been put on land and other natural resources. There is urgent need to review the methods of production and ensure sustainable use of the resources.

Farming now needs much more of capital. The medium and large farmers are able to use their own savings from production to arrange for capital during the next season. On the other hand, the small farmers who constitute about 87 percent of total farmers in India find it difficult to obtain capital. Because of the small size of their plots, their production is not enough. The lack of surplus means that they are unable to obtain capital from their own savings, and have to borrow. Besides the debt, many of the small farmers have to do additional work as farm labourers because of the low income.

Labour being the most abundant factor of production, it would be ideal if the new ways of farming used much more labour. Unfortunately, such a thing has not happened. The use of labour on farms is limited. The labour, looking for opportunities is thus migrating to neighbouring villages, towns and cities. Some labour has entered the non-farm sector in the village.

At present, the non-farm sector in the village is not very large. Though there is a variety of non-farm activities in the villages (we have only seen a few examples), the number of people employed in each is quite small. In 2009-2010, out of every 100 workers in the rural areas in India, 32 are engaged in non-farm activities. This includes the workers who are employed as part of MGNREGA on

various projects. MGNREGA has provided some support to the incomes of rural workers.

In the future, one would like to see more non-farm production activities in the village. Unlike farming, non-farm activities require little land. People with some amount of capital can set up non-farm activities. How does one obtain this capital? One can either use his own savings, but more often has to take a loan. It is important that loan be available at low rate of interest so that even people without savings can start some non-farm activity. Another thing which is essential for expansion of non-farm activities is to have markets where the goods and services produced can be sold. In Rampur, we saw the neighbouring villages, towns and cities provide the markets for milk, jaggery, wheat, etc. As more villages get connected to towns and cities through good roads, transport and telephone, it is possible that the opportunities for non-farm production activities in the village would increase in the coming years.

### Keywords

Factors of Production   Land   Labour   Working capital  
Fixed capital   Surplus   Farm activities   Non-Farm activities

### Improve your learning

1. Every village in India is surveyed once in ten years during the Census and the details are presented in the following format. Fill up the following based on information on Rampur. (AS<sub>3</sub>)

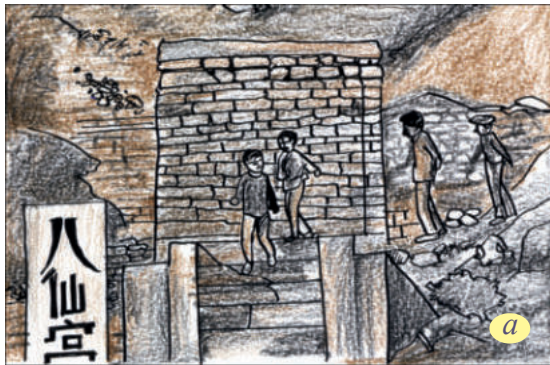
- a. Location:
- b. Total area of the Village:
- c. Land use (in hectares):

Cultivated Land		Land not available for cultivation (Area covering dwellings, roads, ponds, grazing ground)
Irrigated	Unirrigated	
		26 hectares

d. FACILITIES	
Educational	
Medical	
Market	
Electricity Supply	
Communication	
Nearest Town	

2. Why are the wages for farm labourers in Rampur less than minimum wages? (AS<sub>1</sub>)
3. Talk to two labourers from your region. Choose either farm labourers or labourers working at construction sites. What wages do they get? Are they paid in cash or kind? Do they get work regularly? Are they in debt? (AS<sub>3</sub>)
4. What are the different ways of increasing production on the same piece of land? Use examples to explain. (AS<sub>1</sub>)
5. How do the medium and large farmers obtain capital for farming? How is it different from the small farmers? (AS<sub>1</sub>)
6. On what terms did Savita get a loan from Tejpal ? Would Savita's condition be different if she could get a loan from the bank at a low rate of interest? (AS<sub>1</sub>)
7. Talk to some elderly persons in your region and write a small report on the changes in irrigation and changes in production methods during the last 30 years. (AS<sub>3</sub>)
8. What are the main non-farm production activities taking place in your region? Write a brief report on any one such activity. (AS<sub>3</sub>)
9. Imagine a situation where labour is the scarce factor of production instead of land. Would the story of Rampur be different? How? Discuss in class. (AS<sub>1</sub>)
10. Gosaipur and Majauli are two villages in North Bihar. Out of a total of 850 households in the two villages, there are more than 250 men who are employed in rural Punjab and Haryana or in Delhi, Mumbai, Surat, Hyderabad or Nagpur. Such migration is common in most villages across India. Why do people migrate? Can you describe (based on your imagination and previous chapter) the work that the migrants of Gosaipur and Majauli might do at the place of destination? (AS<sub>4</sub>)
11. Land is also required for production of goods in an urban area. In what ways is the use of land different from a rural area? (AS<sub>1</sub>)
12. Read again the meaning of “land” in the production process. Give three examples, other than agriculture, where this requirement is most significant in the process of production. (AS<sub>1</sub>)
13. Water, a natural resource for production, particularly agricultural production, now requires greater capital for its use. What is your opinion on it ? (AS<sub>2</sub>)

# Globalisation



a & b) going to school, c) school entrance, d) in classroom, e) teacher at board

If you have access to internet watch the entire advertisement in following link:

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VHYtShXI510>

What you see above is an advertisement for a magazine published from London. It is trying to get more subscribers in India. To who Indian readers, the advertisement seems to be

suggesting that countries like China are turning to India and learning Indian languages. This could be needed to communicate with Indian traders and manufacturers or to train Chinese workers who want to go to India to find work etc. Thus, you can see several dimensions of globalisation in this advt. a magazine published in English from Britain looking for buyers in India, Chinese trying to learn Indian languages, Chinese hoping to sell their products in India or sending their workers to India or doing business with Indian partners.

Globalisation is a major change that occurred across the globe in the late 20th century. This has political, cultural as well as economic dimensions. You have read

about some of these aspects in the context of service sector in Class VIII and IX such as emergence of new job opportunities like call centres. You will also recognise that there is a large number of consumer products available in the market.

We identify three types of flows within international economic exchanges. The first is the flow of trade in goods as well as services. The second is the flow of labour the migration of people in search of employment. The third is the flow of capital for short-term or long-term investments over long distances. Besides, there are political and

- Choose any one single item like Mobile phones or vehicles; identify the number of Brands available for this item in the market. Are they owned and manufactured in India or abroad? Discuss with your parents or other adults and find out how many such brands were available 30 years ago.

cultural dimensions of globalisation. For instance, last year several nations in Western Asia and Northern Africa like Tunisia, Egypt were influenced by each other's revolutions and uprooting of dictators. This was called 'Arab Spring' in the media. In these countries, media played a crucial role. Television Channels that were owned and run by people from other countries supported such mobilisation which resulted in regulating the powers of local leaders. While events like civil war or natural disasters like Tsunami are discussed within the national boundaries, they also receive support and sympathy from around the world. Globalisation is not merely about the market, infact, ideas are also being shared and expanded.

In this chapter our focus is mostly on the economic aspects of globalisation as they have unfolded in the past thirty to forty years.

### Production across Countries

Until the middle of the twentieth century, production was largely organised within countries. Raw materials, food grains and finished products only crossed the boundaries of these countries. Colonies such as India exported raw materials and food grains and imported finished goods. Trade was the main channel that connected distant countries. This was before the large multinational companies (MNCs) emerged on the scene. An MNC is a company that owns or controls production in more than one nation. MNCs set up offices and factories for production in regions where they can get cheap labour and other resources. This is done so that the cost of production is low and the MNCs can earn greater profits.

Consider the following example. A large MNC, producing industrial equipment, designs its products in research centres in the United States and then has the components manufactured in China. These are then shipped to Mexico and Eastern Europe where the products are assembled and the finished products are sold all over the world. Meanwhile, the company's customer care is carried out through call centres located in India. (Identify these countries on a world map.)

In this example, the MNC is not only selling its finished products globally, but more important, the goods and services are also being produced globally. As a result, production is organised in increasingly complex ways. The production process is divided into small parts and spread out across the globe. In the above example, China provides the advantage of being a cheap manufacturing location. Mexico and Eastern Europe are useful for their closeness to the markets in the US and Europe. India has educated English speaking youth who can provide customer care services. And all this probably can mean 50-60 per cent cost-savings for the MNC! The advantage of spreading out production across the borders to the multinationals can be truly immense.

### **Interlinking Production Across Countries**

In general, the criteria for selecting a site for operations of MNCs are: proximity to the markets; availability of skilled and unskilled labour at low costs; assured availability of other factors of production, government policies that protect their interests. The money that MNCs spend to buy assets such as land, building, machines and other equipment is called foreign investment. Any investment is made with the hope that these assets will earn profits.

At times, MNCs set up production jointly with the local companies in these countries. The local company benefits by the additional investments and the latest technology that the MNCs bring.

But the most common route for MNC investments is to buy these local companies and then to expand production. MNCs with huge amounts of wealth can quite easily do so. For example, Cargill Foods, a large American MNC, has bought over smaller Indian companies such as Parakh Foods. Parakh Foods had four edible oil refineries and a large marketing network in various parts of India, where its brand was well-reputed. With the takeovers, Cargill is now the largest producer of edible oil in India.

In fact, many of the top MNCs have wealth exceeding the entire budgets of the governments of developing country. With such enormous amount of wealth, imagine the power and influence of these MNCs!

There's another way in which MNCs control production. Large MNCs in developed countries place orders for production with small producers. Garments, footwear, sports items are examples of industries where production is carried out by a large number of small producers around the world. The products are supplied to the MNCs, which then sell them under their own brand name to the customers. These large MNCs have tremendous power to determine the price, quality, delivery and labour conditions for these distant producers. Because of the MNCs, production in widely dispersed locations is getting interlinked.

## Foreign Trade and Integration of Market

For a long time, trade has been the main channel for connecting countries. In history, you would have read about the trade routes connecting India and South Asia to markets both in the East and West and the extensive trade that took place along these routes. You would also remember that it was trading interests which attracted various trading companies such as East India Company to India. What is the basic function of foreign trade?

To put it simply, foreign trade creates an opportunity for the producers to reach beyond the domestic markets. Similarly, for the buyers, trade expands the choice of goods beyond what is domestically produced. Foreign trade, thus, results in connecting the markets or integration of markets in different countries.



Ford Motors, an American company, is one of the world's largest automobile manufacturers with production spread over 26 countries of the world. Ford Motors came to India in 1995 and spent Rs. 1700 crores to set up a large plant near Chennai. This was done in collaboration with Mahindra and Mahindra, a major Indian manufacturer of jeeps and trucks. By the year 2004, Ford Motors was selling 27,000 cars in the Indian markets, while 24,000 cars were exported from India to South Africa, Mexico and Brazil. The company wants to develop Ford India as a component supplying base for its other plants across the globe.



- Would you say Ford Motors is an MNC? Why?
- What is foreign investment? How much did Ford Motors invest in India?

- By setting up their production plants in India, MNCs such as Ford Motors tap the advantage not only of the large markets that countries such as India provide, but also the lower costs of production. Explain the statement.
- Why do you think would the company want to develop India as a base for manufacturing car components for its global operations? Discuss the following factors:
  - (a) cost of labour and other resources in India
  - (b) the presence of several local manufacturers who supply auto parts to Ford Motors
  - (c) closeness to a large number of buyers in India and China
- In what ways will the production of cars by Ford Motors in India lead to interlinking of production?
- In what ways is an MNC different from other companies?
- Nearly all major multinationals are American, Japanese or European, such as Nike, Coca-Cola, Pepsi, Honda, Nokia. Can you guess why?

### **MNCs and Globalisation**

In the past three or four decades, more and more MNCs have been looking for locations around the world which would make production cheaper for them. Foreign investment by MNCs in these countries has been rising. At the same time, foreign trade between countries has been rising rapidly. A large part of foreign trade is also controlled by MNCs. For instance, the car manufacturing plant of Ford Motors in India not only produces cars for the Indian markets, it also exports cars to other developing countries and exports car components for its many factories around the world. Likewise, activities of most MNCs involve substantial trade in goods and services.

- What was the main channel for connecting the countries in the past? How is it different now?
- Distinguish between foreign trade and foreign investment.
- In recent years, China has been importing steel from India. Explain how the import of steel by China will affect:
  - (a) steel companies in China.
  - (b) steel companies in India.
  - (c) industries buying steel for production of other industrial goods in China.
- How will the import of steel from India into the Chinese markets lead to integration of markets for steel in the two countries?

Chinese manufacturers started exporting plastic toys to India. Buyers in India now have the option of choosing between Indian and the Chinese toys. Because of the cheaper prices and new designs, Chinese toys became popular in the Indian markets. Within a year, 70 to 80 per cent of the toy shops have replaced Indian toys with Chinese toys. Toys are now cheaper in the Indian markets than earlier.

For the Chinese toy makers, this trade provided an opportunity to expand their business. This situation is different for Indian toy makers. Competition has forced some of the Indian producers to innovate, whereas others have perished.

The result of greater foreign investment and greater foreign trade has been greater integration of production and markets across countries. Globalisation is a process of rapid integration or interconnection between countries. MNCs are playing a major role in the globalisation process. More and more goods and services, investments and technology are moving between countries. Most regions of the world are now in closer contact with each other as compared to a few decades back.

The flow of capital, people and technology is supposed to have created a borderless world. As a result, states lose power to determine many aspects of life even within their borders. For instance, the most important decisions regarding the value of a currency, which were earlier made by sovereign governments, are today made outside government corridors and more often by market players and forces over which governments have very little control.

### Factors that have enabled Globalisation



### Technology

Rapid growth of technology has been one major factor that has stimulated the globalisation process. For instance, the past fifty years have seen several improvements in transportation technology. As a result, goods are delivered faster across long distances at lower costs.

The developments in information and communication technology have been even more remarkable and rapid. Telecommunication facilities (telegraph, telephone including mobile phones, fax) are used to contact one another around the world, to access information instantly and to communicate from remote areas. This has been facilitated by satellite communication devices. Computers have now entered almost every field of activity. You might have also ventured into the amazing world of internet, where you can obtain and share information on almost anything you want to know. Internet also

- What is the role of MNCs in the process of globalisation ?
- What are the various ways in which countries can be linked?
- Choose the correct option: Globalisation, by connecting countries, results in
  - (a) lesser competition among producers.
  - (b) greater competition among producers.
  - (c) no change in competition among producers.

allows us to send instant electronic mail (e-mail) and talk (voice-mail) across the world at negligible costs.

### Liberalisation of foreign trade and foreign investment policy

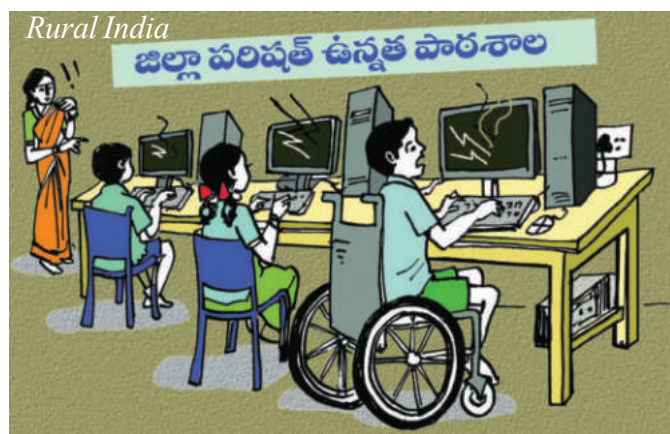
Let us return to the example of import of Chinese toys in India. Suppose, the Indian government imposes a tax on import of toys. And because of the tax, buyers will have to pay a higher price on imported toys. Chinese toys will no longer be as cheap in the Indian markets, imports from China will automatically reduce and Indian toy-makers will prosper.

Tax on imports is an example of trade barrier. It is called a barrier because some restriction has been set up. Governments can use trade barriers to increase or decrease (regulate) foreign trade and to decide what kinds of goods and how much of each, should come into the country.

The Indian government, after Independence, had put barriers to foreign trade and foreign investment. This was considered necessary to protect the producers within the country from foreign competition. Industries were just coming up in the 1950s and 1960s and competition from imports at that stage would not have allowed these industries to survive. Thus, India allowed import of only essential items such



*Some 20 years ago:*  
 Urban India “We got fast connections for computers.” Rural India “still has powercuts.”



*Currently :*  
 Urban India “We got internet on mobiles too.” Rural India “What is 3G and 4G ? still struggling for stable connections.”

A news magazine published for London readers is to be designed and printed in Delhi. The text of the magazine is sent through Internet to the Delhi office. The designers in the Delhi office get instructions on how to design the magazine are given from the office in London using telecommunication facilities. The designing

is done on a computer. After printing, the magazines are sent by air to London. Even the payment of money for designing and printing from a bank in London to a bank in Delhi is done instantly through the Internet (e-banking)!

- In this example, underline the words describing the use of technology in production.
- How is information technology connected with globalisation? Would globalisation have been possible without the expansion of IT?

as machinery, fertilisers, petroleum etc. Note that all the developed countries, during the early stages of development, have given protection to domestic producers through a variety of means.

However, around 1991, some far reaching changes in policy were made in India. The government identify that the time had come for Indian producers to compete with producers around the globe. It felt that competition would improve the performance of producers within the country since they would have to improve their quality. This decision was supported by powerful international organisations.

Thus, barriers on foreign trade and foreign investment were removed to a large extent. This meant that goods could be imported and exported easily and foreign companies could also set up factories and offices here.

Removing barriers or restrictions set by the government is known as liberalisation. With liberalisation of trade, businesses are allowed to make decisions freely about what they wish to import or export. The government imposes less restrictions than earlier and is therefore said to be more liberal.

We must now ask ourselves what actually drives globalisation. Is it a political decision or is it an economic and technological revolution? Economic proponents of globalisation argue that it is the economic forces that are responsible for globalisation and control its contours and borders. Those holding the political line argue that it is the government decisions that allow movement in the first place. Governments place restrictions or ease regulations. The attractiveness or unattractiveness of places has to do with the political climate and not necessarily the market conditions. Therefore the territory still matters. In reality, both are connected. We must remember that political decisions are taken in a particular context which accounts for the economic and technological change that has already taken place.

## Institutions of Global Governance

Today, many decisions on key issues that affect large parts of the world are taken by institutions of global governance. A good example is the issue of climate change. Initially, the issue of reducing carbon emissions were left to individual countries. However, it was soon found that if one country were to attempt to reduce carbon emissions, industry could just shift to another location where there are lower regulations. Consequently, the issue of carbon emissions and climate change has to be tackled by countries together.

- What do you understand by liberalisation of foreign trade?
- Tax on imports is one type of trade barrier. The government could also place a limit on the number of goods that can be imported. This is known as quotas. Can you explain, using the example of Chinese toys, how quotas can be used as trade barriers? Do you think this should be used? Discuss.

Let us look at another institution of global governance, the WTO, in slightly more detail.

## World Trade Organisation (WTO)

We read earlier that the liberalisation of foreign trade and investment in India was supported by some very powerful international organisations. These organisations believe that barriers to foreign trade and investment are harmful. Trade between countries should be 'free' without any barriers. World Trade Organisation (WTO) is one such organisation whose aim is to liberalise international trade. Started at the initiative of the developed countries, WTO establishes rules regarding international trade, and sees that these rules are obeyed. Nearly 150 countries of the world are currently members of the WTO.

Though WTO is supposed to allow free trade for all, in practice it is often seen that the developed countries have unfairly retained trade barriers. On the other hand, WTO rules have forced the developing countries to remove trade barriers. An example of this is the current debate on trade in agricultural products.

## Impact of Globalisation in India

What has been the effect of globalisation on the lives of people? Globalisation has been of advantage to consumers, particularly the well-off sections in the urban areas. There is greater choice before these consumers who now enjoy improved quality and lower price products. As a result, these people today enjoy much higher standards of living than was possible earlier. Among producers and workers, the impact of globalisation has not been uniform.

Firstly, MNCs have increased their investments in India, which means investing in India has been beneficial for them. MNCs have been interested in industries such as cell phones, automobiles, electronics, soft drinks, fast food or services such as banking in urban areas. These products have a large number of well-off buyers. In these industries and services, new jobs have been created. Local companies supplying raw materials etc. to these industries have also prospered.

Secondly, several of the top Indian companies have been able to benefit from the increased competition. They have invested in newer technology and production methods and raised their production standards. Some have gained from successful collaborations with foreign companies.

The agriculture sector provides the bulk of employment in India. Compare this with a developed country such as the US with the share of agriculture in GDP at 1% and its share in total employment a tiny 0.5%! And yet this very small percentage of people who are engaged in agriculture in the US receive massive sums of money from the US government for production and for exports to other countries. Due to this large amount of money that they receive, US farmers can sell the farm products at abnormally low prices. The surplus farm products are sold in the markets in other country at low prices, adversely affecting farmers in these countries.

Developing countries are, therefore, asking the governments of developed country, "We have reduced trade barriers as per WTO rules. But you have ignored the rules of WTO and have continued to pay your farmers vast sums of money. You have asked our governments to stop supporting our farmers, but you are doing so yourselves. Is this free and fair trade?"

- Fill in the blanks.

WTO was started at the initiative of \_\_\_\_\_ countries. The aim of the WTO is to \_\_\_\_\_. WTO establishes rules regarding \_\_\_\_\_ for all countries, and sees that \_\_\_\_\_. In practice, trade between countries is not \_\_\_\_\_. Developing countries like India have \_\_\_\_\_, whereas developed countries, in many cases, have continued to provide protection to their producers.

- What do you think can be done so that trade between countries is fairer?
- In the example on the left, we saw that the US government gives massive sums of money to farmers for production. At times, governments also give support to promote production of certain types of goods, such as those which are environmentally friendly. Discuss whether these are fair or not.

Moreover, globalisation has enabled some large Indian companies to emerge as multinationals themselves! Tata Motors (automobiles), Infosys (IT), Ranbaxy (medicines), Asian Paints (paints), Sundaram Fasteners (nuts and bolts) are some Indian companies which are spreading their operations worldwide.

Globalisation has also created new opportunities for companies providing services, particularly those involving IT. The Indian company producing a magazine for the London based company and call centres are some examples. Besides, a host of services such as data entry, accounting, administrative tasks, engineering are now being done at cheaper costs in countries such as India and are exported to the developed countries.

## Small producers: Compete or perish

For a large number of small producers and workers, globalisation has posed major challenges.



Ravi did not expect that he would have to face a crisis in such a short period of his life as an industrialist. Ravi took a loan from the bank to start his own company producing capacitors in 1992 in Hosur, an industrial town in Tamil Nadu. Capacitors are used in many electronic home appliances including tube lights, television etc. Within three years, he was able to expand production and had 20 workers under him.

In recent years, the central and state governments in India have been taking special steps to attract foreign companies to invest in India. Industrial zones, called Special Economic Zones (SEZs), are being set up. SEZs are to have world class facilities: electricity, water, roads, transport, storage, recreational and educational facilities. Companies who set up production units in the SEZs do not have to pay taxes for an initial period of five years. Government has also allowed flexibility in the labour laws to attract foreign investment. Instead of hiring workers on a regular basis, companies hire workers 'flexibly' for short periods when there is intense pressure of work. This is done to reduce the cost of labour for the company. However, foreign companies are demanding further flexibility in labour laws.

- How has competition benefitted the people in India?
- Should more Indian companies emerge as MNCs? How would it benefit the people in the country?
- Why do governments try to attract more foreign investment?
- Elsewhere, we read that what may be development for one may be destructive for others. The setting of SEZs has been opposed by some people in India. Find out who are these people and why are they opposing it.

*Write an imaginary caption for the image here. What does it tell about the globalisation*



His struggle to run his company started when the government removed restrictions on imports of capacitors as per its agreement at WTO in 2001. His main clients, the television companies, used to buy different components including capacitors in bulk for the manufacture of television sets. However, competition from the MNC brands forced the Indian television companies to move into assembling activities for MNCs. Even when some of them bought capacitors, they would prefer to import as the price of the imported item was half the price charged by people like Ravi.

Ravi now produces less than half the capacitors that he produced in the year 2000 and has only seven workers working for him. Many of Ravi's friends in the same business in Hyderabad and Chennai have closed their units.

- What are the ways in which Ravi's small production unit was affected by rising competition?
- Should producers like Ravi stop production because their cost of production is higher compared to producers in other countries? What do you think?
- Recent studies point out that small producers in India need three things to compete better in the market: (a) better roads, power, water, raw materials, marketing and information network, (b) improvement and modernisation of technology, and (c) timely availability of credit at reasonable interest rates. Explain how these three things would help Indian producers.
- Do you think MNCs will be interested in investing in these? Why?
- Do you think the government has a role in making these facilities available? Why?
- Think of any other steps that the government could take. Discuss.

### The Struggle for Fair Globalisation

The above evidence indicates that not everyone has benefited from globalisation. People with education, skill and wealth have made the best use of the new opportunities. On the other hand, there are many people who have not shared the benefits. Since globalisation is now a reality, the question is how to make globalisation more 'fair'? Fair globalisation would create opportunities for all, and ensure that the benefits of globalisation are shared better.

The government can play a major role in making this possible. Its policies must protect the interests not only of the rich and the powerful, but also the interests of all the people in the country. You have read about some of the possible steps that the government can take to ensure this. For instance, the government can ensure that

labour laws are properly implemented and the workers get their rights. It can support small producers to improve their performance till the time they become strong enough to compete. If necessary, the government can use trade and investment barriers. It can negotiate at the WTO for 'fairer rules'. It can also align with other developing countries with similar interests to fight against the domination of developed countries in the WTO.

In the past few years, massive campaigns and representations by people's organisations have influenced important decisions relating to trade and investments at the WTO. This has demonstrated that people also can play an important role in the struggle for fair globalisation.

### Other Issues

An important question that has often been debated is whether globalisation has seen the demise of nation state or not. For most part of the time, the nation state with people organised on territorial grounds was the main form of political organisation when it came to demarcating countries. This territorial division created divisions of us and them, of outside and inside and laid the psychological foundations for creating a feeling for one's own country, the feeling of nationalism. The single most important impact of globalisation is the gradual dilution of this feeling.

Another issue that received attention is about whether globalisation leads to cultural homogenisation or increases cultural diversity? While some argue that the impact of modern communication and technology has led to the spread of only a few certain cultures and ideas which have marginalised local and small cultures, others argue that globalisation has also given space to and allowed the spread of distinctive and often marginalised cultural practices. It has been pointed out that while some languages have become widely used and are now the languages of

international communication, others have been neglected and some are on the verge of extinction.

#### WB & IMF and their power

The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) and the International Development Association (IDA) are referred as World Bank. Both these Institutions have more than 170 members each. Countries like United States of America control the functioning of these institutions. Even today, USA's vote is valued at 16%. Few other countries like Japan, Germany, United Kingdom, France have more than 3 to 6 % voting powers. Value of voting by the poorer countries is lower. Today, India or China too have much more voting powers than poorer countries. World Bank is able to advice and impact the way governments frame their policies and guide them.

### Conclusion

Globalisation is the process of rapid integration of countries. It is a major change that occurred across the globe in the late 20th century. This has economic, political as well as cultural dimensions. Integration of markets and production through trade and investments controlled by the multinational corporations with huge wealth and power is one hallmark of the present phase of globalisation.

Liberalisation, by removing barriers to trade and investment, has opened the economies to the forces of globalisation.

The benefits of globalisation have been unevenly distributed. It has benefited well-off consumers and as well as producers with skill, education and huge amount of wealth. Certain services that are enabled with technology have expanded. On the other hand, thousands of small producers and workers have seen their employment and workers' rights erode. It is important to understand the two-sided nature of globalisation.

The other dimension of inequality, which we saw is in the dominating influence of the rich countries on matters of policy. Be it policies on international economic exchange – trade, investment, migration - or domestic matters, rich western countries have an undue influence over the rest of the world. International organisations like WTO, WB and the IMF represent the interests of the developed countries far more than that of the developing world. Thus, while the supporters of globalisation speak of the advantages of global integration and see globalisation as an opportunity for growth and prosperity, its critics point out that it is another attempt by some countries - read the west - to dominate the world. They argue that it harms democracy, workers rights, and the environment in many of the poorer countries.

### Keywords

MNCs

Nation state

Technology

Foreign investment

Foreign trade

Liberalisation

### Improve your learning

1. What were the reasons for putting barriers to foreign trade and foreign investment by the Indian government? Why did it wish to remove these barriers? (AS<sub>1</sub>)
2. How would flexibility in labour laws help companies? (AS<sub>1</sub>)
3. What are the various ways in which MNCs set up or control production in other countries? (AS<sub>1</sub>)
4. Why do developed countries want developing countries to liberalise their trade and investment? What do you think should the developing countries demand in return? (AS<sub>4</sub>)
5. "The impact of globalisation has not been uniform." Explain this statement. (AS<sub>1</sub>)
6. How has liberalisation of trade and investment policies helped the process of globalisation? (AS<sub>1</sub>)
7. Globalisation will continue in the future. Can you imagine what the world would be like twenty years from now? Give reasons for your answer. (AS<sub>4</sub>)
8. Locate the following in the map of world. (AS<sub>5</sub>)
  - i) china
  - ii) japan
  - iii) Brazil
  - iv) South Africa



*Fig 10.1 Photographs from LIFE Magazine:  
(a) children trying to collect grain from goods train (b) woman sweeping grain fallen on the ground.*

In the pre-independent India, famines - situations of extreme scarcity of food, were a common cause of large scale starvation deaths. The Bengal famine in 1943-45, for example, took about 3 to 5 million people's lives in and around Bengal, Assam and Odisha. Read the following:

"I was the oldest among my siblings. I used to work to survive. I worked as a daily labourer. At that time I left my father in the village and took my brothers and sisters to Kolkata. They only had some flour available as food. We went wherever food was distributed. I saw many people suffering in the streets of Kolkata. I saw mothers carrying their sons in their arms who were actually dead. But the mothers were still sprinkling them with water, trying to revive the children. I saw many things. People ate grass, snakes. I lost two sisters and a brother.

"These are the people who are farmers, agriculturists. They're not beggars so they did not even know how to beg. They have huge self respect. When they came, they just sat on the pavements and they died there. And when that picture hit the people of Kolkata, at that point suddenly everyone understood the scale of the disaster."

There have been instances in Indian

history where famines happened because foodgrains supply was not organised by the rulers. This could have been arranged from stocks or supplies could have been brought from other regions. By the time of India's Independence, governments

started evolving various systems to ensure foodgrains for its people. Ration shops where people go and buy food grains at subsidised prices, mid-day meals that many of you have been eating, anganwadis where young children are taken care of, including meals during the day are some ways in which government today ensures food security. In this chapter, we will look at some issues associated with food security.

The first section will focus on the issues of overall food security: the issue of production and availability of food for the country as a whole. The second section would discuss the access people have – how does one ensure that the available food reaches people. Finally, we need to look at the nutrition levels among families to know whether these schemes and methods are effective.

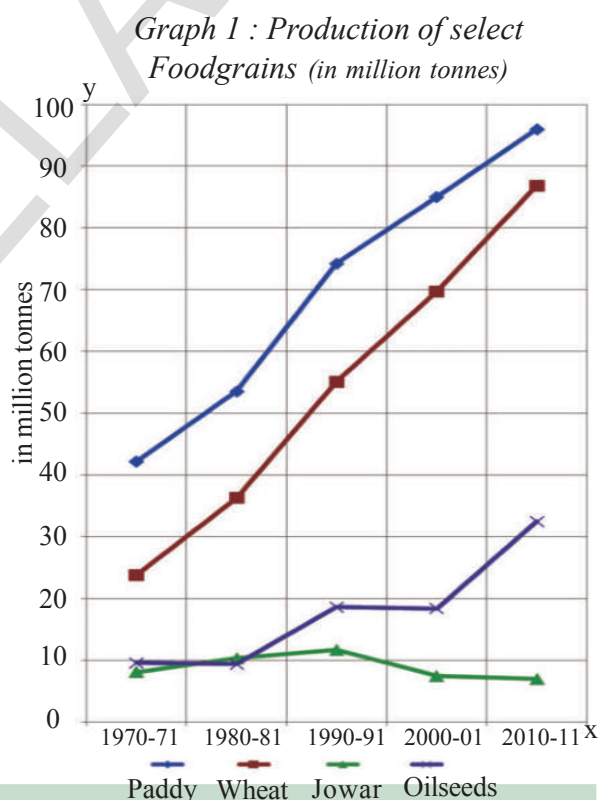
## Food Security of the Country

### Increasing foodgrain production

Producing sufficient amount of foodgrains is an important requirement for food security. In India, for example, it means, the government creates conditions so that farmers are able to produce increasing amount of foodgrains.

Examine Graph 1 and fill in the blanks (for knowing the value at each point, you can use a scale to know the exact amount on the y-axis).

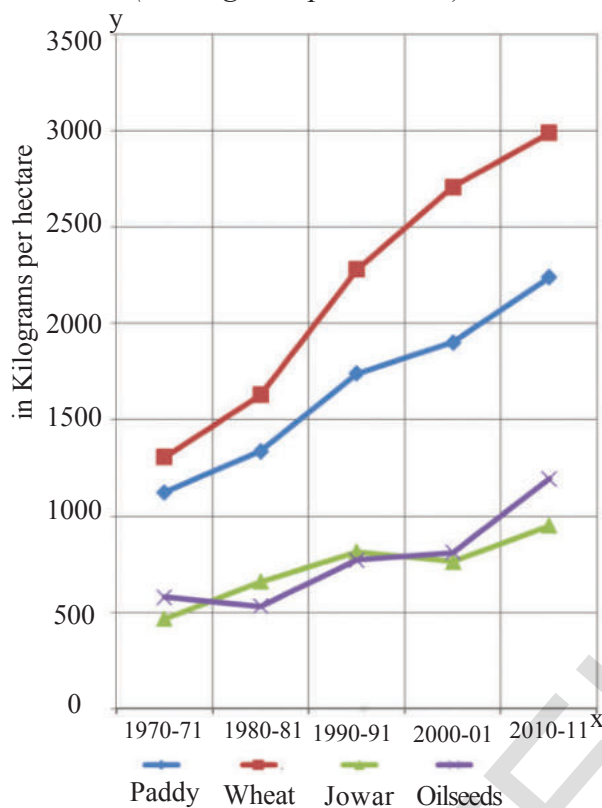
- The foodgrains production has grown over the period 1970-71 to \_\_\_\_\_. Paddy production increased from about 40 million tonnes in 1970-71 to about \_\_\_\_\_ tonnes in 2010-11. Another important food crop that witnessed rapid increase in production during this 40 year period was \_\_\_\_\_. Compared to paddy and wheat, the production of \_\_\_\_\_ did not increase during 1970-2011. This could be due to \_\_\_\_\_.
- Read again the section on “Land and other natural resources” in chapter 8. What are the possible ways of increasing production of crops from land?



We know that the area under cultivation has been roughly unchanged since the last few decades. Yield then becomes a crucial variable. Look at Graph 2.

In order to increase the per hectare yield of a crop, necessary inputs have to be provided in a judicious manner. One way is to expand irrigation but use water in a

Graph 2 : Yield of select Foodgrains  
(in kilograms per hectare)



manner that this vital resource is shared and made available to all.

The crops with low yields indicated in Graph 2 mostly grow in dry lands, where the present and even future possibility of irrigation is minimal. Planting drought-resistant crops as per the local conditions, water-harvesting and crop rotation are therefore used to raise production on a given piece of land.

It is also important to ensure that soil and other natural resources are not damaged or depleted in the process. Some scientists and people working in the field of agriculture report that the way rice and wheat are cultivated in India – by intensive and unscientific application of chemical fertilisers and insecticides – have led to continuous but unsustainable increase in the yield levels. In fact, these methods have led

to soil degradation, and depletion of ground water resources. If this continues, we may soon come to a situation that yields start falling rather than going up.

Describe the per hectare yield of paddy and wheat by filling the blanks in the following passage.

Two crops \_\_\_\_\_ and \_\_\_\_\_ always had low yield when compared with paddy and wheat. Yet both these crops have shown slow increase in yield in recent years.

- Why should attention be given to increase the yield of jowar? Discuss.
- What factors have contributed to the increase in the growth of paddy and wheat yields over a long period?

### Availability of Foodgrains

The first requirement for a country is to be able to produce foodgrains for the whole of its population. How do we measure whether there is enough food for all or not? Whether this food reaches families or not would be examined later. We are at first estimating what is available. This means that per person (or per capita) availability of foodgrains in the country should be sufficient and also increasing over the years. Is the increase in foodgrain availability really happening?

There is a difference between production and availability of foodgrains. This is estimated as:

**Availability of foodgrains for the year** = Production of foodgrains during the year (production – seed, feed and wastage) + net imports (imports – exports) - change in stocks with the government (closing stock at the year end- opening stock at the beginning)

**Availability of foodgrains per person per day** = (Availability of foodgrains for the year ÷ population)/ 365

Information relating to production, imports and change in government stocks are given in the following table for three years – 1971, 1991 and 2011. Besides production, imports are a way of increasing the availability of foodgrains in any particular year. Another important source of foodgrain availability is the change in government stocks. The government can, for instance, increase the availability of rice for the people by selling rice from its existing stocks. While the stocks of rice with the government reduces, the amount of rice available for consumption in that year increases. (You will read more about government stocks in the next section.)

As shown for 1971, calculate per person availability of foodgrains for 1991 and 2011.

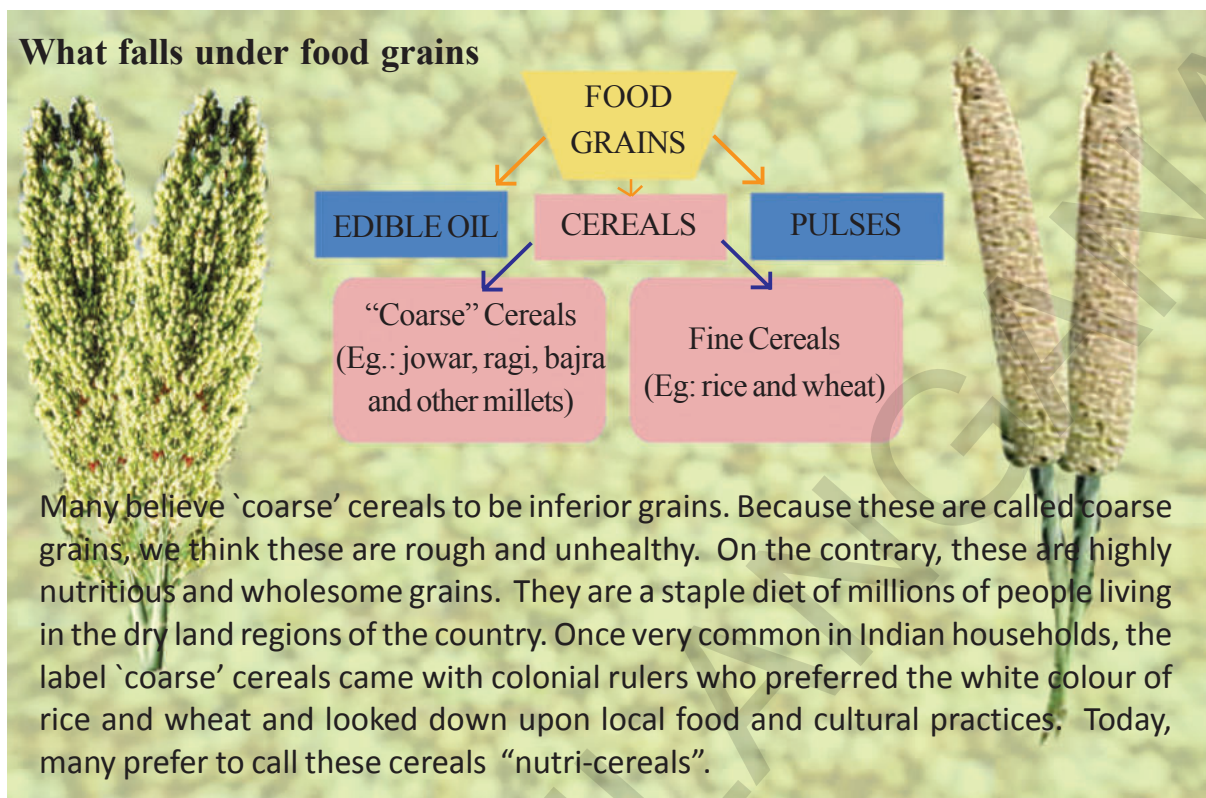
*Table 1: Per Person availability of foodgrains*

Year	Population (millions)	Net Production of foodgrains #	Net imports #	Change in government stocks #	Net availability of foodgrains #	Per person availability per day (grams)
col (1)	col (2)	col (3)	col (4)	col (5)	col (6)	col (7)
1971	551	94.9	2	2.6	col (3) + col (4) – col (5) = 94.3	$= \{ \text{col (6)} / \text{col (2)} \} / 365$ $= (94.3 / 551) / 365$ $= 0.000469 \text{ tonnes} *$ $= 0.000469 \times 1000$ $= 0.469 \text{ Kilograms} *$ $= 0.469 \times 1000$ $= 469 \text{ Grams}$
1991	852	154.3	-0.1	-4.4		
2011	1202	214.2	-2.9	8.2		

\* Note: 1 tonne = 1000 kilograms; 1 kilogram = 1000 grams  
# Million tonnes

- Based on your calculations, fill in the blanks: The per person availability of foodgrains \_\_\_\_\_ (increased/decreased) between 1971 and 1991 but was \_\_\_\_\_ (lower/higher) in 2011. This happened despite the slowdown in population growth in the recent decades. In future, the government must ensure higher availability through \_\_\_\_\_

## What falls under food grains



Many believe 'coarse' cereals to be inferior grains. Because these are called coarse grains, we think these are rough and unhealthy. On the contrary, these are highly nutritious and wholesome grains. They are a staple diet of millions of people living in the dry land regions of the country. Once very common in Indian households, the label 'coarse' cereals came with colonial rulers who preferred the white colour of rice and wheat and looked down upon local food and cultural practices. Today, many prefer to call these cereals "nutri-cereals".

## Availability of Other Food Items

It is said that there is a change in consumption pattern with people demanding more fruits, vegetables, milk, meat, poultry and fisheries. This is a good sign for the consumers as well as producers. Consumers need a diverse food basket and a balanced diet. Farmers producing foodgrains can go for crop diversification in order to increase their incomes. You may recall from what we read in the earlier classes about the conversion of foodgrain fields into cash crops such as cotton in Telangana during the last two decades. This was one of the reasons for farmer's distress and even suicides. Farmers can instead pay attention to allied activities such as poultry, fishing and dairying since they provide new opportunities for farmers.

Although there has been increase in production of other food items over the years, it is not sufficient to meet the minimum dietary requirements. Nutritionists suggest that every person in India should eat 300 grams of vegetables and 100 grams of fruits in a day whereas per person availability of these food materials is 180 and 58 grams respectively. Similarly per person requirement of eggs is 180 whereas the availability of eggs is 30. The meat dietary requirements are 11 kilograms per year whereas the per person availability is only 3.2 kilograms. We require 300 millilitres of milk whereas the per person availability is 210 millilitres a day.

Farmers thus require support in terms of inputs and market opportunities for diversification to other food items. Farmers may have to be supported and guarded against market risks that they face in the new situation.

## Agricultural Diversification

Midnapore has red laterite soil. The village was Kaspal in the Borkollah gram panchayat area. Almost all the families have tube wells. The bank gave credit to them for water development... I talked to Hari Prasad Samantha, Chitto Maiti and Jhath Lenka - nobody farms more than two acres. The technology is fairly good. The original seeds came from the university although there is little replacement in paddy. But they make more money from cash crops and it is vegetables all the way. Potatoes are a craze. The seeds come from commercial companies and are expensive.... A great thing that happened on the way was dairying. Almost all of them have between three to five cows. The women folk look after them. This is now spreading. Farmers know the best pulse seeds come from Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh. Their own mustard is good. The land slopes up from the river. About two or three hundred meters up and a distance away I check out another village. Around half of the population is poor. It is a mono crop region with the second crop, if any, depending on the rains. Yields are low. Many answers are possible, but without a plan and government effort it would be cruel joke to talk about diversification to them.

Note that agricultural diversification may impact foodgrain production. This might give rise to a policy dilemma that has to be handled through careful planning. Since resources are diverted to non-foodgrain uses, foodgrain production may come down. India's per capita availability is very low when we compare the same

with countries in Europe (700 grams) and USA (850 grams). The decline in the level of per capita availability of foodgrains is something to be worried about for India's food security. The poorer households exert more energy and depend much more on foodgrains as their source of energy intake. The policy should aim to increase production of food grains and other types of food simultaneously.

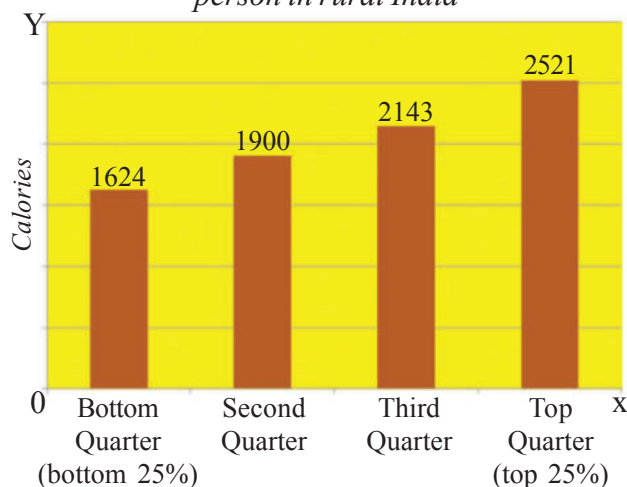
- Underline words and sentences that deal with agricultural diversification and explain why are these essential for Indian farmers.
- Write a description of agricultural diversification for your own village or any village that you know about.

## Access to Food

The next important aspect of food security is the access to food. It is not sufficient to produce foodgrains and other items. Everyone should be able to buy them for consumption. Is everyone able to access the minimum food requirement?

You may recall what you studied in Class VIII about poverty. Food we eat gets burnt in our body and produces heat and this is measured in terms of calories. This helps to do our work. If we eat less or less nutritious food, the calorie intake of our body becomes less and hence we may find it difficult to work or our health may get

Graph 3 : Calorie intake per person in rural India



\* Expenditure

\* About the particulars of expenditure you have read in the same graph, given in Class 8.

deteriorated. A standard of 2100 Kilocalories per day in urban areas and 2400 Kilocalories in rural areas is the recommended food intake per day.

The national average calorie levels in both rural and urban areas are below the needed calorie requirements. Also, the consumption of calories has gone down between 1983 and 2004. This is shocking since as we have seen that our economy is growing at a rapid rate. Production of goods and services has increased multiple times.

This is not all. Averages hide the disparities in distribution. Whereas the very well-off consume food that goes beyond the recommended calorie

requirements, for a large proportion of the population, the food intake is inadequate to provide the calories required. 80 percent of people in rural areas in India consume food that is below the calorie standard. In the Graph 3, you can see the lowest calorie intake is for the people who are the poorest in the rural areas. And it is way below the recommended standard of 2400! Whereas these are the people who are involved in the most difficult and heavy manual labour.

The major reason for low calorie intake is the lack of purchasing power of the people. People don't have adequate incomes to buy food. There are various reasons for this as you have read in the discussions on poverty, unemployment, public facilities, etc. Can you recall some of these before you proceed?

### Public Distribution System (PDS)

Ration shops are important means for people to access foodgrains in India. One survey was conducted in 2009-10 to know whether families in different states procure foodgrains from public distribution system fair price shops and how much

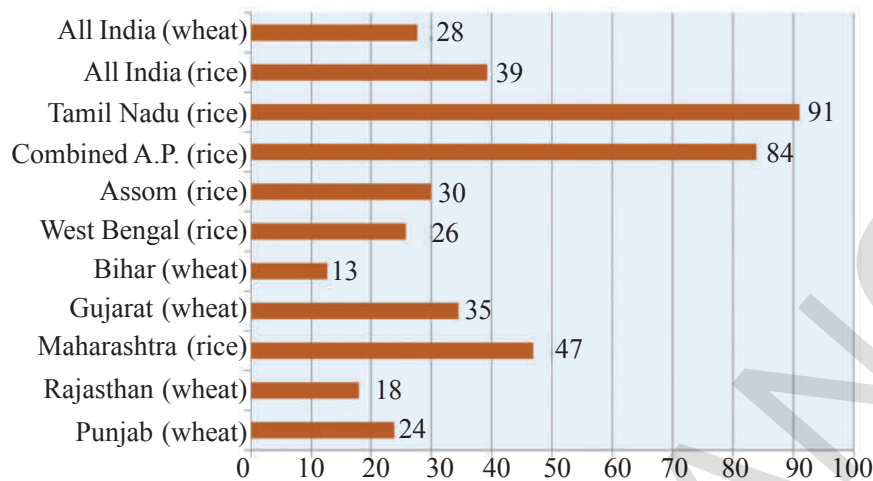
- Recall the discussion on Public Distribution System in Class VIII. How is PDS related to food security of the people in the country?

are they part of the total foodgrain consumption. Look at the Graph 4. This shows people's dependency on PDS for the purchase of their staple foodgrains in different states of India.

Studies indicate that Southern states of India have a good record in public distribution system. Notably, these are the states that have followed a universal PDS system which means that low cost foodgrains would be available to all. This is in contrast to other states where poor families have been identified and foodgrains are sold to at different prices to poor and non-poor. Even among the poor, the very poor have different entitlements, or

guarantees for access. For example, the Antyodaya cardholders are entitled to get 35 kgs of foodgrains (rice and wheat) per month per family.

*Graph 4 : Percentage Share of Purchases from PDS, rice and wheat, 2009-10*



● Fill in the blanks

For all India, \_\_\_\_\_ percent of peoples' total consumption of rice and \_\_\_\_\_ percent of peoples' total consumption of wheat are purchased from the ration shops. This shows that people have to buy most of their

foodgrain requirements from \_\_\_\_\_. However, there are several well-performing states like \_\_\_\_\_ and \_\_\_\_\_. And some states like \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_ where PDS hardly seems to be fulfilling peoples' needs for foodgrains.

### PDS and Buffer Stock

The stock of foodgrains mainly wheat and rice procured and maintained by the government through Food Corporation of India (FCI) is called buffer stock. The FCI purchases wheat and rice from the farmers in states where there is surplus production. The farmers are paid a pre-announced price for their crops. This price is called Minimum Support Price (MSP). The MSP is declared by a government agency every year.

The state and Central Governments procure nearly one-third of foodgrains from farmers. These foodgrains are distributed to people through various mechanisms. In recent times, the government agencies are procuring more foodgrains than what is required to meet the public distribution system. If government stocks keep increasing year after year, less is available (see year 2011 in Table on foodgrain availability). The government has been often criticised that it does not properly distribute these foodgrains to the needy people. Sometimes, governments also exports these foodgrains to other countries. Do you think it is good idea to export foodgrains and earn a small income when a large section of people within the country are not able to access foodgrains?

The Indian government came out with a new law in 2013 called the National Food Security Act to legalise peoples' Right to Food. It applies to approximately 2/3rd of the population of India. As per this law, every person of low income families is entitled to 5 kilograms of foodgrains per month at subsidised rates. Among poor

families, the poorest ones are entitled to 35 kilograms of foodgrains. For a few years, the central government will supply rice, wheat and millets for Rs.3, Rs.2 and Rs.1 respectively. Under this law, if required, a maximum of 75% of people living in rural areas and 50 per cent of urban population have the right to buy foodgrains from public distribution system. If the government is not able to arrange foodgrains, it will give cash to the people to buy foodgrains. This law also envisages providing free cooked meals for pregnant women, lactating mothers, children aged 1-6 coming to anganwadis and mid-day meals for children aged 6-14 in schools.

While Indian Parliament enacts various laws such as National Food Security Act and implements schemes such as Integrated Child Development Scheme (ICDS), in recent times, the Indian judiciary also has become pro-active in ensuring food security. Through judicial verdict on court cases filed by non-governmental organisations, the Supreme Court directed all the state governments and central government to provide mid-day meals to all the young children studying in schools. Though such schemes existed on a small scale in a few states like Tamil Nadu, this scheme is now being implemented in all the states. About 14 crore children studying in schools eat mid-day meal today. When state governments refused to implement this scheme, the court also set up monitoring mechanisms and provided suggestions for better implementation such as school mid-day meals should be locally produced, hot and cooked (and not dry snacks or grain which many governments distributed until then), hygienic, nutritious (of a prescribed minimum caloric level) and with varied menus for every day of the week. The court also ruled that preference be given to dalit cooks, widows and destitute women. This is the largest school feeding programme in the world. In order to generate revenue for this scheme, the court directed the Indian government to impose taxes. The hot cooked meal is also now provided in *anganwadis* for children.

### Nutrition status

Lastly, we look at the nutrition status of children and adults to judge whether the food actually consumed is adequate. This also informs us if the above discussed systems are working effectively or not and what are the problem areas.

Food is required by the body for all its functions - for energy, growth and the capacity to remain healthy and fight illness. The food that we consume is normally classified as:

**Carbohydrates:** that provide energy, through wheat, rice, ragi, jowar, oils, sugar, fats etc.

**Proteins:** that help growth and regeneration of body tissues, through beans, dals, meat, eggs, rice, wheat etc.

**Vitamins:** that provide protection and ensure the working of many vital systems of the body through foods such as fruits, leafy vegetables, sprouts, unpolished rice etc.

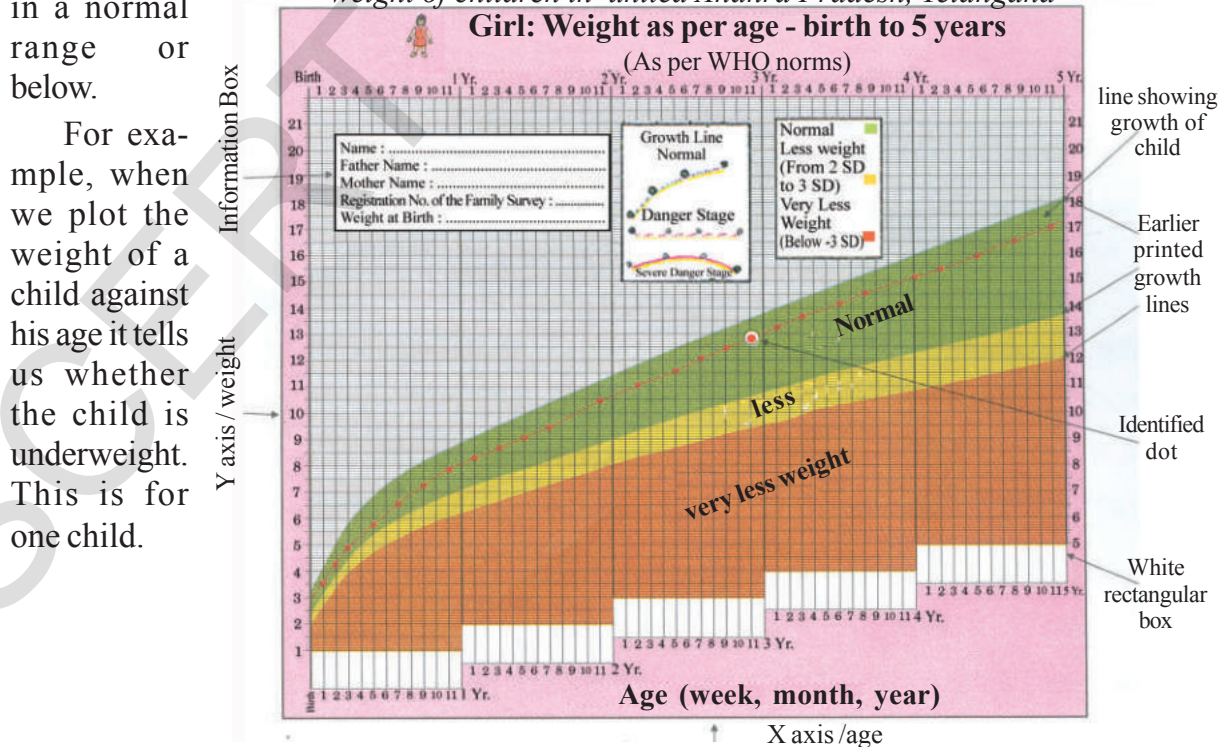
**Minerals :** That are required in small quantities for many important functions such as iron for blood formation. This is provided through green leafy vegetables, ragi etc.

If we conduct a survey, as you have done in some previous chapters, we can find out about the food people eat by asking them to describe their meals for the day. Through this, we can get a rough idea of whether all the food groups above are being covered. However, it is difficult to measure the precise amounts of carbohydrates, vitamins, proteins, minerals being consumed by each individual in the family. Nutritionists have devised indicators using height and weight that can inform us whether individuals are well nourished. Through various measurements of large population and using statistical knowledge nutritionists have been able to arrive at reliable standard ranges. A comparison for individual persons is therefore possible. This gives us the most reliable source of information about nutritional status of people.

A survey conducted by the National Institute of Nutrition, Hyderabad (NIN) across many states in the country confirms the overall alarming status of nutrition in the country. While we have looked at case studies that depict real family situations of under nutrition and poverty in previous classes, it is also important to examine some of these faceless statistics. They help us to examine whether these situations are exceptions or an indication of a general trend. They also help us to look at issues that may be hidden and not so obvious to common sense.

As discussed above, to examine the nutritional status of children, simple but accurate measurements of height and weight are used. You could visit an anganwadi center and observe how this is carried out. Since children grow fast, their weight changes significantly with age, unlike in adults. For this indicator to be reliable, weight is to be accurately measured and the correct age should be mentioned. These readings are then plotted against charts that have been developed by nutritionists to examine if

*Graph 5: Weight chart used in Anganwadi to measure the weight of children in united Andhra Pradesh, Telangana*



For example, when we plot the weight of a child against his age it tells us whether the child is underweight. This is for one child.

What does the NIN survey indicate? Out of the seven thousand children, in the age group 1-5 years examined in the survey from many states in the country, 45% of children are underweight. Their weight was less than what is expected by normal standards. These children are in fact hunger stricken and not getting adequate food. Unless they are severely underweight, it may not be easily visible or identifiable. Going just by common sense, we fail to realise that enormous number of children in the country are underweight. We are so used to seeing such children that we take this as “normal”. The survey jolts our common sense and makes us realise that this situation would seriously affect the growth and capacities of nearly half of the total number of children in the country.

The report says:

“The overall prevalence of underweight was about 45% and it was significantly higher among 3-5 year, compared to 1-3 year children. The prevalence was more than 50% in the States of Gujarat (58%), Madhya Pradesh (56.9%) and Uttar Pradesh (53.2%) and observed lowest in Kerala (24%). ...

“The overall prevalence of severe underweight was about 16%. ...”

- How can an effective anganwadi center deal with such a situation for a locality? Discuss.

Nutritionists compare three different charts for pre-school children. This is given below. These three different indicators give us an overall picture of the nutritional status of these children.

Indicator	What does this show for those children below the normal range	Explain in your own words	% of children in the country
Weight is plotted against age	Underweight		45%
Height is plotted against age	Stunting	When children are undernourished for a long time, their bone growth is affected. Such children would be short heighted for their age. It is difficult to cover this.	41%
Weight is plotted against height	Wasting	This indicates a child who has lost weight recently. If given sufficient food, she can cover up quickly.	21%

- What overall conclusions can you draw from these statistics? Write a paragraph .

The nutrition status among adult men and women is measured using Body Mass Index(BMI). You have read about this in earlier classes.[ $BMI = (\text{weight in kgs} / \text{height in metres squared})$ .]

This index is compared with a range to show if the individual is underweight, within normal range or overweight. A high value shows excess fat and a low value shows a fat level that is less than what is required. According to NIN report, the situation for adult men and women are as follows:

“The prevalence of chronic energy deficiency ( BMI<18.5) among men was about 35% , while overweight/obesity (BMI >25) was 10%. ....

“About 35% of adult women had chronic energy deficiency and 14% were overweight/ obese. The prevalence of chronic energy deficiency was highest in the States of Odisha, Gujarat and Uttar Pradesh, followed by 33-38% in Karnataka, Telangana, Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh and West Bengal ....”

How is this related to food security?

A doctor who is working in a rural area of Chhattisgarh running a community health programme where streams of underweight patients come every day explains this link. From a study of the patients, he found that the PDS grain of 35kg/ per month for a family of five lasted only 11 days. For the rest of the month, they have to depend on the market or their own produce.

For example, a rickshaw puller in Bilaspur who earns 70-80 rupees a day would try to survive on the PDS grain, spending Rs 400 on rent and Rs 100 on electricity. It was not surprising that he lost weight and caught tuberculosis.



Fig 10.2 : Ration Shop

These measures are thus indicators of food security. The doctor from Chhattisgarh says :

No one would have a lower weight or height if he/ she had access to adequate food. The proof of the pudding is in the eating. We can judge all processes like efficacy of the PDS, the importance given to growing food crops, and the purchasing power of people by looking at body parameters like weight and height. Besides, a person's height can also tell us whether food was available during his/ her childhood. We can still choose to describe underweight and stunted people as malnourished if we like. But I suggest the correct term would be 'hunger' “.

### Summing up

The first section examined the issue of food security from the point of view of overall production of food in the country. What can be done to increase the food production remains an important question. Next, we discussed how availability is measured. A worrying fact is that per person availability of foodgrains has actually not risen but declined in the recent years.

Whatever is produced and is available has to reach the people. This could be through what they purchase in the market or in the ration shop or through schemes such as mid day meals etc. Here, we found that most people are in fact consuming fewer calories than required. This gap is severe for the poorest. Though there's a shift towards other foods such as fruits, vegetables, meat, eggs and this is welcome, deficiency in calorie intake is alarming. PDS is not effective in places where they are most needed. This serious situation is revealed through nutrition surveys that show children and adults as being underweight in a chronic way. Over a long period of time, 35% to 45% of people are consuming less food than they should. A large section of people are malnourished (or hungry), even when we have adequate food in the country. This is not acceptable. The issue of food security needs careful thinking and effort in all the above directions.

### Keywords

Production  
Buffer stock

Availability  
Hunger

Access  
PDS

Nutrition

### Improve your learning

1. Suppose that the foodgrain production has been affected in a particular year because of a natural calamity. In what ways can the government ensure higher availability of foodgrains for the year? (AS<sub>4</sub>)
2. Use an imaginary example from your context to describe the relationship between underweight and access to food. (AS<sub>4</sub>)
3. Analyse a week's food habits of your family. Create a table to explain nutrition elements included in it. (AS<sub>3</sub>)
4. Describe the relationship between increase in food production and food security. (AS<sub>1</sub>)
5. Give reasons to argue for the following statements "Public Distribution System can ensure better food security for people". (AS<sub>1</sub>)

6. Make similar posters about food security. (AS<sub>6</sub>)



7. Read the last para of page 137 i.e; “Studies indicate..... for access”, and write your opinion. (AS<sub>2</sub>)
8. Locate the following in the map of India. (AS<sub>5</sub>)
  - i) Karnataka    ii) Odissa    iii) Gujarat    iv) Maharashtra    v) Madhya Pradesh
  - vi) West Bengal    vii) Chattisgarh    viii) Telangana    ix) Uttar Pradesh    x) Punjab

## Project

1. Read the following poem, *Aai*. Can you write a poem relating to any aspect of food security?

### ***Aai (Mother)***

I have seen you  
 turning back the tide of tears  
 trying to ignore your stomach's growl  
 Suffering parched throat and lips  
 Building a dam on a lake...

to make coarse bread and a little  
 something  
 to feed everybody, but half-feed yourself  
 so there'd be a bit in the morning...

I have seen you  
 sitting in front of the stove  
 burning your very bones

I have seen you  
 washing clothes and cleaning pots  
 in different households  
 rejecting the scraps of food offered  
 with pride...

2. Collect information from your home and neighbouring families about millets consumption and analyse it?

Sl. No.	Name of the family head	Food they take			Millets used	Reasons for increasing decreasing of millets
		Breakfast	Lunch	Dinner		

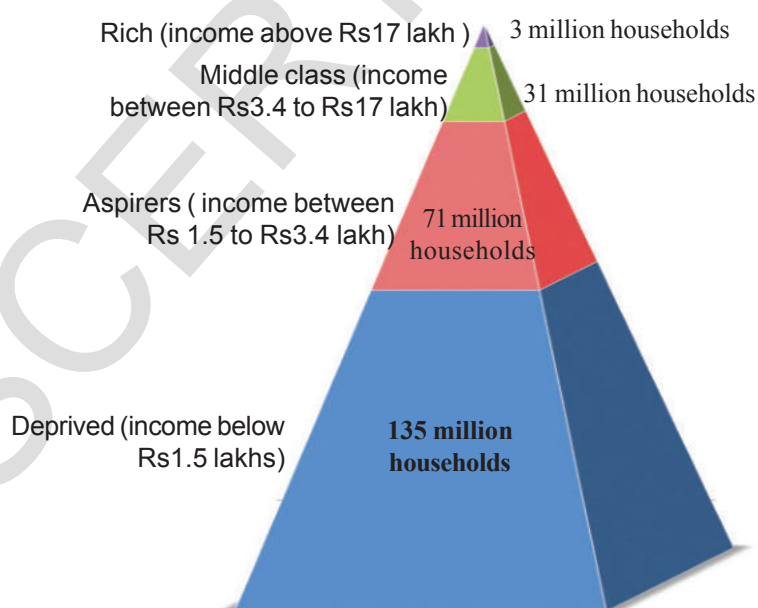
## Sustainable Development with Equity

### Looking at development again...

As a measure of development, Human Development Index (HDI) is an improvement over GDP and per capita income (refer to Chapter 2). Whereas GDP is an indicator of the value of goods and services produced in the country, the idea of progress can hardly be limited to production of goods and services. This is more so when rapid expansion of production and incomes can coexist with malnutrition and lack of education and health for a large proportion of the people, as is the case in India. HDI expands the meaning of development to include social indicators of education and health.

There are, however, many other considerations that even this expanded measure of development does not capture. In India, more than 90% of the workforce is in the unorganised sector, where the conditions of work are not encouraging at all. Incomes of both self-employed and wage workers in the unorganised sector are generally low, at times pitifully so (refer to Chapter 3). With such a high percentage of workforce in low-paid employment, increase in GDP and the enormous variety of goods and services being produced can benefit only select groups. People with high income and wealth are the ones who have all the choices in the world to buy and consume (refer to Chapter 10). While some enjoy world-class living comforts, the vast majority, without proper employment and adequate incomes, are still deprived

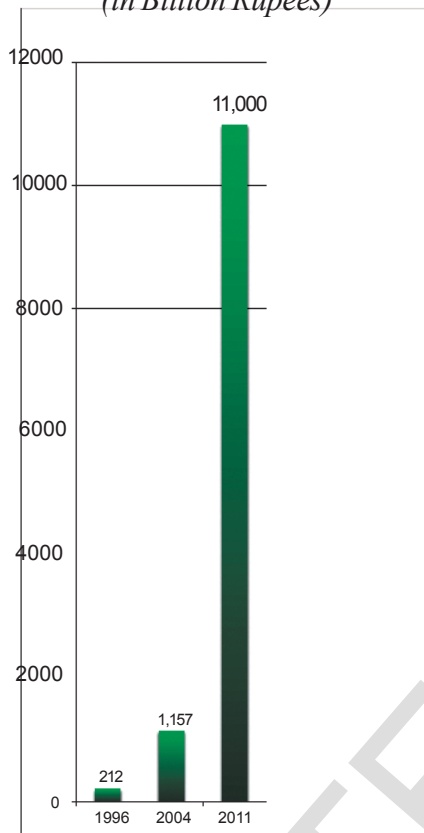
of minimum necessities for decent living. Such wide inequalities in incomes and opportunities across people cannot be the basis for a just society.



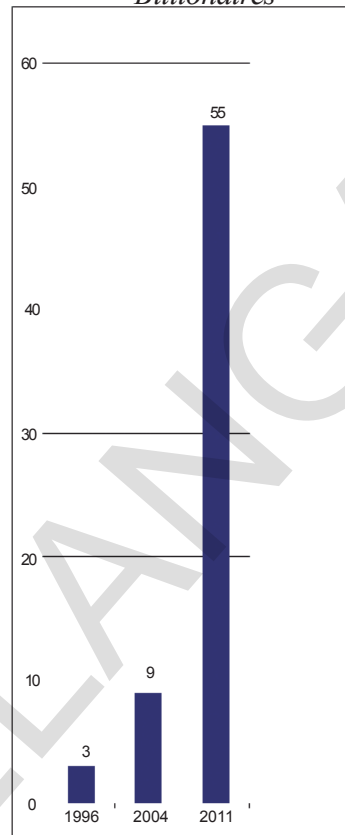
- Write a brief note on the inequality in India based on the graphs and figures.

*Graph 1 : Distribution of households in India based on annual income (2010 survey)*

*Graph 2 : Total Wealth held  
by Billionaires  
(in Billion Rupees)*



*Graph 3 : Increase in the Number  
of  
Billionaires*



*Fig 11.1: Dharavi slum in  
Mumbai. One of the  
largest colonies in which  
the urban poor of India lives*



*Fig 11.2 : A View of  
Banjara hills  
Hyderabad, an area  
where the rich in  
Hyderabad lives*



Another major criticism of economic development focused narrowly on GDP springs from its neglect of environment. In various contexts, we have seen how the environmental resources have been used up and damaged to an unprecedented extent in the course of economic growth. Deforestation, soil erosion, lowering groundwater tables, increasing pollution, pressure on grazing land, rising dependence on fossil fuels, industrial emissions, use of chemical fertilisers and pesticides in agriculture, climate change are some of the important and urgent environmental issues before us. While industrialisation has brought a lot of material comforts, at least to some, it has resulted in a world where natural resources are threatened and now even the climate is being disrupted. This pattern of growth clearly cannot continue.

In this chapter, we will explore the relationship between development, environment and people. How has expansion of economic activities affected different aspects of environment? What has development meant for peoples' access and rights to natural resources and their lives? Can there be different models of development? We will seek answers to these questions through live issues and peoples' lived experiences. We find that there is a need to broaden the focus of development from material goods and services to all the people (present & future generations) as well as the environment with all its living and non-living resources.

## Environment and Development

Let us start by recalling the role of environment in development. Many naturally existing substances like land, water, minerals and ores, products from trees and

Read chapters Indian Agriculture & Industry from class IX textbook.

- How have they discussed issues of disparity and distribution and access to resources in these two contexts?
- Identify how the idea of development has been contested through problems of Environment.
- What kind of environmental problems did the spread of "green revolution" create? What lessons does this have for the future?

animals are central to the production process. In primary sector activities - agriculture, mining, quarrying - and in the manufacturing and energy sector, production is hugely dependent on natural resources. The other sectors of the economy too are dependent on natural resources in various degrees. The potential of an environment to provide these resources is referred to as an environment's source function.

This function is depleted as resources are consumed or pollution contaminates the resources.

There is another function that the environment provides. It is to absorb and render harmless the waste and pollution from various activities. Unwanted by-products of production and consumption like exhaust gases from combustion, water

that is used to clean products, discarded packaging and goods that are no longer wanted are absorbed by the environment. This is as important as the source function. The "sink function" describes an environment's ability to absorb and render harmless waste and pollution. When waste output exceeds the limit of the sink function, long-term damage to environment occurs.

In the past fifty years of economic development, both these functions of the environment have been overused. This has been said to affect the carrying capacity of the environment, i.e. the capacity of the environment to support economic production and consumption in the future. Let's look at few examples.

Example 1: As per the traditional practices, the lifting of water was limited to supplemental irrigation or for a small area. For example, with '*mota baavi*' only 2 to 3 acres can be irrigated. Agriculture was limited to rainy season and large areas were rainfed drylands. Over time, with new energy resources, pumpsets that work with petrol/ diesel and electricity came into picture. The impact has to be seen in two phases: initially there was relief from drudgery; lifting of water became very easy with pumps. Water was also available in plenty. Open wells had water at 10 to 15 feet deep; utmost 100 feet depth. However, with the lifting of groundwater by electric and motor pumps, water table started going down. So much so, that in some areas, groundwater is being drawn from a few hundred feet deep. After all, the water has to go down to the ground for it to be lifted up. This is called '*recharge*'. The path of water under the ground is through the medium of soil and rocks. If the water drawn up is more than what is being recharged then it is obvious that after sometime, you have no more groundwater left.



*Fig 11.3 : A UN photo from 1957  
Farming and irrigation in Rajasthan*

Recent data on the status of groundwater resources in India suggests that the groundwater is under serious threat of overuse in many parts of the country. Nearly one-third of the country is pumping out more groundwater than what goes in as recharge. About 300 districts have reported a water level decline of over 4 metres during the past 20 years. This points to an alarming rate of extraction. Groundwater overuse is particularly found in the agriculturally prosperous regions of Punjab and Western U.P., hard rock plateau areas of central and south India, some coastal areas and the rapidly growing urban settlements.

- Why do you think has the modern method of lifting water proved to be unsustainable?

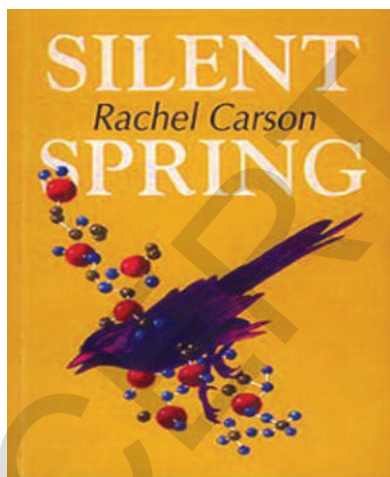
Overuse of groundwater implies that the stock of groundwater is depleting. The Groundwater has been falling to lower and lower levels very rapidly.

The quality of groundwater is deteriorating along with the quantity. In 59% of districts of India, water from hand pumps and wells is unsafe for drinking. This is because of contamination of groundwater from chemical industrial waste from agriculture and industry. Water is being used as a sink to dump all kinds of waste and toxic substances. This is not easily reversible. We will see the consequences of this in the next example.

This pattern of development is in direct contrast to what sustainable development stands for. Sustainable development is development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs. In other words, a better quality of life for everyone - now and for generations to come.

However, the extent of our current resource use is such that the chances of future generations to have access to their fair share of scarce resources are endangered. Moreover, the consequences of our resource use in terms of impact on the environment may induce serious damages that go beyond the carrying capacity of the environment.

Example 2: Pesticides are an important component of the modern agricultural practice and are used to protect the crops from pests so that the yield is high. Environmentalists, however, realized a long time ago that the use of pesticides has adverse impact on the environment. The environment is simply unable to absorb the toxic substances beyond a point.



In the year 1962, Rachel Carson wrote in the book 'Silent Spring' about the impact of spraying DDT for mosquito control on birds and human beings. Substances like heavy metals contained in pesticides do not decompose from the environment but instead accumulate inside living organisms. Thus, the poison in DDT gets deposited in the body of the fishes in the lakes where the water containing DDT flows. The poison is too small in quantity to kill the fishes. But if one bird eats several fishes, the combined dose of the chemical inside the fishes is lethal enough for the bird. Rachel Carson also showed that insects like mosquitoes quickly develop resistance to DDT sprays. Her findings are a clear example of how human action irreversibly destroys nature and human beings themselves.

In India, the lethal impact of pesticides was seen for pesticide Endosulfan. In 1976, to protect the cashew crop from pests, the government carried out

treatment of 15,000 acres of land with Endosulfan which was sprayed by helicopter. This happened in Kasargod in the Northern part of Kerala. The air, water and entire environment was suffused with the pesticide, as treatment continued for some 25 years. As a result of the spraying, very serious health problems developed in the local people, particularly agricultural workers. As of now, at least 5,000 people have died and for countless others, life has become worse than death as cancer and deformities became prevalent.

In the recent years, spraying of endosulfan has been banned by a court order. Gradually, there has been a fall in disease and a general increase in well-being.

This is not an isolated incident particular to that area. Numerous studies point to the overuse of pesticides in modern agriculture and its impact on environment and people. Ironically, only one percent of the pesticide actually acts on the pest – the rest goes into our system through food, water and the environment.

- Environment is also called ‘natural capital’. Recall the definition of capital from Chapter 8. Why do you think environment is called natural capital?
- Why should water be considered as common property?
- Why was it considered necessary to go to court to stop the use of endosulfan?
- The court order banning the use of endosulfan argued that the pesticide violated the Right to Life (Article 21 of the Constitution). Can you describe how use of endosulfan had violated people’s Right to Life?

## People’s Rights over the Environment

Today, there are countless cases where attempts at modern development have caused large scale environmental problems. The case of big dams is a classic case and one that has very painful consequences.

The Narmada Valley Development Project is the single largest river development scheme in India. It is one of the largest hydroelectric projects in the world and is supposed to generate power, provide irrigation and help with flood control. The environmental costs of such a project, which involves the construction of more than 3,000 large and small dams, are immense. The largest of the dams constructed is the Sardar Sarovar, which floods more than 37,000 hectares of forest and agricultural land, displacing more than half a million people and destroying some of India’s most fertile land. The project has devastated human lives and biodiversity by inundating thousands of acres of forests and agricultural land. A disproportionate number of those being displaced are Adivasis and Dalits.

The following letter was written by Bava Mahaliya of Jalsindhi village in Jhabua district to the Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh in 1994. It was recorded in bhillala and translated into Hindi and a part of it is reproduced below. It questions the very idea of development.

Dear Digvijay Singhji,

We, the people of Jalsindhi village... district Jhabua, are writing this letter to you, the Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh.

We are people of the river bank; we live on the banks of the great Narmada. This year (1994), our village Jalsindhi will be the first village in Madhya Pradesh to be submerged by the Sardar Sarovar dam. Along with us, four or five other villages - Sakarja, Kakarsila, Akadia and others - will also be drowned.... When the water comes into our village, when our homes and fields are flooded, we will also drown - this is our firm resolve.

We are writing this letter to let you know why the adivasi (tribal) peasants of Jalsindhi who are coming under submergence, are preparing to drown themselves.

You, and all those who live in cities, think that we who live in the hills are poor and backward, like apes. "Go to the plains of Gujarat. Your condition will improve. You will develop" - this is what you advise us. But we have been fighting for eight years - we have borne lathi blows, been to jail several times, in Anjanvara village the police even came and fired on us and destroyed our homes.... If it is true that our situation will improve in Gujarat, then why aren't all of us even now ready to go there?

To you officials and people of the town, our land looks hilly and inhospitable, but we are very satisfied with living in this area on the bank of the Narmada with our lands and forests. We have lived here for generations. On this land our ancestors cleared the forest, worshipped gods, improved the soil, domesticated animals and settled villages. It is that very land that we till. You think we are poor. We are not poor. We have constructed our own houses where we live. We are farmers. Our agriculture prospers here. We earn by tilling the earth. Even with only the rains, we live by what we grow. Mother corn feeds us. We have some tilled land in the village and some in the forest area. On that we grow bajra, jowar, maize, *boadi*, *bate*, *saunvi*, *kadri*, *chana*, *moth*, *urdi*, sesame and groundnut. We have many different kinds of crops. We keep varying them and eating.



What grows in Gujarat? Wheat, jowar, tuvar, red gram and some cotton. Less to eat, more to sell. We cultivate in order to eat; we sell only the excess for buying clothes etc. Whether the price in the market be high or low, we get food to eat.

We grow so many different kinds of food, but all from our own effort. We have no use for money. We use our own seeds,

manure from our own livestock - from that we get good crops. Where will we get so much money? Who will know us there? Which moneylender will give us money? If we don't get a good crop and don't have any money, then we will have to mortgage our land.

Here we bring water to our fields by making channels from streams .... If we had electricity, then we could also pump up water from the Narmada and get a winter crop. But even though forty-fifty years have passed since independence, there is no electricity in the villages along the river, nor is there river irrigation.

.... We have flowing water and good fodder in the forest. We don't live as much by farming as we do by our livestock. We keep hens, goats, cows and buffaloes. Some have 2-4 buffaloes, some have 8-10. Almost everyone has ten -twenty-forty goats.... From Gujarat people come to our hills to graze their cattle. Our fodder and water is so plentiful.

.... The forest is our moneylender and banker. In hard times we go to the forest. We build our houses from its wood - from teak and bamboo. From *ningodi* and *hiyali* (types of bamboo) splints we weave screens. From the forests we make baskets and cots, ploughs and hoes.... We also eat leaves from the forest, *hegva*, *mahia*, *amli*, *goindi*, *bhanjan* - all these leaves we eat. If there is a famine we survive by eating roots and tubers. When we fall sick, our medicine men bring us back to health by giving us leaves, roots, bark from the forest.... We know the name of each and every tree, shrub and herb; we know its uses. If we were made to live in a land without forests, then all this learning that we have cherished over the generations will be useless and slowly we will forget it all.

.... We worship our gods by singing the *gayana* - the song of the river. We sing the *gayana* during the *naval* and *divasa* festivals, describing how the world was made, how humans were born, from where the great river came.... We eat fish often. Fish is our stand by when we have unexpected guests. The river brings us silt from upstream which is deposited on the banks... Our children play on the river's banks, swim and bathe there. Our cattle drink there all through the year for the big river never dries up. In the belly of the river, we live contented lives. We have lived here for generation after generation; do we have a right to the mighty river Narmada and to our forests or don't we? Do you government people recognise that right or not?

You city people live in separate houses. You ignore each others' joys and sadness. We live with our clan, our relatives, our kin. All of us pool together our labour and construct a house in a single day, weed our fields, and perform any small or big task as it comes along. In Gujarat who will come to lend us a hand and make our work lighter? Will the big farmers come to weed our fields or to construct our houses?

Here in our villages, from our villagers, why do we get so much support? It is because we are all alike here; we share a common understanding. Only a few are tenants; everybody owns land. No one has a lot of land, but everyone has a little bit. When we go to Gujarat, the big landowners will crush us. As early as forty-fifty years ago, they took away the land of the adivasis who used to live there. Even now they are doing this. And we strangers - we don't know the language or the customs; it is their rule. If we can't do the kind of farming that needs a lot of money, then we'd have to mortgage our land to them, and slowly they would take it over. If they took away the land of the adivasis who lived there, then why won't they take away ours? Then who will give us other land? This is the land of our forefathers. We have a right to it. If this is lost, then we will only get spades and pickaxes, nothing else....

Our village gods are all here. Our ancestors' memorial stones are all here. We worship Kalo Rano, Raja Panto, Indi Raja. We also worship Aai Khada and Khedu Bai. Our great devi is Rani Kajol. Her's and Kumbai and Kundu Rano's mountain is in Mathvad. If we leave all of them, then where will we get new gods from? People come from all over to celebrate our festivals - *indal*, *divasa* and *divali*. For *bhangoria*, all of us go to the market where our youth choose their own spouses. Who will come to us in Gujarat?

The land in Gujarat is not acceptable to us. Your compensation is not acceptable to us. We were born from the belly of the Narmada, we are not afraid to die in her lap.

We will drown but we will not move!

Bava Mahaliya

- In the chapter Ideas on Development, we read that what is development for one might be destruction for another. Use Bava Mahaliya's letter to explain this statement.
- Create a table identifying the current aspects of life and changes that will occur if the tribal people are re-settled in a different state on the basis of following aspects: Food habits; Farming; Finance; Relation with Forest; Religious practices; House making; Social relations.
- How is loss of bio-diversity being expressed in the letter?
- For the tribal people, livelihood, cultural practices and social relations are deeply connected to the local environment. Can you explain the reasons for this?
- Do you think that the people of Jalsindhi village are food secure in their present location?
- If you lived in the above situation, how would you have responded to the demand for re-settlement?

Development projects like the Sardar Sarovar dam have disrupted the lives and livelihood of thousands of people. It is true that irrigation and power have been produced and both are central to modern development. But for people who have been displaced – and there are millions of them – modern development has been unjust and destructive. Because of modern development projects, they have lost access to their greatest resource, the local environment. This is a point that Bava Mahaliya makes over and over again. Without the local environment, their lives would be reduced to nothing. From a state of self-sufficiency, they would be flung into scarcity. Now they can at least take one crop and hope that, in the future, irrigation would enable them to gradually move to multiple cropping. But with displacement, their lives would become dependent on external forces and they would fall into poverty.

For most rural communities, the link between the environment and the lives of the people is very strong. Access to environment serves a large number of their needs (like food, firewood, fodder, economically valuable articles etc.) which otherwise they would have to pay for. As they lose this access to environment either because of displacement, or because the environment is destroyed and polluted, the poor are the greatest sufferers. The question of environment and sustainability is intimately connected to the issue of equity.

It is also important to realise that not only do people lose out as they are removed from their local environments. The environment is equally denuded of its rich bio-diversity as traditional knowledge is lost along with the people. The stock of knowledge has been built and enriched over generations. People like Bava Mahaliya are the repositories of traditional knowledge. “We know the name of each and every tree, shrub and herb; we know its uses. If we were made to live in a land without forests, then all this learning that we have cherished over the generations will be useless and slowly we will forget it all.” Today, when the environment is

endangered in multiple ways, it is important to understand the contributions that these caring communities can make.

The resistance to Sardar Sarovar and other dams with similar consequences in the Narmada valley has taken the form of a social movement. It is called Narmada Bachao Andolan (NBA). You will read more about the issue of displacement and the environmental movement that has built up around this and similar issues in the chapter on Social Movements.



Fig 11.4 : Write your caption in the context of environment

## Chipko Movement

Another important environmental movement is the Chipko Movement which started in the early 1970s in the Garhwal Himalayas of Uttarakhand by Sunderlal Bahuguna. Like the tribal people of Narmada valley, the forests are a critical resource for the subsistence of people in hilly and mountainous areas. This is both because of their direct provision of food, fuel and fodder and because of their role in stabilising soil and water resources. As these forests were being increasingly felled for commerce and industry, villagers sought to protect their livelihoods through non-violent resistance. The name of the movement comes from the word '*chipko*' meaning 'embrace': the villagers hugged the trees, saving them by interposing their bodies between them and the contractors' axes. Village women were the main force of this movement. It inspired many people to look closely at the issue of environment sustainability.



While each of these movements has slightly different contexts, they are essentially demanding the rights of the local communities over the environment. Chipko movement acted to prevent the cutting of trees and reclaim their traditional forest rights that were threatened by contractors. Narmada Bachao Andolan has stood for the rights of the people over land, forests and river.

- You have read about the protests against the Kudankulam nuclear power plant in the chapter on Ideas on Development. Can you interpret the protest in view of what you have read here?
- “Environment protection is not just crucial for those communities directly affected but for all of us.” Explain with a few examples.
- Read the class VIII chapters on Minerals & Mining. What issues of conflict emerge between industrialists and people living in mining areas?
- There has been rapid increase in the extraction of minerals for domestic use and for exports to other countries since liberalisation and globalisation of Indian economy. Using figures from the table on the right, substantiate the observation.
- What do you think would be the environmental and human costs of such rapid growth in mining?

Growth in Extraction of Some key Minerals in India (in thousand tonnes)		
	1997-98	2010
Bauxite	6108	18000
Coal	297000	537000
Iron Ore	75723	260000
Chromite	1515	3800

## Towards Sustainable Development with Equity

For long, policymakers have ignored the environmental issues. The argument has been that since developing countries like India are poor, developing economies need to grow. Development has to be achieved at any cost. It is argued that growth in GDP and modern industrial development are necessary, for raising the living standards of people and reducing poverty. Since modern industrial and agricultural development are intensive in use of natural resources including energy, the depletion of these resources and pollution of the environment is to be expected. It is a sacrifice that has to be borne for higher growth. Once the high economic growth and prosperity is achieved, pollution and environmental degradation can be handled. One can spend money and clean up the air and rivers, drink bottled water and build cars that are fuel efficient. After all, this is the route that the developed countries have taken.

This logic is wrong for various reasons. By now, you would have realised that the environment is already in a disastrous state on various fronts. India is a big country with a huge population. If we continue to grow and consume energy and other resources and also pollute the environment as the developed countries have done, it would be catastrophic for earth. The damage to the environment will simply not be reversible. Hence, the idea that environmental damage is self-correcting is wrong. Besides, we certainly do not want the environment to be destroyed before it is reclaimed. Future generations, even if they restore the damage, would have to spend crores of rupees to clean up the mess created today. For example, to clean up our rivers and drains, we need to spend money today besides ensuring that they are not polluted again and any further. Do you think we should follow a path that destroys the natural resources and leaves them worse for future generations? Can we not perceive the contradiction: we first encourage and celebrate a lifestyle that invites the disease and then spend thousands of rupees on its cure?

We are already experiencing the negative consequences of rapid economic growth on several fronts – the problem of groundwater and pesticides being two stark examples. We have several thousands of communities living off the environment. To destroy the environment means to destroy these communities. It is unjust to ask the poor people to bear the cost of development.

Of course, this doesn't mean that we don't progress. But we should be able to integrate environmental concerns with the idea of progress, along with issues of equity and justice. We have to



*Fig 11.5 : Write your caption in the context of development*

find an environmentally sustainable pathway out of poverty. It is not an easy task. And yet the beginnings have already been made.

1. Different groups have championed the rights of local people over the environment (chapter 20). They have been a major force in raising the environmental consciousness among people and shift towards sustainable development.

2. The courts have given a number of judgments upholding the right to a healthy environment as intrinsic to the Fundamental Right to Life. In 1991, the Supreme Court held that the Right to Life under Article 21 of the Constitution includes the right to pollution-free water and air for full enjoyment of life. The government is responsible for setting up laws and procedures that can check pollution and introduce heavy fines for those who pollute. A variety of government institutions have been started to play the regulatory role.



Fig 11.6

*Fig 11.6 : Emissions from vehicles are a major cause of environmental pollution. In a series of rulings (1998 onwards), the Supreme Court had ordered all public transport vehicles using diesel were to switch to Compressed Natural Gas (CNG).*

*This is a cleaner fuel compared to diesel. As a result of this move, air pollution in cities like Delhi came down considerably. However, in the recent years the pollution levels have gone up again, because of the huge rise in the number of private cars run on diesel. Car manufacturers have started producing and selling cars run on diesel! The challenge of sustainable development is not an easy one.*

3. On issues like climate change, countries have tried to reach collective decisions. Climate change affects all countries and people, some may be more than the others. We do not even understand and cannot anticipate many of these effects right now. Individually, a country may take an initiative to reduce emissions of green house gases. Its environment would, however, continue to deteriorate if other countries do not regulate their emissions. Thus, solutions at the global level with countries coming together become necessary.

4. At the community level, many community organisations have innovated and re-discovered sustainable and equitable ways of doing things. There are numerous instances of such initiatives in diverse fields: fisheries, mining, transportation, energy, agriculture, industry, etc. Let's consider a few initiatives that have a direct bearing on society's most basic need i.e. food.

In the area of agricultural production, you might have heard about organic products and organic farming. Organic farmers forego the use of chemical fertilisers and pesticides. Instead, they rely mainly on natural techniques such as crop rotation, compost and biological pest control in farming. One of the main characteristics of organic agriculture is the use of local resources including on-farm biological processes such as availability of pest predators (birds, spiders,

insects) or soil micro-organisms (Rhizobium and Azotobacter) which make nutrients more accessible to the plant. The use of synthetic chemical inputs is minimised and farms can be bio-diverse as they produce a number of crops rather than only one or two crops. Furthermore, production levels can be maintained similar to modern agricultural methods.

Now, many states have realised the need and potential of organic farming. Local level initiatives have influenced state policy. The Sikkim government has taken the bold step to ban chemical fertilisers and pesticides. It is the first state in India that is planning to shift completely to organic farming by 2015. Uttarakhand too is following the same path of being 100% organic state.

Another very interesting intervention on sustainable food production and its equitable distribution is the alternate PDS initiated by community groups in Zaheerabad area of Telangana.



- a. Massai tribe in Kenya
- b. Yurta Kazakhstan
- c. Qiang tribes in Tibet
- d. Gaucho in South America

*Fig 11.7 : In the year 2013 a new photography book called “Before They Pass Away” was published. We do not have access to the book. The author identified nomadic communities that are on the verge of disappearing. (Our images are from different sources.) As you look at them think of how and why the question of sustainable development will be important – and why did the author identify them as disappearing.*

## An Alternative Public Distribution System

Of the total cultivatable land in India, 92 million hectares is rainfed area and 51 million is irrigated area. This means nearly 2/3rd of cultivable land in India is rainfed and may not be fit for irrigated agriculture. Traditionally, a mix of crops suited to the dryland conditions were grown in these areas. For example the dryland agriculture of the Deccan plateau had a mixture of 16 crops sown at the same time. These have varying maturity period which results in extended period of work and continuous supply of incomes and/ or food gave. This also minimised the risk factor, where at least one crop will give yield even in adverse climatic conditions. Mixed cropping also reduced the chance of any insect becoming a major pest. The crops were so chosen to provide balanced and nutritious food to the land (soil fertility), human population and the livestock.

However, with the green revolution emphasis shifted to rice and wheat. These were the crops that were also available through the ration shops under the PDS. The main cereal cooked at home changed to rice and wheat. As the demand for local foodgrains fell, over time many of the patches of dryland were left uncultivated. You may recall that under the Green Revolution rice and wheat agriculture was encouraged for food self-sufficiency through various government policies. Cultivation of millets on the other hand was neither encouraged, nor supported. There was not enough research on how to increase the yields of coarse cereals. This is the main reason why the production of dryland crops like millets and oil seeds suffered.

In Zaheerabad mandal of Medak district of Telangana, villagers have reversed the dependence on purchased wheat and rice. It all began around the year 2000 as the women began to reflect on the loss of local food cultures. Millets were the traditional staple of the region, which had been lost to rice. Rice is nutritionally inferior compared to millets. Besides poor nutrition, people also realised that they had lost control on what grew on their land. Many fields were now fallow. Led by a voluntary organisation, Deccan Development Society, the villagers collectively decided to cultivate the fallow land and the commons. Millets were the obvious crop choice because of their suitability to the local environment. Millets are hardy crops and nutritious.

Cultivation of dryland gave people work. Further, instead of selling the produce outside, the community started community grain bank. This operated on the principle of the PDS system (like people hold different ration cards and are assigned fixed quotas depending on the type of ration card). Only it was locally managed, and the grain was the local grain. Instead of the grain travelling hundreds of kilometers, locally produced food was now available to ensure food security in the village.

## To sum up...

We noted that modern development has accentuated the problems of environmental destruction. This is today felt in many ways and quite starkly. From development centered on growth of goods and services, the goal has to shift towards sustainable development with equity. Everyone has a role to play in this transformation – individuals, companies, farmers, governments, courts, voluntary and community organisations and international organisations.

### Keywords

Sustainable development  
People's rights

Environment  
Equity

Source  
Sink

### Improve your learning

1. Why did the people of Jalsindhi village refuse to move out of the village? (AS<sub>1</sub>)
2. “This is the land of our forefathers. We have a right to it. If this is lost, then we will only get spades and pickaxes, nothing else...” says Bava Mahaliya. Can you explain the statement? (AS<sub>1</sub>)
3. “Last, but not the least, the key to environmental problem lies in changing lifestyles that will minimise waste and pollution.” (AS<sub>4</sub>)
  - What are the various ways in which our lifestyles affect the environment? Use examples from your own context to explain.
  - Find out about the various ways in which the problems of garbage and emissions are being dealt with around the world.
4. Rapid extraction of minerals and other natural resources would adversely impact the future development prospects. Do you agree? (AS<sub>4</sub>)
5. Why do you think the effects of climate change may be felt by all countries? (AS<sub>1</sub>)
6. Should the average temperature of the earth be treated as a natural resource for all people? Why? (AS<sub>1</sub>)
7. What are the lessons to be drawn from the alternate PDS initiative at Zaheerabad mandal in Telangana? (AS<sub>4</sub>)

8. “Environment is crucially important for the lives and livelihoods of the local communities and the lifestyles of local communities are harmonious with the environment.” Explain. (AS<sub>6</sub>)
9. Locate i) The River Narmada ii) Sardar Sarovar project in the map of India. (AS<sub>5</sub>)

### Debate:

Is it better, to over use of pesticides and New variety seeds in the name of High yielding in agriculture or not? Conduct a debate on it.

### Project

You have read about composting in the context of organic farming. Here is a simple method that you can try out in your school and home.

- Take a large size container and make several holes for water drainage.
- Layer it with coconut fibres for drainage.
- Cover it with a thin layer of soil.
- Add vegetable wastes in a layer.
- Add another layer of soil.
- Again add vegetable wastes in a layer.
- Cover with soil.
- After one week, introduce earthworms in it.
- After decomposition, use the soil to make a small garden with plants of your choice.

## CHAPTER 12

# The World During the World Wars

### Introduction

In this chapter, we shall talk about the history of the world in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the causes and consequences of the two World Wars and the creation of an institution like the United Nations to ensure world peace and development.

### The Twentieth Century

Eric Hobsbawm, a historian, called the 20<sup>th</sup> century ‘The Age of Extremes’. On one hand, Fascism was growing strong because of its ideas of unquestioned power and hatred for other people. On the other hand, the need for democracy was also growing. The average life expectancy rate was growing higher because of new discoveries in the field of medicine. Literacy levels also became high i.e. more people had access to better education. New art forms like movies also became known. In the field of Science, new discoveries were made about life and atoms. More than hundred countries became independent all over the world.

Many great experiments happened in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. In some countries, socialist societies came up. In Socialist societies, people lived with Equality & Fraternity. Some countries adopted Liberal Democracy where people had political liberty and a Capitalist economy.

At the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the world was divided into developed industrialised countries of the West (including Britain, USA, Germany, France, Italy, etc) and colonized countries of Asia, and Africa. These countries were under the control of developed nations. The industrialised countries had split into two enemy groups or blocks. Germany, Austria and Hungary were on one side and Britain, France and Russia were on the



Fig 12.1: Eric Hobsbawm

#### Timeline

Beginning of First World War	• 1914
Russion Revolution	• 1917
End of First World War	• 1918
Treaty of Versailles	• 1919
Formation of USSR	• 1922
Great Depression	• 1929
Hitler becomes the Chancellor of Germany	• 1933
Beginning of Second World War	• 1939
End of Second World War	• 1945
Formation of UNO	• 1945



*Fig 12.2: For the first time in history planes were used to drop bombs in WW I.*

another side. Each group wanted to dominate over the world and control as many colonies and markets as possible which led to the occurrence of world wars.

The First World War began in 1914. It was really a World War because almost all the countries (imperial nations and their colonies) of the world took part in the war. China, Japan on the East and the US on the West took part in the war. The First World War ended in 1918. Britain and France defeated Germany and its allies in the war.

## Causes for the World Wars

### Aggressive Nationalism

The ideology of nationalism was a positive impulse. Many newly formed modern nations were created in Europe because of people's strong feeling of nationalism. It was also the force behind the unification of Germany and Italy. But this ideology created pride in these nations and hatred against the neighbouring countries.

Italian Fascism and National Socialism of German Nazis were the other forms of aggressive Nationalism in destructive mode from 1923. Fascists promoted aggressive nationalism and the image of victorious Germany ruling over the world. They also mobilized the Germans against the other nations of Europe.

### Imperialism

With the growth of industrial capitalism, European countries like Britain, Germany and US needed to access raw materials and markets for their products. They wanted to invest their growing capital in the colonies. Thus, by the end of the 19th century there was a race for colonies between the European powers. The newly emerged industrial powers (like Germany and Italy) wanted to re-divide the colonies but the old industrial powers were not ready for this. This created a lot of tension often leading to wars.

## Secret Alliances

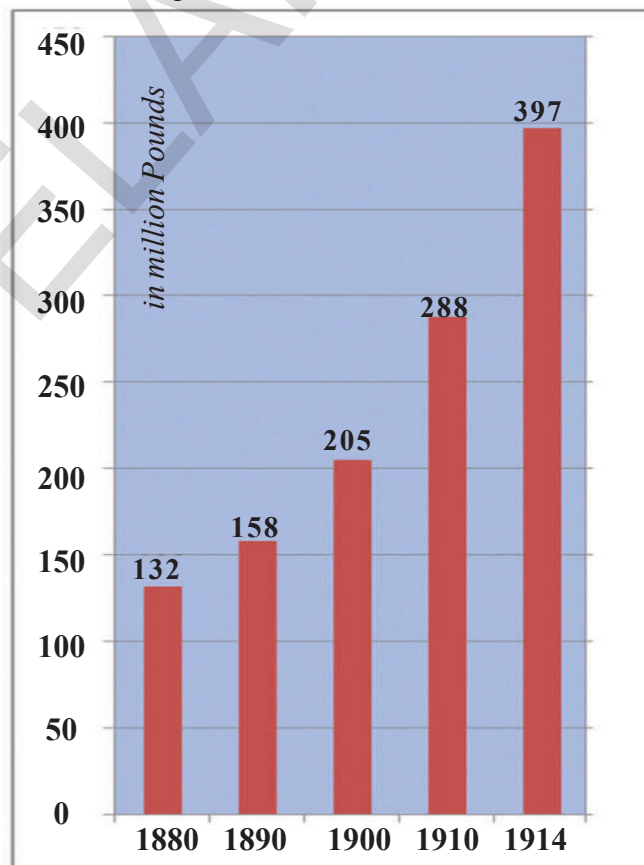
After defeating France in 1870, Bismarck, the German Chancellor, wanted to isolate France. He made a secret alliance with Austria in 1879 and Italy and Austria in 1882. Hence it was called Triple Alliance. France made a mutual alliance with Russia in 1891 and with Britain in 1904. To protect itself, Russia, France and Britain formed their Triple Entente in 1907. The Triple Alliance led by Germany and the Triple Entente made the European powers jealous and suspicious of one another. Instead of real peace, these alliances created an atmosphere of fear and 'armed peace' in Europe.

## Militarism

Militarism is the belief that military power is the best way to ensure security and to solve problems. The military expenditure of the six powerful countries (viz. Germany, Russia, Austria, Italy, France and Britain) increased by over three times, i.e. from £ 132 million to £ 397 million during the years from 1880 to 1914.

There are three important things in the context of militarism. Firstly, all these countries had built massive standing armies for their defence. Secondly, they competed with each other in increasing their military weapons. They encouraged people to support wars. Thirdly, a large industry of weapons emerged which constantly promoted the idea of using war as a solution to diplomatic problems.

Graph 1 : The Armaments Race



Military expenditure by great powers (Germany, Austria-Hungary, Great Britain, Russia, Italy and France 1880-1914 (source The Times Atlas of World History, London 1978)

## **Balkan politics**

There were many small kingdoms in the Balkan Peninsula. People belonging to many sects, languages were living there. They were being ruled under the Ottoman Turkey empire. After the fall of Ottoman Empire, Austria, Germany, Turkey, Russia competed for the supremacy over the area. Moreover, Russia and Turkey were trying to control the Black sea and the Mediterranean Sea region into their hands for a long time. So, there was always tense situation around the region. During the same time, Austria was trying to suppress the Serbian rebels in Bosnia, who were against to the rule of Austria.

## **Immediate cause**

On June 28, 1914, a Bosnian Serb assassinated the crown prince Archduke Franz Ferdinand of Austria- Hungary. Austria asked Serbia for the explanation on this. Austria, declared war on Serbia after the unsatisfactory reply of Serbia on 28 July 1914. This was the immediate cause of the first world war. As Serbia was on the side of Britain, France, Russia alliance, they came to support it. Germany and its group also decided to jump into the war in support of Austria. This was called the First World War.

The countries which were participated on behalf of Austria were known as Central Powers where as the other group was called as Allied Powers. Central Powers got upper hand over the Allied Powers in the beginning of the war. Due to internal revolution, Russia, the Allied Power, withdrawn from the war by making treaty with Germany in 1917. On the other hand, US also jumped into the war on behalf of Allied countries when German troops sunk its commercial ship, Lusitania in 1917. Thus, Allied Powers became victorious in the war.

## **The world after the First World War**

### **The Treaty of Versailles, 1919**

After the first world war, many discussions and treaties were done. Britain and its three allies imposed the terms and conditions of the treaty on the defeated powers. The Austro-Hungarian and Ottoman Turkey empires were dissolved and broken up into small nation states. The German Empire too was broken up and replaced by a democratic republic. The Ottoman Empire was replaced by the Republic of Turkey and its colonies in Africa were divided among the victorious

powers. A large number of new countries were formed like Austria, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Estonia, Latvia, Finland, etc.

The Treaty of Versailles imposed heavy penalty on Germany both in monetary terms – Germany had to pay war indemnity or compensation to the victorious allies – and in territorial terms, it lost a lot of its territory to France and other countries.

### **The League of Nations-1920**

The League of Nations was the first ever international organisation which was formed as a consequence of the treaty of Versailles. It was established on Eleventh of January, 1920. It was formed to prevent wars by trying to settle disputes through negotiations, ensure disarmament or reduce manufacturing of arms etc. It also sought to work for development, labour welfare and health. It had about fifty eight members. It had limited success initially but failed to prevent the Second World War.

- How do you think organisations like the League of Nations help to resolve conflicts between two countries? What can they do to resolve the conflicts?

#### **Date of the Russian Revolution**

Russia followed the Julian calendar until 1 February 1918. The country then changed to the Gregorian calendar, which is followed everywhere today. The Gregorian dates are 13 days ahead of the Julian dates. So, by our calendar, the 'February' Revolution took place on 12th March and the 'October' Revolution took place on 7th November.

### **The Russian Socialist Revolution (1917-1922)**

Russia was ruled by Tsars (emperors) in early 20<sup>th</sup> century. It was a vast area of land spread over two continents, Europe and Asia. Therefore it had been called a Euro-Asian power. It had the third largest population in the world, viz. 156 million, after China and India. It comprised of several nations like Russia, Ukraine, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan etc. The livelihood of most Russians came from agriculture. Often there were struggles between peasants and feudal lords for control over land. The feudal lords owned most of the lands and most peasants paid rent for the land they tilled.

Tsar Nicholas II ruled over his vast Russian empire with the help of the army and bureaucracy. But the Russian economy had suffered a lot by the first World War. The Russian army was the largest in the world before World War I. Yet, by 1917, Russia had lost the lives of two million soldiers and civilians. It became the

### Women in the February Revolution

'Women workers, often inspired their male co-workers ... At the Lorenz telephone factory,... Marfa Vasileva almost single handedly called a successful strike. Already that morning, in celebration of Women's Day, women workers had presented red bows to the men ... Then Marfa Vasileva, a milling machine operator stopped work and declared an sudden strike. The workers on the floor were ready to support her ... The foreman informed the management and sent her a loaf of bread. She took the bread but refused to go back to work. The administrator asked her why she refused to work and she replied, "I cannot be the only one who is satiated when others are hungry." Women workers from another section of the factory gathered around Marfa in support and gradually all the other women ceased working. Soon the men downed their tools as well and the entire crowd rushed onto the street.'



*Fig 12.3: Lenin addressing workers in 1917*

biggest loser of human lives in World War I. A large amount of food was supplied to the War front during the war. This led to the shortage of food in the cities. On March 8<sup>th</sup> 1917, around 10,000 women of the capital St Petersburg, took out a procession demanding 'Peace and Bread'. Workers also joined them in this protest. Tsar Nicholas II was really upset by these protests. He ordered the army to suppress the demonstrators, even by firing at them. Instead, the soldiers also joined the demonstrators. In just two days, the situation became so bad that the Tsar left his throne and escaped. Russians made a Provisional government. This was the first Russian revolution of 1917 and it was called as the March Revolution.

A bigger revolution took place later in October 1917 and it was not spontaneous. The liberals and aristocrats ruled Russia after the abdication of the Tsar. They decided to continue the War to save the honour of Russia. The common people were tired of the military action and economic shortage and did not want the War. They began organising themselves in councils which were called Soviets. These Soviets of soldiers, industrial workers and people in rural areas were united by a group of Russian Communist party called Bolsheviks. These groups represented the common people's power.

Vladimir Lenin (1870-1924) was the leader of the Bolsheviks. Bolsheviks were able to get the support of the Soviets because they demanded for immediate and unconditional peace. They also demanded that all the land should be nationalized and redistributed to the peasants. Bolsheviks wanted control over prices and nationalisation of all factories and banks. The Soviets under the Bolshevik leadership seized power from the Provisional Government in October-November 1917. They immediately took steps to end the war and redistributed land. Russia could not return to complete peace because a civil war was started. This war was led by White armies of Russian monarchists and anti-communist soldiers with help from Britain, France, USA and Japan. They were all defeated by 1920. The Bolsheviks also announced the end of the Russian empire and permitted the various nations under it to become independent. However, gradually most of the nations that came under the empire of the Tsar agreed to join the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) which was set up by the Soviet government of Russia in 1922.

### The October Revolution and the Russian Countryside: Two Views

1) 'News of the revolutionary uprising of October 25, 1917, reached the village the following day and was greeted with enthusiasm; to the peasants it meant free land and an end to the war. ...The day the news arrived, the landowner's house was looted, his stock farms were "requisitioned" and his vast orchard was cut down and sold to the peasants for wood; all his far buildings were torn down and left in ruins while the land was distributed among the peasants who were prepared to live the new Soviet life'. From: Fedor Belov, The History of a Soviet Collective Farm

2) A member of a landowning family wrote to a relative about what happened at the estate:

'The "coup" happened quite painlessly, quietly and peacefully. ...The first days were unbearable.. Mikhail Mikhailovich [the estate owner] was calm...The girls also...I must say the chairman behaves correctly and even politely. We were left two cows and two horses. The servants tell them all the time not to bother us. "Let them live. We vouch for their safety and property. We want them treated as humanely as possible...."

...There are rumours that several villages are trying to evict the committees and return the estate to Mikhail Mikhailovich. I don't know if this will happen, or if it's good for us. But we rejoice that there is a conscience in our people...'

From: Serge Schmemmann, Echoes of a Native Land. Two Centuries of a Russian Village (1997).

- Read the two views on the revolution in the countryside. Imagine yourself to be a witness to the events. Write a short account from the standpoint of: 1) an owner of an estate 2) a small peasant 3) a journalist.

### Central Asia of the October Revolution: Views

M. N. Roy played an important role in 'comintern' an international organisation set to promote communist revolution in the world. He was in Central Asia at the time of the civil war in the 1920s. He wrote:

'The chieftain was a benevolent old man; his attendant ... a youth who ... spoke Russian ... He had heard of the Revolution, which had overthrown the Tsar and driven away the Generals who conquered the homeland of the Kirgiz. So, the Revolution meant that the Kirgiz were masters of their home again. "Long Live the Revolution" shouted the Kirgiz youth who seemed to be a born Bolshevik. The whole tribe joined.'

M.N.Roy, Memoirs (1964).

### Rabindranath Tagore wrote from Russia in 1930

'Moscow appears much less clean than the other European capitals. None of those hurrying along the streets look smart. The whole place belongs to the workers ... Here the masses have not in the least been put in the shade by the gentlemen ... those who lived in the background for ages have come forward in the open today ... I thought of the peasants and workers in my own country. It all seemed like the work of the Genii in the Arabian Nights. [here] only a decade ago they were as illiterate, helpless and hungry as our own masses ... Who could be more astonished than an unfortunate Indian like myself to see how they had removed the mountain of ignorance and helplessness in these few years'.

This started a great experiment of building a country without exploiters like feudal lords, Kings or capitalists. The USSR tried to build a society that was industrialised and modern and yet did not have inequality or exclusion of people on the basis of birth, gender, language, etc.

### Rise of Stalin

After the death of Lenin in 1924, Stalin emerged as the leader of the Communist party. Over the next decades, he established his absolute control and put an end to all opposition. He used his undisputed power to build the economy of USSR. USSR began a programme of planned economic development (with its Five Year Plans) in 1928. This programme had a twin policy of fast industrialisation and collectivisation of agriculture.

### Impact of Russian Revolution on the world

The experience of the USSR inspired people all over the world especially those who were committed to the ideals of equality and national liberation. These people

now became communists and tried for a communist evolution in their countries. Many Indian leaders like MN Roy, Rabindranath Tagore and Jawaharlal Nehru were also inspired by it even though they did not agree with many aspects of communism like suppression of opposition political parties.

Many people were also horrified by the violence used by USSR to suppress opposition and denial of multiparty democracy and freedom in the USSR. George Orwell wrote his famous satiric novel 'Animal Farm' to highlight how the ideals of Russian Revolution were suffering in USSR.

- Do a brief assessment of the Soviet experiment. How far was it successful in building a world based on equality, freedom and prosperity?
- Do you think it is justified to execute thousands of people for the sake of such experiments? Why?
- What were the criticisms raised against communist system?

### **The Economic Depression–1929-1939**

The Economic Depression began around the end of 1929 and lasted almost till 1939 when the Second World War started. During this decade, the economy declined worldwide because of a decline in demand and fall in prices. Factories were closed because the demand was low. Since the goods were manufactured in limited quantity, the prices increased. Because of expensive goods, people's purchasing power reduced. So the demand for goods further went down. This cyclical effect caused massive unemployment. The real incomes of ordinary people as well as governments across the world also declined. Initially a stock market collapsed in the US, but very soon it affected almost every country.



*Fig 12.4 : A New Yorker offers to sell his roadster after losing his money in the stock market crash.*

In America, as many as 25% people and nearly 33% people in many other countries were unemployed. As factories closed down and trade declined, cities became centers of decline. This led to reduced prices (up to 60%) for agricultural produce causing pauperisation of millions of farmers and stopping of cultivation. This was the longest and worst economic decline faced by modern economy till

today. The consequences of this were devastating. There was increasing poverty, desolation, homelessness etc.

Economists and politicians have discussed the causes of this decline, ways to get over it and possible ways of preventing it from happening again. Marxist economists argued that this kind of crises happened because of capitalism. They also thought that it could be prevented by the establishment of socialism. On the other hand, economists like JM Keynes argued that the state is responsible to keep the economy going. If it fails to do so, it can lead to situations of depression. Keynes argued that during economic decline, when demand decreases, the state should invest funds and generate employment which will help people to earn money and demand goods in the market. This generation of demand through state action will help the economy to revive.



*Fig 12.5: Famous photograph of Polish immigrant Florence Owens during Depression by Dorothea Lange. It depicts destitute pea pickers in California, March 1936. What would she be thinking?*

Franklin Roosevelt, who became the President of US, announced “the New Deal” which promised Relief to the victims of depression, Reform of financial institutions and steps to ensure economic Recovery (The Three Rs) by undertaking large public works. However, when the war started, state expenditure on armies and armaments suddenly increased. This increased the factory production and demand for farm produce. He also introduced the much needed social security system in the US. It established a permanent system of universal retirement pensions (Social Security), and unemployment insurance. It also gave welfare benefits for the handicapped and needy children in families without fathers. It established the framework for the U.S. welfare system. In fact, Great Britain had taken the lead in this

direction even before the Depression when the war was still on. These basically consisted of unemployment insurance and old age pension schemes. Towards the end of the Second World War, Britain also adopted many social security measures like unemployment doles, sickness coverage, health schemes, child care etc. All this made up the idea of a Welfare State, a state which ensured a basic minimum dignified life for all citizens. It also took care of their most elementary needs like food, housing, health, child and old age care and education. The state had taken on the responsibility of providing employment to the able bodied citizens. In this way, the state tried to reduce the effects of the ups and downs of market based capitalism.

## Economic Depression in Germany

German economy faced severe crisis after the war. It was under the burden of paying war damages etc. The German Government began to print currency notes on a large scale and this resulted in excessive inflation. It is said that people had to carry currency in carts to buy one loaf of bread!

The German economy was the worst hit by the Depression. By 1932, industrial production was reduced to 40 per cent of its 1929 level. Workers lost their jobs or were paid reduced wages. More than 6 million people were unemployed. On the streets of Germany, you could see men with placards around their necks saying, 'Willing to do any work'. Unemployed youths played cards or simply sat at street corners, or desperately queued up at the local employment exchange. As there were very few jobs, the youth took to criminal activities and there was total despair in society.

The economic crisis created deep anxieties and fears in people. The savings of middle classes, especially salaried employees and pensioners, diminished when the currency lost its value. Small businessmen, the self-employed and retailers suffered losses as their businesses got ruined. These sections of society were filled with the fear of pauperisation, an anxiety of being reduced to the categories of the working class, or worse still, the unemployed. Only organised workers could manage to survive themselves and their families. But unemployment reduced their bargaining power. Big businesses were in a crisis. The large peasant population was affected by a sharp fall in agricultural prices. Women were unable to fill their children's stomachs. So they were filled with a sense of deep despair. This caused political instability as government after government failed and could not provide a stable rule.

- Imagine yourself to be a worker who lost his job suddenly and has no employment for the next few years. Write an account of a day in your life in first person.
- Imagine yourself to be a farmer who finds that the price of his crop has fallen to less than half. Write your reflection (in three hundred words).
- What aspects of the Welfare State do you find functioning in India today?

## Rise of Fascism, Nazism

Fascism was one ideology which developed in the period after the First World War, especially in the defeated countries. It emphasised the idea of national unity in order to expand and win over other nations. Fascists didn't allow anyone to conflict nor have different interests within the nation. They suppressed people with force in order to ensure absolute loyalty and obedience to a central power. They were against both communism and liberalism. Fascists wanted to build unity in their nations through a dictatorial state that promoted the mass mobilization of the majority community of the nation. Fascist movements shared certain common features, like the worshipping of the state, a devotion to a strong leader like Hitler, and an emphasis on extreme nationalism and military conquest. Fascism used political violence, war, and conquest as a means to achieve national revival. It also asserted that stronger nations have the right, and indeed a duty, to expand their territory by displacing weaker nations. It stood for state controlled capitalism and opposed socialism and communism. It also stood for abolition of all private industries.

This ideology was more popular in the defeated countries who were feeling insulted because of the conditions imposed on them by the Versailles treaty and the pressure of world-wide depression. It first began with the victory of Benito Mussolini in Italy in 1922; then Hitler and his Nazi Party came to power in Germany in 1933; General Franco came to power in Spain after a long military campaign against the democratic state in 1939; meanwhile Japan is also developed its own version of Fascist ideology i.e. militarism and started its military campaigns in China, Korea etc. All these dictators were, in some ways, followers of the Fascist ideology.

Hitler was a powerful speaker. His passion and his words moved many people. He promised to build a strong nation, undo the injustice of the Versailles Treaty and restore the dignity of the German people. He promised employment for those looking for work, and a secure future for the youth. He promised to remove all foreign influences and fight all foreign 'conspiracies' against Germany.

Hitler devised a new style of politics. He understood the importance of rituals and spectacle to mobilise the masses. Nazis held massive rallies and public meetings to demonstrate the support for Hitler and create a sense of unity among the people. The Red banners with the Swastika, the Nazi salute, and the ritual rounds of applause

after the speeches were all part of this display of power. Hitler mobilized his supporters by promising to establish the racial supremacy of Aryans (Germans) over the world. He also targeted minority communities like Jews as the main cause of all problems. He also attacked Communism and Capitalism terming both of them as Jewish conspiracies. He promised to build a strong state which would fight with both of them. He appealed especially to the middle class who felt threatened by capitalism and the Great Depression. Hitler was also opposed to working class movement led by the Communists and Socialists.

#### From Hitler's speech

Hitler argued that it is the right of the most powerful race to conquer the world;

'For this earth is not allotted to anyone nor is it presented to anyone as a gift. It is awarded by providence to people who in their hearts have the courage to conquer it, the strength to preserve it, and the industry to put it to the plough... The primary right of this world is the right to life, so far as one possesses the strength for this. Hence on the basis of this right a vigorous nation will always find ways of adapting its territory to its population size.

- Is Hitler's idea of World conquest correct? Do you think that the world should belong to those who have power and strength alone?

In such a situation, Nazi Party's propaganda gave some hopes of a better future. Hitler was the unquestioned leader of the Nazi party. In 1928, the Nazi Party had got less than 2.6 per cent votes in the Reichstag – the lower house of the German parliament. But by 1932, it had become the largest party in Germany with 37 per cent votes.

Hitler came to power and immediately took steps to establish an undemocratic and autocratic rule. He stopped the working of all democratic institutions like Parliament. This included arbitrary arrest of political opponents, especially the Communists and putting them in concentration camps.



*Fig 12.6 : Jewish slave labourers in the Buchenwald concentration camp near Jena Germany in 1945*

## Indoctrination

Nazis tried to teach their children right from the beginning in only one way of thinking. Nazi ideology of racial superiority of Germany and the greatness of Hitler and hatred for Jews and other people. How was this done?

All boys between the ages of six and ten went through a preliminary training in Nazi ideology. At the end of the training they had to take the following oath of loyalty to Hitler: 'In the presence of this blood banner which represents our Fuhrer I swear to devote all my energies and my strength to the saviour of our country, Adolf Hitler. I am willing and ready to give up my life for him, so help me God.'

From W. Shirer, *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*

Robert Lay, head of the German Labour Front, said:

'We start when the child is three years old. As soon as he even starts to think, he is given a little flag to wave. Then comes school, the Hitler Youth, military service. But when all this is over, we don't let go of anyone. The labour front takes hold of them, and keeps hold until they go to the grave, whether they like it or not.'

## Women under Nazis

In an address to women at the Nuremberg Party Rally, 8 September 1934, Hitler said: We do not consider it correct for the woman to interfere in the world of the man, in his main sphere. We consider it natural that these two worlds remain distinct...What the man gives in courage on the battlefield, the woman gives in eternal self-sacrifice, in eternal pain and suffering. Every child that women bring to the world is a battle, a battle waged for the existence of her people.

Hitler at the Nuremberg Party Rally, 8 September 1934, also said:

'The woman is the most stable element in the preservation of a folk...she has the most unerring sense of everything that is important to not let a race disappear because it is her children who would be affected by all this suffering in the first place...That is why we have integrated the woman in the struggle of the racial community just as nature and providence have determined so.'



*Fig 12.7: Women accused of protecting Jews being publicly punished.*

- Do you agree with the view that women should confine themselves to pain and suffering of bringing up the children?
- Do you think men and women can participate equally in all aspects of life including child rearing and work in factories, offices, and fields?

## Resistance

Pastor Niemoeller, a resistance fighter, observed an absence of protest, an uncanny silence, amongst ordinary Germans in the face of brutal and organised crimes committed against people in the Nazi empire. He wrote movingly about this silence:

'First they came for the Communists,  
Well, I was not a Communist  
So I said nothing.  
Then they came for the Social Democrats,  
Well, I was not a Social Democrat  
So I did nothing,  
Then they came for the trade unionists,  
But I was not a trade unionist.  
And then they came for the Jews,  
But I was not a Jew – so I did little.  
Then when they came for me,  
There was no one left who could stand up for me.'

- Nazi ideology depended on majoritarian principles. Jews were merely 0.75 percent of the population in Germany. Apart from Jews others who opposed Nazi's were also punished. How does the pastor capture this in above poem?

On 3<sup>rd</sup> March 1933, the famous Enabling Act was passed. This Act established dictatorship in Germany. It gave Hitler all powers to sideline Parliament and rule by his order. All political parties and trade unions were banned except for the Nazi Party and its affiliates. The state established complete control over the economy, media, army and judiciary.

Special surveillance and security forces were created to control and order society in ways that the Nazis wanted. Apart from the already existing regular police in green uniform and the SA or the Storm Troopers, they also formed the Gestapo (secret state police), the SS (the protection squads), criminal police and the Security Service (SD). These extra-constitutional powers of these

newly organised forces gave the Nazi state its reputation as the most dreaded criminal state. Gestapo had the authority to stop and detain people to torture chambers, round up and send them to concentration camps. They could also deport anyone at will or arrest people without any legal procedures. The police forces acquired complete powers to rule. These powers were used to arrest and torture millions of political activists, trade unionists and people of minority communities, especially the Jews. They did all this to build a state of horror and fear.

Hitler assigned the responsibility of economic recovery to the economist Hjalmar Schacht. Schacht aimed at full production and full employment through a state-funded work-creation programme. This project produced the famous German superhighways and the people's car, the Volkswagen. There was an improvement of

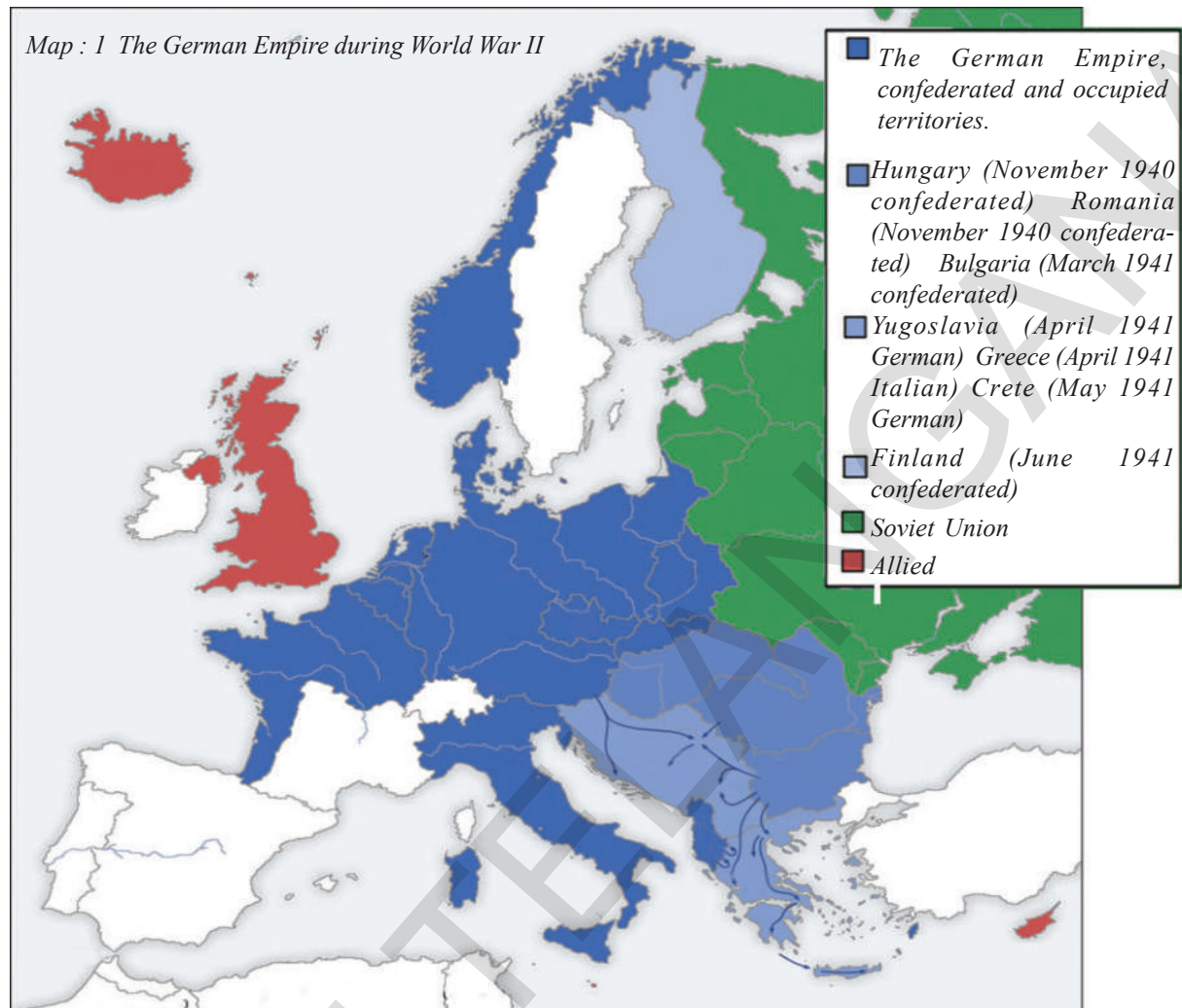


Fig 12.8: A cartoon depicting Hitler as man of peace as well as man of war.

living standards of a section of the Germans. This period also created sub-human conditions of life for those who were tortured by the racist regime. This was also followed by heavy investment in armament industry to create further employment. But this plan could be sustained only by going on war with the neighbours. For this, Hitler followed an aggressive foreign policy to recover the territories lost by Germany after the First World War. Then by 1939, he attacked Poland and as we saw earlier, this started off the Second World War.

As the War proceeded, the Nazi regime started its horrible programme of building the racial supremacy of Germans by mass killings of minority communities.

Under the shadow of the Second World War, Germany had started a genocidal war. In this war, the mass murder of selected groups of innocent civilians of Europe took place. The number of people killed included: about 60,000,000 Jews, 2,000,000 Gypsies, 10,000,000 Polish civilians, 70,000 Germans who were considered mentally and physically disabled besides innumerable political opponents or people of different religious faith. Nazis devised a horrifying means of killing people. They killed thousands of people in gas chambers in various killing centers like Auschwitz.

- In what ways was the Second World War a logical outcome of Hitler's ideology and economic policies?
- Find out more about "Holocaust" and Auschwitz camps and prepare a project report based on it.

## Second World War – 1939-1945

Aggressive nationalism, militarism, imperialism, secret alliances were the reasons for the second world also. Along with these, the special contexts for the second world war were the following.

### The Treaty of Versailles- Intensity of the terms

At the end of World War I, the Conference on Peace took place in Versailles in 1919. This was the biggest conference of that time as it was attended by delegations from 32 nations that covered three-fourths of the population of the world. The five victorious powerful countries of the time, viz. USA, UK, France, Italy and Japan, participated in this conference. But Socialist Russia and the defeated powers, for example, Germany, Austria and Turkey, were not invited to the Conference. To weaken Germany, the Treaty of Versailles imposed some territorial penalties and military cuts on it. Firstly, Germany was asked to return its colonies in Africa occupied in the 1880s and European areas like Alsace and Lorraine which they had occupied from France in 1871. Secondly, it was asked to pull down its army strength to 100,000 from 900,000 during World War I. It was also asked not to have

submarines and restrict its naval strength to six battleships of less than 10,000 tonnes and a dozen torpedo missile carriers and destroyers. It is not surprising, therefore, that Germans thought the Treaty at Versailles was a diktat imposed on them and they had no respect or responsibility for it.

### **Failure of The League of Nations**

The Treaty of Versailles also set up the League of Nations to prevent wars in the future. Neither Russia nor Germany was invited to become members of the League. USA could not become a member as the US Congress (parliament) refused to sanction President Woodrow Wilson's proposal even though he was very active in the formation of the League. Hence, the League had only 58 members. These countries hoped that the League would help remove wars through 'collective security' and settle disputes and problems between countries through negotiation. An International Court of Justice was established by the league of nations to settle the legal disputes between nations.

Even though it showed a lot of promise and much was expected of it, it eventually failed to prevent Germany, Japan and Italy from violating international agreements and attacking other countries.

### **German challenge to vengeful domination**

After Germany's defeat at the end of the First World War in 1919, the victorious Allies wanted to punish Germany for starting the war and cripple it so that it could not rise again. For Germany, the conditions forced on them by the Treaty of Versailles were slavish. This created an aversive desire in Germany which led to the rise of Hitler and his Nazi party. They wanted to get back the territories lost by them in the Treaty of Versailles. They also wanted to restore German control over Central Europe and end the restrictions on German arms. Germany rebuilt its industries under the Nazis and developed a massive army and armament industry which could only be served by a war.

### **Fear from Socialism and Russia**

The disastrous results of the First World War caused great social changes all

over Europe. The working class turned to ideologies of Socialism and Communism. In Russia, a revolution took place in 1917 because of which Russia became a Communist state. Russia became Union of Soviet Socialist States (USSR) in 1922. One of the first acts of the new government was to end Russia's participation in the War and begin peace negotiations. The western capitalist countries like Britain were afraid that similar revolutions would start in other countries of Europe. So they encouraged Hitler and the Nazis to come together against USSR. This was the policy of 'appeasement' of Hitler. They wanted to please Hitler to get his support against USSR.

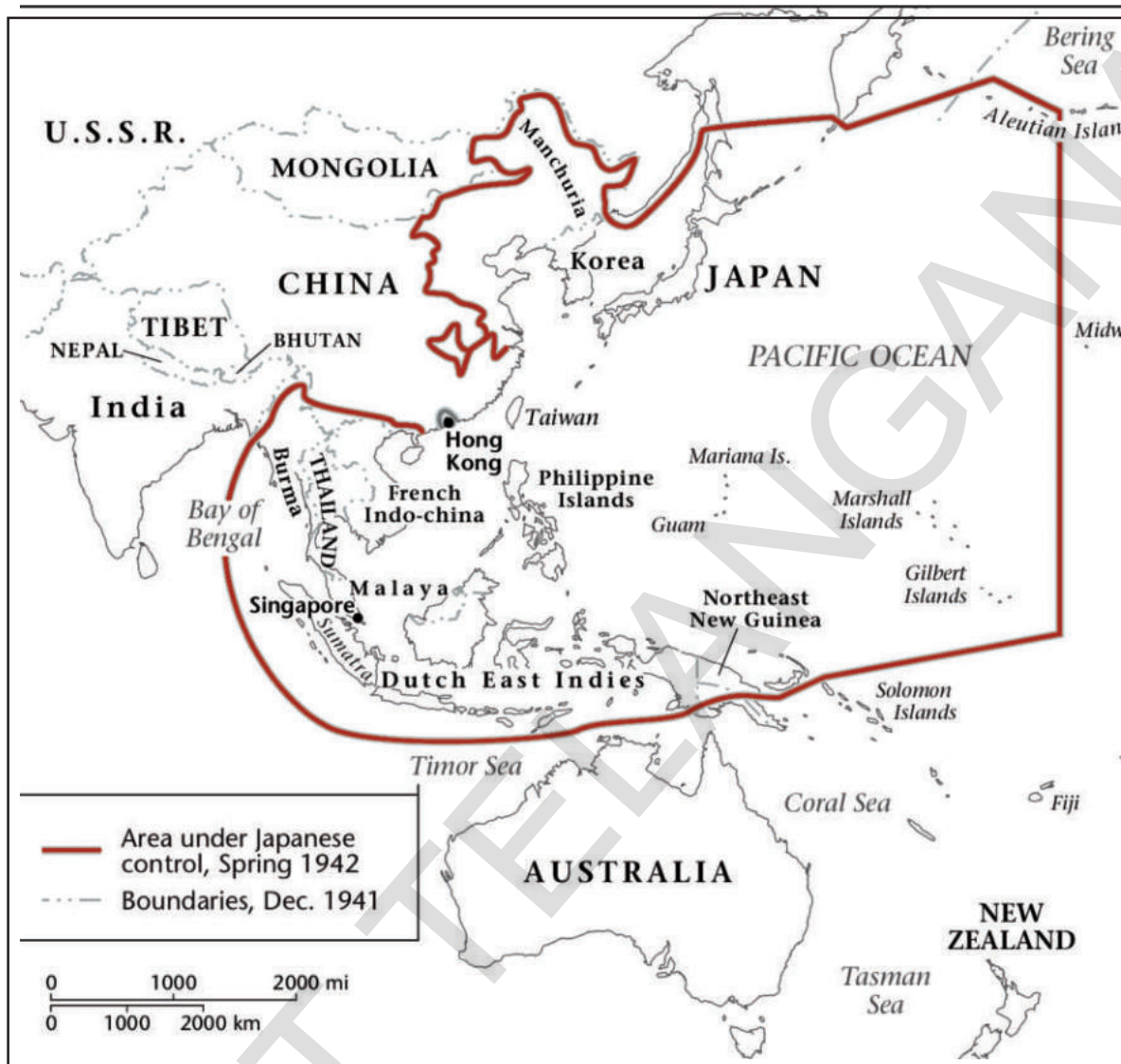
### **Immediate cause**

The immediate provocation for World War II was when the German Army entered Poland on September 1, 1939. Hitler, the dictator of Germany, invaded Poland as a punishment for refusing to handover the port of Danzig to Germany. Hitler thought that the takeover of Poland would be a small military operation. But Poland had a defence pact with Britain. So, Britain joined the Polish side and France also joined them a day later. This marked the beginning of World War II.

As most of the Fascist countries supported each other and began military conquest of neighbouring countries, this led to the Second World War between the Axis Powers led by Germany, Italy and Japan on the one side and the Allied Powers led by England, US, France and USSR. In 1941, Japan, an ally of Germany attacked Pearl Harbour of USA. Hitler decided to attack USSR in 1942. With this, USA and USSR joined the war against Germany and Japan.

### **The Defeat and The End**

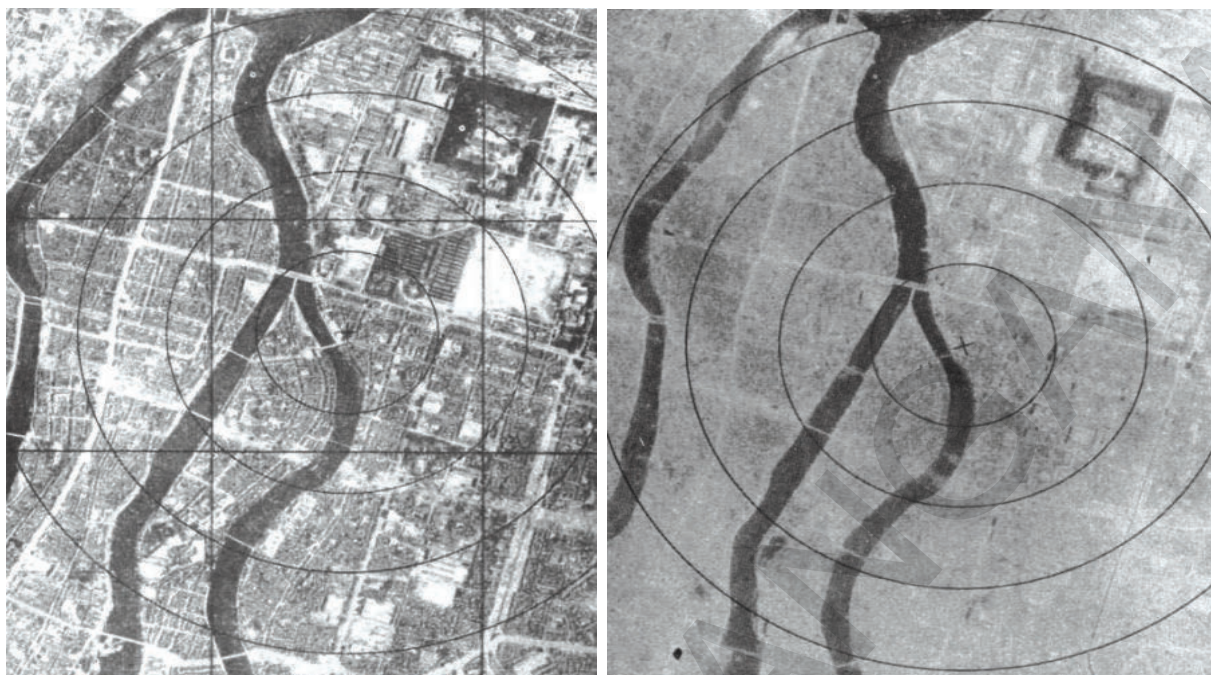
The initial victories of the German armies were turned back after they were defeated in the famous Battle of Stalingrad in early 1943. People all over Eastern Europe welcomed Soviet forces as the liberators from the hated Nazi rule. They eventually captured Berlin, the capital of Germany. Hitler and his close associates committed suicide to avoid being captured and tried. Eventually Germany was divided into two parts: the eastern part was named German Democratic Republic (GDR) and the western portion was named Federal Republic of Germany (FRG).



The GDR came under the area of influence of USSR while the FRG came under the influence of USA.

In the far-East, Japan surrendered to USA after the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. With this, the second world war ended in August 1945. US armies occupied Japan but allowed the Japanese Emperor to continue to rule. But Japan built a Constitutional Monarchy like England. Japan was to be ruled by the elected government responsible to the parliament (DIET).

Many of the Nazi generals and leaders were captured and put to trial in the famous Nuremberg trials. The Nuremberg Tribunal sentenced only eleven leading Nazis to death. Many others were imprisoned for life. Although justice happened, yet the punishment given to the Nazis was very little as compared to the brutality



*Fig 12.10: (Above) Atom Bomb in Nagasaki. The city of Nagasaki before and after the bomb.*

and extent of their crimes. The Allies did not want to be as harsh on defeated Germany as they had been after the First World War. In fact, given the economic collapse of Germany and Japan after the war, the USA came up with Marshall Plan to fund the economic revival of the two countries. Likewise, the USSR came up with a package for the revival of East European countries.

### Consequences of the World Wars

The World Wars had a long lasting impact on the politics, society and economy of the world. These can be listed as follows.

The first half of the 20th century ended with the nightmare of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Hopes were also generated by the establishment of the UNO. Just as the First World War saw the end of large monarchic empires, the Second World War saw the end of large colonial empires of the Britain, France, Japan, Italy and Germany. By 1950, countries like India, China, Indonesia, Vietnam, Egypt, Nigeria etc became independent. Britain, which was the most powerful country before the war, now became a secondary power. Two new super powers emerged on the world scene, – the USSR and the USA. The USSR which faced enormous destruction and losses from Hitler's war, gradually rebuilt its economy. Its victory, however, greatly increased its prestige in the world.

- Discuss the nuclear bombing on Hiroshima and Nagasaki and the horrors of a nuclear war. Do you think such weapons should be used even against a fascist enemy country?

It was now joined by the entire Eastern Europe and China to form a large ‘Socialist Camp’.

### Enormous human cost

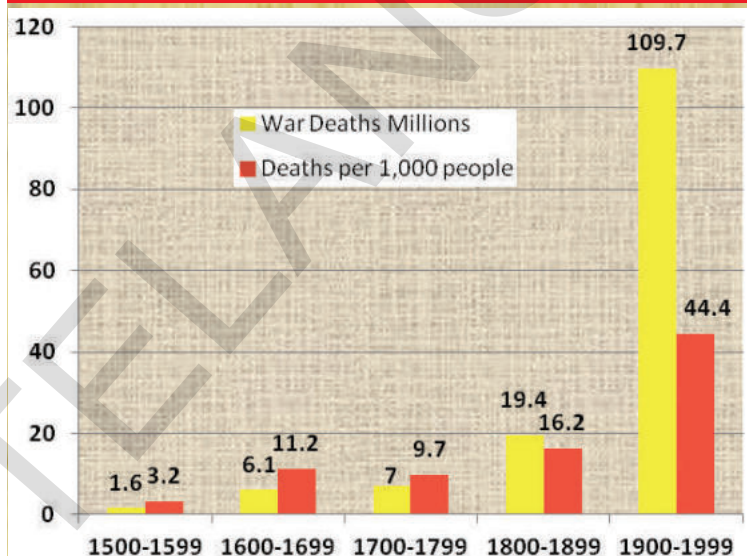
The first consequence of the two World Wars was widespread deaths and injuries. As stated earlier, almost 10 million people were killed in the First (they included about 75,000 Indian soldiers who fought in Africa and Europe on the British side) and 20 to 25 million in the Second World War. Most of those who died were men and almost all of them were under forty years of age. A deadly race of arms and weapons, particularly nuclear and chemical weapons, started after the World Wars. The world is still constantly living under the threat of total destruction of all life through even an accidental use of such weapons.

### Democratic principles asserted

The world had understood the dangers of undemocratic government after the two wars. This led to an increasing need for democracy. With the First World War, several empires also ended (For example, the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the Russian Empire, the Ottoman Empire, and the German Empire etc). In countries like Russia occurred a socialist revolution while countries like Germany overthrew monarchy and became

Republics. The Ottoman Empire was replaced by a democratic and secular state in Turkey. Similarly, during the First World War, colonies became self governing. After World War II, the colonies got their independence and several new countries were born across Asia and Africa.

War related deaths 1500 - 1999 CE (Common Era)



Source: Lesser RB et al State of the World 1999 A World Watch report on Progress towards a Sustainable Society (London Earthscan publication, 1999).

The last column tells us the proportionate deaths due to wars – the number of war deaths for every thousand people who lived during those centuries. Thus, less than four people out of a thousand died in the 16th century while it rose to more than 44 persons in the 20<sup>th</sup> century – nearly 4.5% people!

## Change in balance of power

With World War I, the German, Austro- Hungarian, Russian and Turkish empires came to an end. The map of eastern and central Europe was redrawn on the basis of nationality, economic viability and military security. When World War II came to an end, the map of the world changed yet again as ex-colonies became independent nations.

## Enfranchisement of women

After a long struggle for political right like right to vote, British women got these rights in 1918. In the long lasting wars like the World Wars, industrial production and other services are necessary. Because men were in the battle fields, more women had to work in factories, shops, offices, voluntary services, hospitals and schools. With the new confidence of becoming bread-winners, women began raising their voices for equality in all walks of life. Getting the right to vote was a big step in that direction.

## New International organisations

The United Nations Organisation (UNO) was established after World War II. UN is a kind of world government based on four principles, viz. preserving peace, upholding human rights, respecting international law and promoting social progress. It works through agencies like UNICEF, UNESCO, WHO, ILO, etc. The UNO, despite being accused of becoming a tool of the great powers like USA, and Russia (USSR) has managed to prevent wars and maintain peace and stability. We learn more about UNO and how it worked in 19th chapter in detail.

### Keywords

- |                             |               |                           |
|-----------------------------|---------------|---------------------------|
| 1. Industrial capitalism    | 2. Nazism     | 3. Aggressive nationalism |
| 4. Militarism               | 5. Fascism    | 6. Imperialism            |
| 7. Socialism                | 8. Communism  | 9. Revolution             |
| 10. Centralisation of power | 11. Bolshevik |                           |

## Improve your learning

1. Make a table to show allies, axis and central powers, participated with following countries on different sides of the world wars: Austria, USSR (Russia), Germany, Britain, Japan, France, Italy, USA. (AS<sub>3</sub>)
2. How did the idea of nation states and nationalism influence desire for war during World Wars? (AS<sub>1</sub>)
3. Write a short note on various causes of two World Wars. Do you think any of these features are prevalent even today in countries around the world? How? (AS<sub>4</sub>)
4. Russian revolution brought in many changes in their society. What were they? And what challenges did they face? (AS<sub>1</sub>)
5. Compare different points of view about Great Depression, which one would you agree with? Why? (AS<sub>1</sub>)
6. In what ways were Jews persecuted during the Nazi Germany? Do you think in every country some people are differentiated because of their identity? (AS<sub>4</sub>)
7. List the measures taken under idea of welfare state under Great Depression. (AS<sub>1</sub>)
8. What challenges were faced by Germany during Great Depression and how did Nazi rulers and Hitler make use of it? (AS<sub>1</sub>)
9. Read the para 1 of page 169 i.e; “This started a great experiment ..... language, etc” and write your opinion on it. (AS<sub>2</sub>)
10. Observe the map-2 of page 181 and answer the following questions. (AS<sub>5</sub>)
  - i) Mention any two countries which are not under the control of Japan.
  - ii) Mention any two countries which are under the control of Japan and lying on its western side.
11. Locate the following in the map of the world. (AS<sub>5</sub>)
  - i) Germany
  - ii) Italy
  - iii) Austria
  - iv) U.S.A.
  - v) China
  - vi) Russia
  - vii) Britain
12. Prepare a few slogans on the prevention of wars and promotion of peace. (AS<sub>6</sub>)

## Discussion:

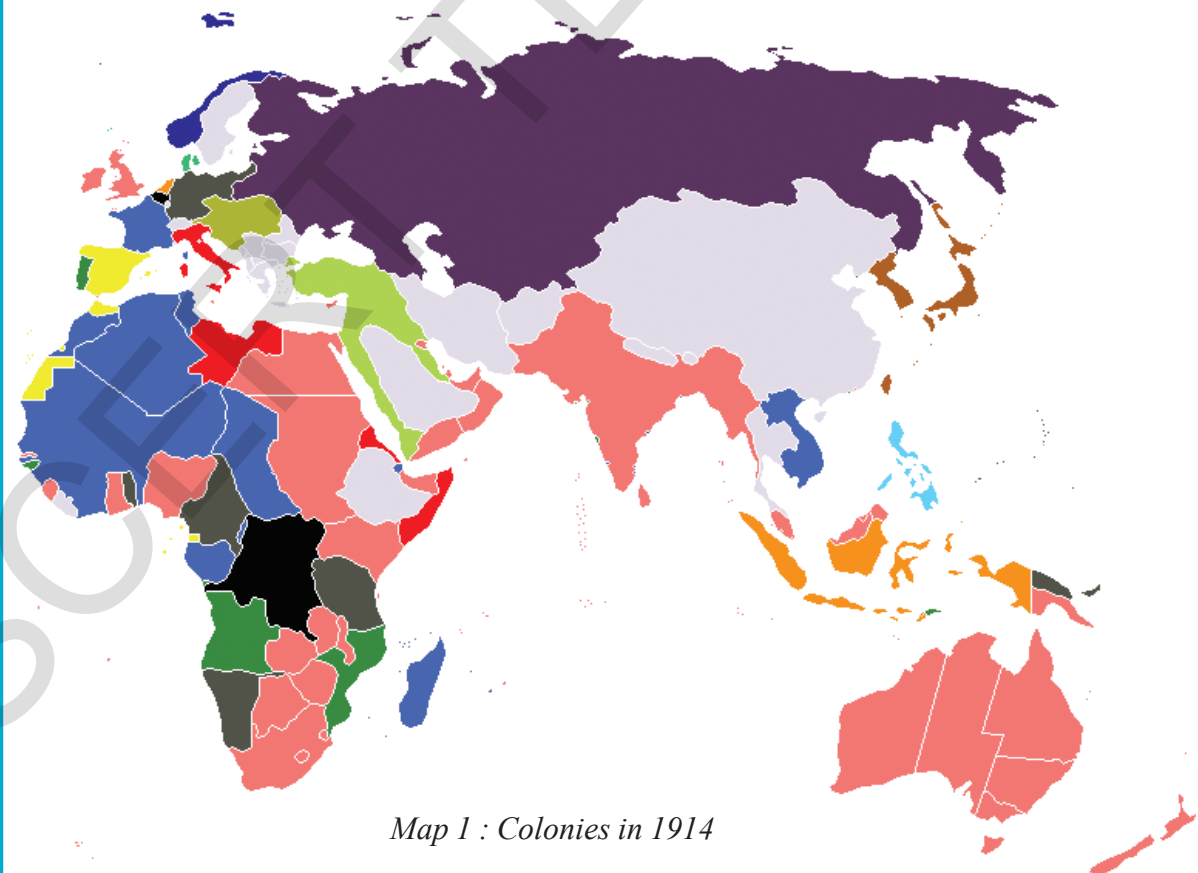
Discuss the family conditions of war victims and their sufferings in classroom.

## National Liberation Movements in the Colonies

Look at the map of colonies given below. In class VIII, you read how European countries controlled over most of Latin American, African and Asian countries by 19th Century. In this chapter, we will read about how these countries fought for freedom. In the map given below, you can see the colonies of Britain in pink colour; the colonies of France in blue; the colonies of Holland in light brown. Some countries of Asia and Africa continued to be independent and these are shown in grey colour. Identify all these countries with the help of a modern map of the world.

- Identify one Asian and one African colony of Britain.
- Identify one Asian and one African colony of Holland.
- Identify one Asian and one African colony of France.
- Identify two Asian and one African country that was not colony of any power.
- Whose colony was Australia?

Even independent countries like China were actually under the control of many



Map 1 : Colonies in 1914

colonial powers and independent only in name. In this chapter, we will read about the difficult situations faced by these colonies and how they began to fight against the domination of the European powers. Most of these countries had different kinds of people who spoke many different languages, or followed different religions.

- Recall / revisit Class IX textbook as to what constitutes the idea of Nationalism and how it emerged.
- If the traditional rulers of these countries had fought for freedom, what kind of political systems would have been created?
- In colonies, which social groups have fought for freedom? And why were the ideas of equality and democracy important to them?

They did not think of themselves as one nation. The traditional rulers in almost all these countries had been kings and emperors. These emperors did not support the ideas of democracy and freedom. As new movements took shape, people in the colonies were inspired by the new ideas from Europe, like nationalism, democracy and even socialism. We will study the experiences of some of these countries and compare them with our own country to how the lives of millions of people of the colonies transformed over time.

### China: Two Different Phases

At the beginning of the 20th century, China was ruled by emperors of Manchu dynasty. Manchu dynasty was unsuccessful in defending the interests of China from the western colonial powers. These powers had become very powerful and influential in different parts of China. They had also forced the emperors to give them economic and political concessions like low import taxes, immunity from Chinese laws, maintaining armed forces, etc. The common people as well as the administrators of the empire were unhappy with this. The administrators tried to reform the systems. The people also revolted against the domination of the western powers.

### Establishing the Republic

The Manchu empire was overthrown in 1911 and a republic was established under Sun-Yat-Sen (1866-1925). Yat-Sen is regarded as the founder of modern China. He came from a poor family and studied in missionary schools where he was introduced to democracy and Christianity. He studied medicine but he was greatly concerned about the fate of China. He studied the problems of China and designed a programme of action. His programme was called the Three Principles (*San min chui*). These principles were: “nationalism” – this meant overthrowing the Manchu dynasty, which was seen as a foreign dynasty, as well as other western imperialists; “democracy” or establishing democratic government; and “socialism” which meant controlling industries and land reforms to distribute land to the landless peasants. Even after the Manchu dynasty was overthrown and a republic was declared, the republican government led by Sun-Yat-Sen was unable to come to power. The country was soon controlled by regional military powers called “war lords”.

The social and political situation continued to be unstable in China. On 4<sup>th</sup> May 1919, people demonstrated in Beijing to protest against the decisions of the Versailles peace conference. Even though China was an ally of the victorious side led by Britain in the world war, it did not get back the territories taken away by Japan. This protest turned into a movement, called the “May Fourth Movement”. A whole generation of people came together to attack the old traditions and to save China through modern science, democracy and nationalism. Revolutionaries wanted the foreigners to leave China because they were controlling the country’s resources. They also wanted to remove inequalities and reduce poverty from the Chinese society. They advocated many changes in society such as use of simple language and script, abolishing the subordination of women and the practice of foot-binding (a cruel practice of not allowing women to have fully grown feet). They also demanded for equality in marriage, and economic development to end poverty.



Fig 13.1 : People protesting in May fourth movement

- Why do you think young Chinese wanted to fight both against old traditional practices and against foreign powers?
- Did something similar happen in India?

After the republican revolution, the country entered a period of great disturbance. The Guomindang (the National People’s Party also called as Kuo-Min-Tang (KMT) and the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) emerged as two major parties. Both the parties wanted to unite the country and bring stability. The Kuo-Min-Tang followed the political philosophy based on Sun Yat-sen’s ideas. They identified the ‘four great needs’ as clothing, food, housing and transportation. After the death of Sun, Chiang-Kai-Shek (1887-1975) emerged as the leader of the Guomindang. He launched a military campaign in China to control the ‘warlords’ and to eliminate the communists. Warlords were regional leaders who had forcefully taken control and authority. Chiang also wanted to militarise the nation. He said that the people must develop a ‘habit and instinct for unified behaviour’.

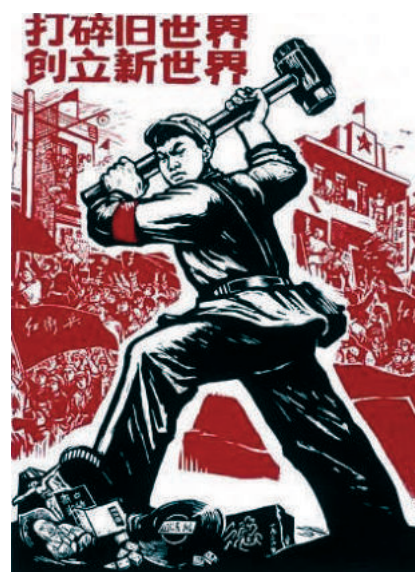


Fig 13. 2 : Poster from a later period saying “Destroy the old world, build a new world.”

The Guomindang's (KMT) social base was in urban areas of China. Industrial growth was slow and limited at that time. By 1919, an industrial working class of around 5, 00,000 people had appeared in cities like Shanghai. These cities later became the centre of modern growth. However, only a small percentage of these people were employed in modern industries such as ship building. Most were 'petty urbanites' (*xiao shimin*), traders and shopkeepers. Urban workers, particularly women, earned very low wages. They were now organising themselves into trade unions. Working hours were long and conditions of work were bad. As ideas of freedom became popular, there was a growing concern with women's rights, ways to build a family based on equality and discussions about love and romance. Many schools and universities came up to help in the social and cultural change (Peking University was established in 1902). Journalism also started reflecting the growing attraction of this new thinking.

Chiang was a conservative and he encouraged women to have the four virtues of 'chastity, appearance, speech and work'. He thought that women's roles should be limited to the household. Even the length of hemlines worn by women (frock like dress for women) was prescribed. He also tried to suppress the trade union movements to encourage factory owners. The Guomindang, despite its attempts to unite the country, failed because of its narrow social base and limited political

- What were the major political parties that emerged during the period?
- Who were the members of such mobilisation?
- What was the nature of the social and economic changes that were thought of?

vision. A major plan in Sun Yat-sen's programme was to control the capital and equalise land. But this was never carried out because the party ignored the peasantry and the rising social inequalities. It only tried to impose military orders rather than addressing the problems faced by the people.

### **The Rise of the Communist Party of China**

When the Japanese invaded China in 1937, the Guomindang withdrew themselves. The long and exhausting war had made China weak. Between 1945 and 1949, prices rose 30 per cent per month. All this had completely destroyed the lives of ordinary people. Rural China faced two crises: one ecological, with soil exhaustion, deforestation and floods, and the second, a socio-economic one caused by exploitation through land-tenure systems, indebtedness, primitive technology and poor communications.

The CCP had been founded in 1921, soon after the Russian Revolution. The success of the Russian revolution had a powerful influence around the world. Leaders such as Lenin established the Comintern in March 1918 to help bring together a world government that would end exploitation. The Comintern and the Soviet Union supported communist parties around the world. But they followed the traditional Marxist idea that only the working class in the cities could bring a revolution.

Mao Zedong (1893-1976) emerged as a major CCP leader. He took a different path by basing his revolutionary programme on the peasantry. He organised the Chinese peasants to fight for abolition of landlordism. He also built an army of peasants. Millions of landless peasants joined the struggle led by CCP. His success made the CCP a powerful political party. It ultimately won against the Guomindang. Mao Zedong's radical approach can be seen in Jiangxi, in the mountains, where they camped from 1928 to 1934, secure from Guomindang attacks. A strong peasants' council (soviet) was organised. This council united through confiscation and redistribution of land of landlords. Mao, unlike other leaders, stressed the need for an independent government and army. He had become aware of women's problems and supported the emergence of rural women's associations. He also promoted a new marriage law that forbade arranged marriages, stopped purchase or sale of marriage contracts and simplified divorce.



*Fig 13.3 : Mao addressing people in Yanan, 1944*

The Communists' Soviet party was forced to find another base for themselves because of the Guomindang blockade. They went on a Long March (1934-35) which was a gruelling and difficult journey of 6,000 miles to Shanxi. They set up their new base in Yanan. Here, they further developed their programme to end warlordism, carry out land reforms and fight foreign imperialism. This twin agenda of land reform and nationalisation made them successful and made a strong social base for them.

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Japan attacked and occupied much of China between 1937 and 1945. They tried to impose a cruel colonial military rule over China. This had a disastrous impact on the Chinese society and economy. Both Guomindang and CCP now tried to join together to fight Japanese occupation. After the surrender of Japan to the US in August 1945, Guomindang and CCP fought a war for control over China. Eventually, CCP was successful in establishing its rule over mainland China while Guomindang was forced to set up its government on the island of Taiwan.

### **Establishing the New Democracy: 1949-1954**

The Peoples Republic of China government was established in 1949. It was based on the principles of the 'New Democracy'. This new principle was an association of all social classes who were opposed to landlordism and imperialism. Important areas of the economy were put under government control. Once in power, the CCP started large scale land reform measures. They took away the land of

landlords and distributing them among poor peasants. The new government also managed to enact laws to protect women, their rights and abolition of polygamy. This enabled women to assume new roles and enjoy equal status vis a vis men in various fields.

### Land Reforms

Land reform was launched in 1950-51 after two years of relatively peaceful attempts to understand rural situation and forming peasant associations etc. The



Fig 13.4 : People burning land records

major steps were: a class identification of all the people living in the villages, followed by the confiscation and redistribution of landlord land and other productive property. Work teams that were dispatched by county-level land reform committees played a leading role in the process. One of their main functions was to set up peasant associations and select activists from them for local leadership positions. This new leadership was mostly from the poor peasants and middle peasants. In many areas, middle peasants were able to dominate because they were more skilled. In addition, the work teams mobilised the villages against the landlords through mass meetings and trials.

The landlords were made to face public humiliation. A large number of members of this class were also executed in these trials, perhaps 10 to 20 lakh individuals.

As an economic reform program, about 43 percent of China's cultivated land was successfully redistributed to about 60 percent of the rural population. Even though the holdings of poor peasants substantially increased, the middle peasants actually benefited the most from land reform because of their stronger initial position.

The old elite had to lose its economic assets and power while a new elite class of village people emerged from poor and middle classes. These people had been brought into political work by the CCP. Along with the land reforms, another big effort was the setting up of adult peasant schools to spread literacy and political education. Along with this, primary

schools were set up for both young children and adults in all the villages.

Most scholars agree that the success of the land reforms and universalisation of education in the initial years of the revolution formed a solid basis for future development of China. The CCP rule gradually established a single party rule in which the supreme leaders or "Chairman" was all powerful. All opposition activities were disallowed.

- In what ways did the land reform programmes help CCP to win the war?
- Compare the land reforms carried out in China with that of India. What were the similarities and differences between them?
- Do you agree with the view that equal participation of men and women and equal opportunity for them is necessary for freedom and development of the country?

## Vietnam: Against Two Colonisers

### The Colonial Experience

In mid 19th century, Vietnam came under the direct rule of the French. France retained a puppet Vietnamese emperor but virtually ruled Vietnam the way Britain ruled India. It influenced all aspects of Vietnamese life just as in India under Britain.

### Exports, Landlordism and Peasants

The French wanted to develop Vietnam as an exporter of rice. For this purpose, they made a threefold strategy – first was improving irrigation network. Secondly, encouraging landlords and third, encouraging the marketing of agricultural produce like rice and rubber. The French started building canals and draining lands in the Mekong delta to increase cultivation. A vast system of irrigation works – canals and earthworks was built mainly with the help of forced labour. This increased the rice production and allowed the export of rice to the international market. Vietnam had started exporting two-thirds of its rice production. By 1931, it had become the third largest exporter of rice in the world. This was followed by infrastructure projects (roads and railways) to help in the transport of goods for trade, to move military garrisons and also to control the entire region. A trans-Indo-China rail network was constructed to link the northern and southern parts of Vietnam and China.

The economy in colonial Vietnam was primarily based on rice cultivation and rubber plantations. These plantations were owned by the French and a few Vietnamese elite. Bonded labour was widely used in the rubber plantations. The French made little effort to industrialise the economy. In the rural areas, landlordism spread and big landlords took over the lands of small peasants. They made the peasants work as tenant farmers. As a result, the standard of living declined for the peasants.

Land was controlled by the large, wealthy landlords because of their relationship with the French colonists. Vietnamese peasants became covered in debt because they had no land. They were unable to break free from interest rates, land rents, and suffocating taxes imposed by landlords who were also the village elites. Statistics on landlessness and landownership in the 1930s show a devastating picture of the harsh conditions faced by Vietnamese peasants. In Annam, in 1938, roughly 53% of families were completely landless. In Tonkin and Cochinchina, roughly 58%



Map 2 : Vietnam

and 79% of families respectively were completely without land. If an overwhelming majority of families that owned land were close to starvation in the 1930s, imagine what the conditions were like for landless peasants!

The peasants who rented the land of landlords had to pay rent in two ways: they

- Why were the railways and canals developed in Vietnam by the French?
- What was the difference between a landless peasant and landless workers?
- You read about the condition of peasants in the British rule in India. In what ways was it similar to that of Vietnam?

had to give a share of their produce and also work on the fields and in the homes of the landlords. Apart from this, they also had to pay different kinds of taxes imposed by the landlords. This forced the peasants to borrow rice and money from the landlords and pushed them further into debt bondage.

### **The “Civilising Mission”**

The French colonisers, like the British, were convinced that the people of the colonies were uncivilised. So, the objective of their rule was to bring the benefits of modern civilisation to Vietnam. Education was one way to civilise the ‘natives’. The French needed an educated local labour force but they also feared that education might create problems. If the Vietnamese people got educated, they may begin to question colonial domination. Moreover, the French citizens who lived in Vietnam (called colons) feared that they might lose their jobs – as teachers, shopkeepers, policemen – if the Vietnamese people got educated. So, they opposed policies that would give French education to the Vietnamese people. Even though Vietnamese language was taught in the primary level in schools, all higher education was in

- Try to remember the policies followed by the British in India. Compare the colonial policies followed by the British in India and the French in Vietnam. What similarities and differences do you find between them?

French. Only the Vietnamese elite – who were a small part of the population – could enroll in these schools. Even after they got admitted, very few ultimately passed the school-leaving examination. School textbooks glorified the French and justified the colonial rule.

### **Emergence of Vietnamese Nationalism**

In schools, teachers and students did not blindly follow the curriculum given by the French. Sometimes they openly opposed the curriculum, at other times, they silently resisted. As the numbers of Vietnamese teachers increased in the lower classes, it became difficult to control what was actually taught in the class. While teaching, Vietnamese teachers quietly modified the text and criticised what was written in the books about French rule. The colonial government also tried to prevent the Vietnamese people from qualifying for white-collar jobs. The students opposed and fought against this also. They were inspired by patriotic feelings. They believed that it was the duty of the educated to fight for the benefit of society. This created conflict between the students and the French as well as the traditional

elite, since both saw their positions threatened. By the 1920s, students started forming various political parties, such as the Party of Young Annam. They also started publishing nationalist journals such as the Annamese Student.

In early 20th century, Vietnamese students went to Japan to acquire modern education. For many of them, the primary objective was to drive out the French from Vietnam through education. They also wanted to overthrow the puppet emperor and re-establish the Nguyen dynasty that had been deposed by the French.

After the republican revolution of Sun Yat-sen in China, the Vietnamese too were inspired to establish a republican and democratic rule in Vietnam. Many students now went to China, France and later to USSR to study and learn about new political ideas.

The Great Depression of the 1930s had a deep impact on Vietnam. The prices of rubber and rice came down. This led to rising rural debts, unemployment and rural uprising. The French suppressed these uprisings with great cruelty. They even used planes to bomb the demonstrators.

In February 1930, Ho Chi Minh (who spent time in France and the USSR) established the Vietnamese Communist Party (Vietnam Cong San Dang) and later renamed it as Indo-Chinese Communist Party. He was inspired by the militant demonstrations of the European communist parties.

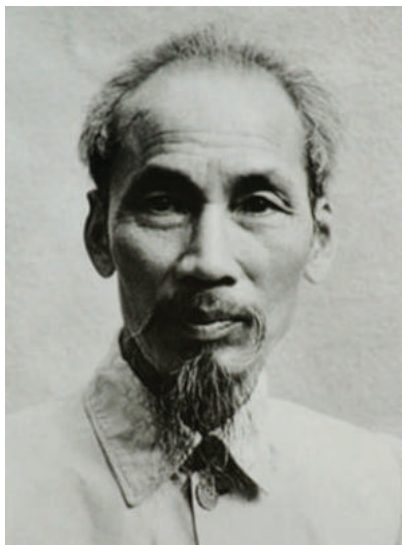
Japan wanted to increase its control in Southeast Asia. So, it occupied Vietnam in 1940. The Vietnamese nationalists now had to fight against the Japanese as well as the French. However, the French had become weak in Vietnam because the entire France had been occupied by Hitler during the Second World War. The League for the Independence of Vietnam (Viet Nam Doc Lap Dong Minh), also known as the Vietminh, fought the Japanese and

### Women as Rebels

Women in Vietnam traditionally enjoyed greater equality, particularly among the lower classes. But they had only limited freedom to determine their future and played no role in public life.

As the nationalist movement grew, the status of women came to be questioned and a new image of womanhood emerged. Writers and political thinkers began idealising women who rebelled against social norms. In the 1930s, a famous novel by Nhat Linh caused a scandal because it showed a woman leaving a forced marriage and marrying someone of her choice, someone who was involved in nationalist politics. This rebellion against social conventions marked the arrival of the new woman in Vietnamese society.

- Why did the fall in price rice lead to the rise of rural indebtedness?
- The youth and students played an important role in the emergence of nationalism in both Vietnam and China. Discuss the similarities and differences between them.
- Why do you think land rent reduction was one of the first steps taken by the independent government in Vietnam?



*Fig 13.5 : Ho Chi Minh*

recaptured Hanoi in September 1945. The Democratic Republic of Vietnam was formed and Ho Chi Minh became the Chairman. When the Vietminh came to power in August 1945, they immediately issued a circular for a 25% reduction in land rents. They also cancelled all secondary rents, and all in the outstanding rent owed by tenants before August 1945. They also adopted the policy of redistributing communal land and land owned by French and Vietnamese traitors.

### **The New Republic of Vietnam**

The new republic in Vietnam faced a lot of challenges. France tried to regain its control by using the emperor, Bao Dai, as their puppet. Faced with the French military, the Vietminh were forced to retreat to the hills. After eight years of fighting, the French were defeated in 1954 at Dien Bien Phu and over 16000 French soldiers and officers were taken as prisoners.

After the defeat of France, peace negotiations took place in Geneva. In these negotiations, the Vietnamese were persuaded to accept the division of the country. Vietnam was split into North and South Vietnam. Ho Chi Minh and the communists took control of power in the north. The south was handed over to an old Emperor who was soon removed by Ngo Dinh Diem. Diem built a suppressive and dictatorial government. Anyone who opposed him was jailed. His dictatorial rule was opposed by many people who united under the banner of the National Liberation Front (NLF).

In the North Vietnam, the Vietminh had followed a soft policy for to land reforms till now. They restricted themselves to ensuring reduction in land rents and confiscating only the lands of landlords who openly supported the French or the Japanese. However, after 1954, a new era of land reforms was started in North Vietnam. Land of the landlords was confiscated and distributed among the land hungry landless peasants and poor peasants. The Vietnamese peasants, whose dream of owning their own land was now being fulfilled, started supporting the Vietminh.

- What would have been the impact of such land reforms on Vietnamese society? Discuss from the point of view of various social classes in the rural areas.
- Compare the nature of land reforms in China, Vietnam and India.

### **The Entry of the US into the War**

With the help of the Ho Chi Minh government in the north, the NLF fought for the unification of the country. The US was afraid of this unification. It was worried that communists would become powerful in Vietnam. So, it decided to interfere in this unification by sending its troops and arms.

### Agent Orange: The Deadly Poison

Agent Orange is a defoliant, a plant killer, so called because it was stored in drums marked with an orange band. Between 1961 and 1971, some 11 million gallons of this chemical was sprayed from cargo planes by US forces. Their plan was to destroy forests and fields, so that it would be easier to kill people if there was no jungle cover for people to hide in. Over 14 per cent of the country's farmland was affected by this poison. Its effect has been staggering, continuing to affect people till today. Dioxin, an element of Agent Orange, is known to cause cancer and brain damage in children, and, according to a study, is also the cause of the high incidence of deformities found in the sprayed areas.

The tonnage of bombs, including chemical arms, used during the US intervention (mostly against civilian targets) in Vietnam exceeds that used throughout the Second World War.

US entry into the war marked a new phase in the Vietnamese struggle. It proved costly to the Vietnamese as well as to the Americans. From 1965 to 1972, over 34,00,000 US army people fought in Vietnam. Even though the US had advanced technology and good medical supplies, a large number of army people died. About 47,244 died in battle and 3,03,704 were wounded. (Of those wounded, 23,014 were listed by the Veterans Administration to be 100 per cent disabled.)

This phase of struggle with the US was brutal. Thousands of US troops arrived in Vietnam equipped with heavy weapons and tanks. They also had the most powerful bombers of the time – B52s. The wide spread attacks and use of chemical weapons destroyed many villages and decimated jungles. Vietnamese civilians died in large numbers in these attacks. Some of the chemical weapons used by the US were – Napalm (a deadly bomb which caused intense damage to humans), Agent Orange (which destroyed plants and trees and made the land barren for a long time), and phosphorous bombs.



*Fig 13. 6 : (a) US Army spraying chemical on trees. b) original caption of the picture: "A Use for Everything". Girl rolling drum. The metal will later be used for manufacturing small tins and spoons.*

US policy-planners had underestimated the power of nationalism in Vietnam. The nationalism moved people to action; inspired them to sacrifice their home and family, live under horrific conditions, and fight for independence. They underestimated the power of a small country to fight the most technologically advanced country in the world. They also underestimated the commitment of the lakhs of poor peasants who had recently received their piece of land after generations of exploitation by landlords. These peasants were inspired by nationalism and land reforms. They played the most crucial role in defeating the most powerful army in the world.

The effect of the war was felt within the US as well. Many people criticized the government for getting involved in a war that was hard to defend. When the youth were selected for the war, the anger spread. The continuation of the war created

- Do you think America was justified in using chemical weapons like Napalm and Agent Orange on civilian population and forests?
- How was it possible for a small country like Vietnam to stand up against the might of USA?
- What was the role of peace movement in the USA in the decision of US government to withdraw from Vietnam?

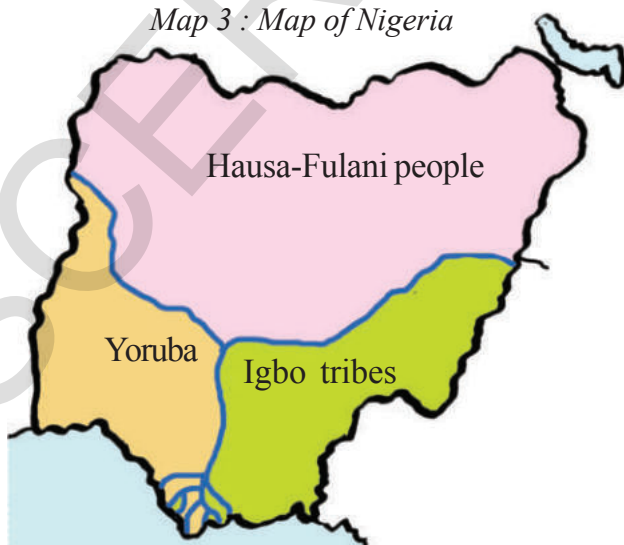
strong reactions even within the US. Many people questioned the government policy and this helped to negotiate an end to the war. A peace settlement was signed in Paris in January 1974. This ended the conflict with the US but fighting between the Saigon regime and the NLF continued. The NLF occupied the presidential

palace in Saigon on 30 April 1975 and finally unified Vietnam.

### Nigeria: Forming Unity against the Colonisers

We now turn to colonialism and nationalism in Africa and study Nigeria on the west coast. Locate this country on a map. Recall what you had read about this country in class VII.

Map 3 : Map of Nigeria



### British Colonialism and the Making of a Nation

The idea of nation states was new to the countries of Africa like the rest of the world. The people in Africa were united together through their tribal identity. The western colonisers randomly brought together certain areas under their control. The country we know as Nigeria today was actually created by the British by bringing together different regions around the Niger river system where people of

different tribal groups lived. Northern Nigeria is dominated by Hausa-Fulani people who are predominantly Muslims. The South Eastern part of Nigeria is dominated by Igbo (pronounced as *eebo*) tribes while the South Western portions are dominated by Yoruba tribes. While the people in southern areas are mostly Christians due to long years of missionary activity, many people still practice tribal religious beliefs. Before a common democratic political system was built, modern Nigeria faced many conflicts between these three regions. Today also, the legacy of colonialism continues in Nigeria because of European control over its natural resources, especially petroleum.

The region of river Niger is one of the most densely populated countries of Africa. This region has suffered from different kinds of colonial rule. From the 16th century onwards, it was a major source of slaves for America. Tribal peasants were captured in the interior of the forests and sold to European slave traders. After slave trade was abolished in 19th century, a new interest developed for colonial powers in the trade of the agricultural produce of this area, especially palm oil and cocoa. The British established their rule over the coastal areas in 1861. They developed Lagos as their centre of administration, trade and education in Western Africa. The struggle against colonialism also started in Lagos and Pan Africanism and Nigerian Nationalism emerged here.

Racism became common in the British colonial empire in late 19th and early 20th centuries. Educated Africans were excluded from the civil service, and there was discrimination against African entrepreneurs. At the same time, the authorities from ruling country gave control to the tribal chiefs and elite and promoted them.

South Nigeria got access to modern education and administrative modernisation but pre-modern traditions continued in the north. Because of this, many differences came up between the two regions. The north was not able to develop a modern educated social class. In 1939, the British also separated the Yoruba and Igbo regions into Western and Eastern Nigeria and encouraged competition and conflict between

the three major tribal groups. They followed the policy of 'divide and rule' in the country.

A section of western educated intellectuals responded to this policy. They developed the idea of a common Nigerian nation and began to fight the British rule. Herbert Macaulay founded the Nigerian National Democratic Party (NNDP), the first Nigerian political party, in 1923. The NNDP won all the seats in the elections

### Pan Africanism

Pan Africanism is an idea which promotes the unity of all African peoples irrespective of country or tribe. This unity would help not only to fight colonialism and racial discrimination, but also to build unity among tribes and communities living on the continent based on principles of equality, social justice and human dignity. One key person in this regard was Kwame Nkrumah, a freedom fighter from Ghana.

of 1923, 1928 and 1933. In the 1930s, Macaulay also supported militant attacks on the British colonial government. In 1936, the Nigerian Youth Movement (NYM) was founded by Nnamdi Azikiwe. NYM appealed to all Nigerians regardless of



*Fig 13.7 : Nnamdi Azikiwe*

cultural background. It quickly grew into a powerful political movement. In 1944, Macaulay and NYM leader Azikiwe agreed to form the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons (NCNC). Azikiwe became the dominant Nigerian nationalist leader. He also supported pan-Africanism and a pan-Nigerian based nationalist movement.

Nigerian nationalism grew in popularity and power in the post-World War II period as Nigerian economy faced difficult times. Nigerian soldiers and the trade union leaders were the backbone of this movement. These soldiers had returned after fighting for the British side in the World War. In 1945, a national general strike was organised by radical nationalist trade unionists.

- Discuss how you think the idea of pan-Africanism is different from nationalism. Do you think the idea of nationalism is limiting?
- Colonial rule led to uneven development of regions in a country. In India too, coastal regions like Bengal, Madras and Bombay developed faster under the British. Why do you think such uneven development takes place?

Nigerian nationalist had the twin task of fighting the British and also unifying the diverse and conflicting ethnic groups of Nigeria. The national movement was stronger in south Nigeria which was more developed as compared to the north. This created a north-south divide between the two regions. Even in the south, there were ethnic conflict between the Yoruba and the Igbos. By the 1950s, these three regions also had their own anti-colonial movements led by regional parties: the conservative Northern People's Congress (NPC) in the north; the National

Council for Nigeria and the Cameroons (NCNC) in the east, and the Action Group (AG) in the west.

### **Independence and weak democracy**

After the wave of nationalism in Nigeria, the British decided to hand over power to the Nigerians. They made a complex federal system which made the three major regions of Nigeria autonomous. Nigeria became independent on 1st October, 1963. Unfortunately, a just and democratic balance could not happen. Soon civil war started in Nigeria. Military rule started soon and reinforced the domination of the north.

People made many attempts to bring in civilian and democratic governments but these failed again and again. The military regime and multinational Oil corporations which funded the corrupt rulers worked together. They spread corruption and suppression of human rights in Nigeria.

After a long period of military dictatorship, Nigerians elected a democratic government in 1999. It remains to be seen how it faces the challenges of building a democratic Nigeria.



*Fig 13.8 : Biafran war*

### **Oil, environment and politics**

Oil was discovered in the Niger Delta in 1950s and soon various multinational companies headed by the Dutch Shell company got the rights for oil drilling. Today, it is the most important natural resource of Nigeria. Most of the oil wells are owned by these corporations which extract Nigerian oil and share part of its profits with the military rulers. But the common people get very little benefit from this. In addition, the coastal environment of Nigeria has been disturbed because of reckless oil extraction by foreign oil companies. Oil spillage from oil wells has a major impact on the ecosystem. Large areas of the mangrove forests, which are especially susceptible to oil, have been destroyed. This is mainly because oil is stored in the soil and re-released annually. Around 5–10% of Nigerian mangrove ecosystems have been destroyed either by clearing or oil. Spills destroy crops and aqua culture through contamination of the groundwater and soil. Drinking water is also frequently contaminated, and sheen of oil is visible in many local bodies of water. Even if there is no immediate health effect of this water contamination, it can cause cancer in the long term. Offshore spills, which are usually much bigger in scale, contaminate the coastal environments and cause a decline in the local fish production.



*Fig 13.9 : Oil Spill*



*Fig 13.10 : Ken Saro Wiwa*

Throughout the early 1990s, there was growing unrest, particularly in the Niger Delta region. The various ethnic groups began demanding compensation for the ecological damage that has been happening for many years as well as control over

- Most of the oil resources of Nigeria are in the South Eastern region. The Igbos think that they should get the maximum share of oil profits. They object to oil wealth being used for development of the North. What do you think will be the proper and just solution to this problem?

their land's oil resources. This unrest initially started as peaceful activist organisations that united their members on the basis of ethnicity. However, in 1990 an eminent human rights activist and environmentalist Ken Saro Wiwa was executed by the military government despite international protests. Since then the situation has been tense.

Thus you can see that Nigeria is still making efforts to come together as a nation, work out a stable democratic system and gain control over its material resources.

### Key words

Land reforms  
Chemical arms

Landlordism  
Forced labour

New Democracy  
Pan - Africanism

### Improve your learning

- Match the following (AS<sub>1</sub>)
 

o Sun Yat-sen	Militarised the nation
o Chiang Kaishek	Environmental movement
o Mao Zedong	Nationalism Democracy and Socialism
o Ken Saro Wiwa	Peasant revolution
- Trace the changes in the role of women seen in China over the decades. Why is it similar or different from that of USSR and Germany? (AS<sub>1</sub>)
- After the overthrow of monarchy, China had two different types of regimes. How were they similar or different? (AS<sub>1</sub>)
- Countries discussed in the chapter were all mostly dependent on agriculture. What were the measures taken in these countries to change these practices? (AS<sub>1</sub>)
- Who owned industries in countries discussed above and what policies were brought in to change the systems? Make a table to compare them. (AS<sub>1</sub>)
- Compare the national movement in India and Nigeria - can you explain why it was stronger in India? (AS<sub>1</sub>)
- What are the challenges faced by the independent Nigerian nation? In what ways is it similar or different from the challenges faced by independent India? (AS<sub>1</sub>)
- Unlike Vietnam or India, Nigeria did not have to struggle so hard for freedom. Can you find some explanations for this? (AS<sub>1</sub>)
- What role did schooling play in national movement of the countries discussed above? (AS<sub>6</sub>)
- Freedom struggle in these countries involved wars against the rulers. Briefly describe its impact. (AS<sub>1</sub>)
- Read page 193 the first five lines of the para under the title 'the civilizing mission' and say, how do you agree with it? Why? (AS<sub>2</sub>)

## National Movement in India – Partition & Independence : 1939-1947

Let us look at the final phase of National Movement and try to understand the situations that led to the partition of India. The people of the country faced very difficult questions and had to accept very difficult answers in these years.

### Should the War be supported by Indians? 1939-42

You have read about the Second World War already. When the war started in 1939, most of the provinces of India were governed by Congress ministries. The British government had agreed to give the Indians the right to rule themselves to some extent. The British parliament passed the Government of India Act in 1935. According to this, provinces could hold elections and winning parties could form governments. However, the right to vote was given to a small section of the population – only about 12 % for provincial assemblies and about 1 % for the Central assembly. When elections were held in the assemblies of the 11 provinces of British India in 1937, Congress won in most provinces. Eight out of 11 provinces had a Congress “Prime Minister”, working under the supervision of a British Governor.

The world war was going on. Congress leaders were now facing a difficult situation. Should they help the British in fighting the war against Germany, Japan, Italy and other Axis forces? Britain had decided that India will participate in the war without even asking them. There were reasons both for and against supporting the war.

The Congress was divided on this issue. Most Congress leaders were opposed to Hitler, Mussolini and the ideology of fascism. They wanted to fight against the Fascist drive to conquer other sovereign nations. The Congress expected that the British would see their double standards in the expectation that India should support them in fighting the fascists but not giving (or at least promising) India full freedom. The British realised this but, at the same time, it was hard for them to accept that they will really have to dismantle the empire they had built. There were different

- Do you think Indians should have felt grateful to the British government for the powers given by the Act of 1935?
- Do you think the rise of Hitler was such a big threat to the freedom of humanity that Indians should have set aside their fight for freedom from the British and concentrated on the fight for a free world?
- According to you, what would be the reasons for and against supporting the British in the World War II?

## LETTER TO ADOLF HITLER

HERR HITLER

BERLIN

GERMANY

DEAR FRIEND,

*Friends have been urging me to write to you for the sake of humanity. But I have resisted their request, because of the feeling that any letter from me would be an impertinence. Something tells me that I must not calculate and that I must make my appeal for whatever it may be worth.*

*It is quite clear that you are today the one person in the world who can prevent a war which may reduce humanity to the savage state.*

*Must you pay that price for an object however worthy it may appear to you to be? Will you listen to the appeal of one who has deliberately shunned the method of war not without considerable success?*

*Anyway I anticipate your forgiveness, if I have erred in writing to you.*

I remain,

Your sincere friend,

M. K. GANDHI

**Source:** The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi,  
Vol. 76 : 31 May, 1939 - 15 October, 1939.

political parties in Britain. At the time of the War, Britain had an all-party government headed by Prime Minister Winston Churchill of the Conservative party. The Conservatives wanted to maintain the empire for as long as possible. In comparison to the Conservatives, the Labour party was more willing to help Indians get their freedom.

The British were willing to give the status of Dominion to India under the British Crown soon after the War. But the Congress wanted a promise of complete freedom for India. The Congress also demanded that an immediate national government should be set up at the Centre. The British objected to this by saying that they have to also protect the interests of several other communities in India. They meant that Congress did not represent all Indians,

like Muslims. They also implied that Congress may be ignoring the interests of many Indians. So, the British were required to protect these interests.

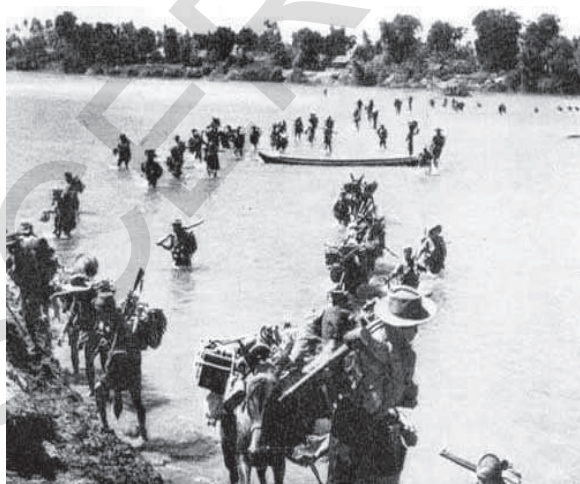


Fig 14.1 : Crossing Iravady river in 1945, Royal Indian Army



Fig 14.2 : Elephants Loading Supplies in C-46 Planes during Second World War in India

The government had got special war time powers to maintain law and order to be able to focus on winning the war. Anyone who opposed the government could be jailed immediately and kept in prison for a long time without going to court. People were not given the freedom of speech. Through 1940 and 1941, the Congress organised a series of individual satyagrahas to pressurise the British to promise freedom once the war had ended. No major mass protest was launched at this time.

The Congress was upset that the British refuse to promise freedom to India and decided to walk out of the provincial governments. All the Congress ministries who had come to power in 1937 resigned in October 1939.

- Do you think the Congress could have taken some other steps to protest against the attitude of the British?
- Why did the British not make the promise and win the support of the Indians? After all, in 1939, only a promise was being asked for? Discuss together in class.
- When ministers resign, who continues to conduct the day to day affairs of governance?
- Imagine what would happen if Congress leaders increased their protests against the British government at this point of time? Would it make the fight for freedom stronger?

### Who represents the people of the country?

Now that the Indian people were revolting against the British rule, they were upset. They looked for ways to punish the Congress and make it weak and unpopular among the people. The British started questioning the right of the Congress to represent the people of the country. Now, they followed the 'Divide and Rule Policy' more vigorously.

To achieve this, the British government supported and encouraged the plans of the Muslim League and gave little importance to the Congress. In this period, the Muslim League and its leaders like M. A. Jinnah became more active in mass politics.

### The Muslim League

Muslim League was formed in 1906. Till the 1930s, it mainly represented the interests of Muslim landlords of UP and did not have much mass support. It had demanded that the British should create separate seats in all councils for which only Muslims would vote. It had argued that since the majority people in many areas were Hindus, there were more chances of Hindus getting elected to councils. If this happened, Muslims would not be able to protect their interests in the government. But, if a certain number of seats were reserved for Muslims for which only the Muslim population of an area would vote, these Muslim members would be able to raise the concerns and problems of Muslims. The Congress had accepted this logic and separate electorates were implemented from 1909. When provincial

governments were elected in 1937, the League won 102 of the 482 Muslim seats in the country. However, the Congress also fought elections on the Muslim seats because it believed that it was a national party and not a party of only Hindus. The Congress won 26 out of the 58 Muslim seats it had contested.

In 1937, the Muslim League got only 4.4 percent of the total Muslim votes in

- Discuss the importance of addressing the concerns of minorities. Why is it felt that majority based elections are not enough to help minorities?
- Separate electorate was one method to protect minority interests. Can you think of some other methods that can be helpful for this purpose? For example, would it help if there was a rule that a non Muslim member of a council must consult the Muslim population of his/ her constituency before voting on an issue that concerned them? When would such a method work and under what conditions would it fail to be effective?

the elections. The Muslim League was popular in the United Provinces, Bombay and Madras. However, it was quite weak in the three provinces from which Pakistan was to be made just ten years later, that is, Bengal, the North-West Frontier Province (now in Pakistan) and Punjab. Even in Sind, it failed to form a government. But the situation changed in the next 10 years. In 1946, when elections were held again for the provincial and central assemblies, the League succeeded in winning the Muslim seats.

What happened to the Muslim population in the years between 1937 and 1947? The League pointed out many issues. It blamed that Congress was insensitive to the needs of Muslims. For example, the Congress refused to form a coalition government with the Muslim League in the United Provinces where it too had won many seats. The Congress had banned its members from taking membership of the Muslim League. Congress members could be members of the Hindu Mahasabha before. But this was also banned from 1938, only after objections from Muslim Congressmen like Maulana Azad. Thus, the League created the impression that Congress was basically a Hindu party and did not want to share power with the Muslims.

### **The Hindu Mahasabha and the RSS**

During this period, the Hindu Mahasabha and the Rashtriya Swayamsewak Sangh (RSS), a national cultural organisation were mobilizing the Hindus. These organisations wished to unite all the Hindus and overcome the divisions of caste and sect to reform their social life. They also gave out the message that India was the land of the Hindus who were in a majority. Many Congressmen were also impressed with the activities of these organisations.

Congress tried very hard to create a secular understanding among its members. It also tried to connect with the Muslim masses and make them feel secure. They

wanted to change the wrong impression that was being created in their minds by the messages and activities of organisations like the Muslim League, the Hindu Mahasabha and the RSS. Congress argued that Hindus and Muslims were not people of two different nations, but part and parcel of one Indian nation. However, the British were eagerly listening to the fears of the League about Hindu domination and suggesting ways to make the Muslims secure.

### The “Pakistan” Resolution

Many people now felt that the separate governing arrangements were needed for regions where Muslims were in majority. For example, the Urdu poet Mohammad Iqbal, the writer of the song “*Sare Jahan Se Achha Hindustan Hamara*”, spoke of a need for a “North- West Indian Muslim state” in his presidential address to the Muslim League in 1930.

The name Pakistan or Pak-stan (from Punjab, Afghan, Kashmir, Sind and Baluchistan) was coined by a Punjabi Muslim student at Cambridge, Choudhry Rehmat Ali. This young student wrote pamphlets between 1933 and 1935. He desired a separate national status for this new entity. No one took Rehmat Ali seriously in the 1930s, especially the League and other Muslim leaders who dismissed his idea merely as a student’s dream.

The political situation in India changed when British started following the policy of ‘Divide and Rule’ and Congress failed to address the fears of Muslims. On 23 March 1940, the Muslim League moved a resolution and demanded autonomy for the parts of the subcontinent where Muslim were in majority. This ambiguous resolution never mentioned partition or Pakistan. However, in later years, it became known as the Pakistan resolution. People were thinking of different ways to solve the issues raised by the League and a new nation state of Pakistan was one among these alternatives. But since the discussions and negotiations were not working out, the idea of a separate nation state of Pakistan became stronger. The Congress was unable to fulfill the demands of M A Jinnah, leader of the Muslim League.

From 1940 to 1946, the League convinced Muslim masses about the benefits and need for a separate nation. Peasants could imagine a state where Hindu zamindars and moneylenders did not exploit them. Traders, businessmen and job seekers could think of a state where competition from Hindu traders, businessmen and job seekers would not be there. There would be greater religious freedom. There would be

#### Dr BR Ambedkar, Pakistan or the Partition of India “Introduction” 1940

It is beyond question that Pakistan is a scheme which will have to be taken into account. The Muslims will insist upon the scheme being considered... The British cannot consent to settle power upon an aggressive Hindu majority and make it its heir, leaving it to deal with the minorities at its sweet pleasure. That would not be ending imperialism. It would be creating another imperialism.

- How would people assess the possible benefits from the politics of Muslim League? Would they have any doubts? What kind of questions would they have? Discuss.

freedom for the Muslim elite to run the government the way they wanted. From 1942 to 1945, most Congress leaders were in jail. The League made use of the time to build its base among the people.

### Who Will Make the British Quit India?

By 1941, Japan had started expanding into South East Asia. This was clear threat to Indian territories as well. The British wanted Indian people to support it in the war against Japan. In March 1942, Prime Minister Churchill was persuaded to send one of his ministers, Sir Stafford Cripps, to India to try and make a compromise with Gandhi and the Congress. But these talks failed after the Congress insisted that the Viceroy should first appoint an Indian as the Defence Member of his Executive Council.

After the failure of the Cripps Mission, Mahatma Gandhi decided to launch his third major movement against the British rule. This was the “Quit India” campaign. This campaign began in August 1942. Although Gandhi was sent to jail, other younger activists organised strikes and acts of sabotage all over the country. The young men and women left their colleges to go to jail in very large numbers. Socialist members of the Congress, such as Jayaprakash Narayan, were particularly active in the underground resistance movement. In several districts, such as Satara in the west and Medinipur in the east, “independent” governments were declared. The British responded with a lot of force, yet it took them more than a year to suppress this rebellion.

The Communist Party of India, in the meanwhile, decided to support the British war effort. It was alarmed at the attack on the Soviet Union by the Nazis. It realised the danger at a world level and called the war a People’s War. On the contrary, Gandhi felt that Indians would be able to handle Japan on their own after the British leave India.

The initial victories of Japan against the Americans and Europeans created a strong impression on the people in India. Firstly, it seemed that the European colonialists would get defeated very soon. Secondly, Japan was an Asian country and could stand up against the European colonialists. Indians felt that they too can stand up and fight against Britain decisively. The myth that the British race was superior than others was destroyed in the minds of people.

Subhash Chandra Bose wanted to take up the opportunity created by the difficulties of the British. He said that India’s independence was of utmost importance and we should take the help of the Japanese to throw out the British. He went secretly to Germany and Japan and collected an army of Indian soldiers in 1942.

Who were these soldiers? In the beginning, these Indian soldiers were in the British army. They had been captured by the Japanese when the British were defeated in Burma and Malaya. They were POWs (prisoners of war). Bose recruited them in his army which he called the Indian National Army (INA). Later, other Indians also joined the army including many women. However, Gandhi did not agree with the plans of Bose. He felt that the Japanese cannot be the liberators of India. But Subhash continued in his chosen path and led an army of Indian soldiers to fight along with the Imperial Army of Japan against the British for almost three years.



*Fig 14.3 : Subhash Chandra Bose*

This time was very dramatic and difficult for the entire world. At one point, it had seemed that the Allied powers were losing the war. But Russia stopped the Nazi forces with the victory in Stalingrad. The Allied powers regained control and eventually won the Second World War. Subhash Bose's INA was defeated by the British army. After this, it is not certain whether Bose disappeared or died.

In June 1944, when the war was about to end, the British government released Gandhi from prison. They set the time for another round of negotiations and talks for Indian independence.

- Why did the Japanese allow Bose to recruit soldiers whom they had imprisoned?
- Why did the Indian soldiers join INA?
- Why were Indian soldiers not scared of losing the war and falling into the hands of the British? What would the British do to them?

- Review the period between 1942-45. How can you say that the resistance of Indian people to the British rule had become more powerful than ever before?

### **The popular Upsurge -1946-48**

The soldiers of INA were imprisoned and the British decided to punish them. A trial of INA soldiers was begun. The British decided to court martial them for being traitors to the army and hanging them to death in punishment.

There was unrest, unhappiness and discontent in different parts of India when the INA trials started. The issue of Hindu- Muslim identity and separatist politics

often became unimportant during such times. For example, many of the INA soldiers who were being tried for treason were Muslims, yet the people's anger and sympathy gave no thought to the religion of the soldiers.

- Imagine the tragic turn of events and how these must have affected the lives of these people?
- What horror would the other Indians have felt at the thought that the INA soldiers who were like heroes to them were being tried and hanged as traitors by the British?

If you imagine yourself in the years after the War ended, it will be easy to understand the situation in the country. People were restless because of food shortages, rationing of food, high prices, black marketeering and hoarding. Workers were angry about low wages. Railway, postal employees and other government employees were planning to go on India wide strike against prices.

On 18th February 1946, the guards or Ratings of the Royal Indian Navy in Bombay harbour went on hunger strike to protest against bad food and behaviour of their British officers. The strike rapidly spread to other naval men on the Bombay shore and all the naval bases in India. The navy men put up the tricolour, the crescent and the hammer and sickle flags jointly on the mast of the ship. A Naval Central Strike committee was elected with M S Khan as its head. The strike committee demanded better food, equal pay for white and Indian sailors. They also demanded for the release of INA and other political prisoners and withdrawal of Indian troops from Indonesia.



*Fig 14.4 : Memorial for the Naval guards who revolted for India's freedom in 1946*

78 ships, 20 shore establishments, and 20,000 Ratings took part in the strike. Hundreds of students, both Hindus and Muslims, came out on the streets of Bombay to support them. They also clashed with the police and the army. On February 22, 3 lakh mill workers put down their tools in Bombay and fought violently for 2 days on the streets with the police and the army.

The year 1946 was a year of strikes and work stoppages in factories and mills in many parts of the country. CPI and the Socialist parties were active in these movements. The countryside was also on the boil.

An agitation was started in Bengal by small and poor peasants who took land of the bigger landowners to cultivate. They demanded that their share of harvest should be increased to two portions out of three instead of half or even less. This was eventually given to them at that time. This was called the *Tebhaga* movement and was led by the Provincial Kisan Sabha.

In Hyderabad, the Communist party led a massive movement of farmers of the Telangana region. The Telangana farmers opposed the large land owners and demanded that debts of farmers be cancelled. They also demanded that bonded labour should be stopped and land be distributed to those who worked on it. The peasants took up arms to fight against the rulers and their armies. Almost 3000 villages were part of the movement. Another armed revolt of peasants took place in Travancore (Kerala) in Punnappra-Vayalar.

- Review the actions of ordinary masses in the country. What were they demanding?
- It was noted that religious divisions were not important in many of these mass movements mentioned above. What could be the reason for the unity of the people in these movements?

### **Muslim League and Congress - Negotiation for transfer of power**

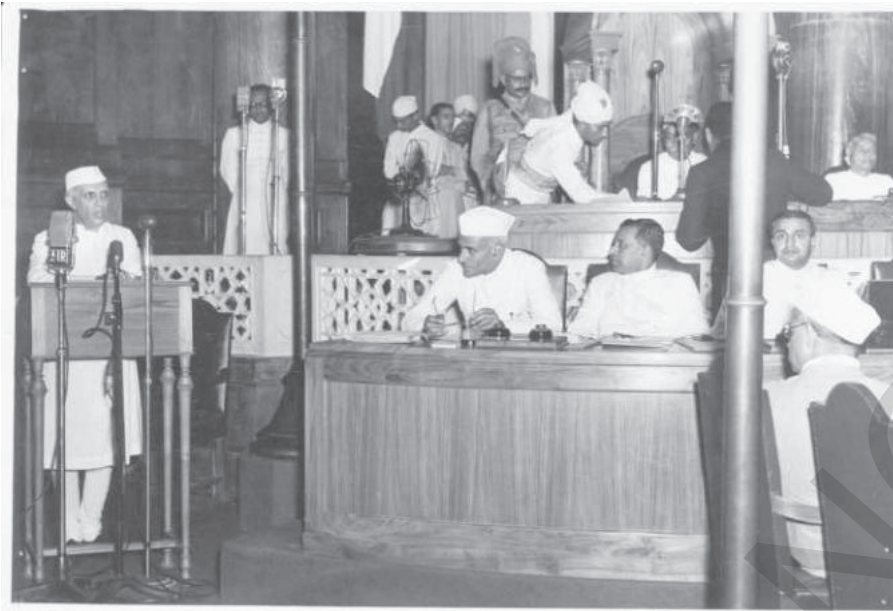
When political negotiations between top leaders began again in 1945, the British agreed to create an entirely Indian central Executive Council, except for the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces. They did this as a first step towards full independence. Discussions about the transfer of power failed due to Jinnah's demand that the League should have an absolute right to choose all the Muslim members of the Executive Council. This demand was not acceptable to others. Most nationalist Muslims supported the Congress Party. The Unionist Party of Punjab, which had a large number of Muslim members, did not agree with Muslim League's demand. In fact, Maulana Azad was the leader of the Congress Party delegation for these discussions as he was the President of this party!

In 1946, elections were held for the Provincial Governments. The Muslim League won all 30 reserved constituencies in the Centre and 442 out of 509 seats in the provinces. The League was able to establish itself as the dominant party among Muslim voters only around 1946. It wanted to represent itself as the "sole spokesperson" of India's Muslims. It had got more than 86% of the Muslim votes. In 1946, the Congress swept the general constituencies, capturing over 91 per cent of the non-Muslim vote.

- What were the demands of the Muslim League that were not acceptable to the Congress? Do you agree with the reasons of the Congress?
- According to you, what did the election results of 1946 indicate about public mood?

### **A possible alternative to Partition**

In March 1946, the British Cabinet sent a three member mission team to Delhi to examine the demand made by the League and suggest a suitable political framework for Indian freedom. This Cabinet Mission toured the country for three months and recommended a three-tier confederation but India was to remain united. Initially, all the major parties accepted this plan. But the agreement was short-lived because the parties had different opinions of the plan. Ultimately, neither the



*Fig 14.5 : Jawaharlal Nehru at Independence declaration*

League nor the Congress agreed to the Cabinet Mission's proposal.

The Muslim League decided that its demands cannot be met through discussions and it must ask the people to come out on the streets. It decided on "Direct Action" to win its demand for Pakistan and announced 16 August

1946 as "Direct Action Day". On this day, riots started in Calcutta. These riots lasted for several days and several thousand people died in the riots. By March 1947, violence spread to many parts of northern India.

Because of the mass violence, the Congress agreed for dividing the Punjab into two halves in March 1947. One half was to be with Muslim majority and the other with Hindu/ Sikh majority. Congress also agreed for a similar division in Bengal.

In February 1947, Mountbatten replaced Wavell and became the Viceroy. Mountbatten started one last round of talks to find a solution. When these talk also failed, he announced that British India would become freed but also would be divided. Muslim majority areas of Punjab, NWFP, Sind, Baluchistan and East Bengal would be made part of a new state of Pakistan. The formal transfer of power from British Government to Pakistan would be done on 14th and to India, it would be done on the 15<sup>th</sup> of August, 1947. This solution was the only workable solution to end the year of riots, bloodshed and hatred that people were filled with.

### **Partition and migrations**

Now that a Muslim nation, Pakistan, was created, a painful and unimaginable situation arose for many people. Most Hindus living on Pakistani side of the border felt insecure and forced to leave their homes. So did many Muslims, living on the other side of this border. Not all the people wanted this, not all the people understood why this was happening. They felt anger and hatred against each other for being forced to move out of their homes, villages and cities. Around 1.5 crore people, both Hindus and Muslims, were displaced. They killed, looted and burnt each other. Between two to five lakh people, both Muslims and Hindus, were killed. Some



# The Statesman

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CALCUTTA, FRIDAY, AUGUST 15, 1947.

TWO ANNAS.

## TWO DOMINIONS ARE BORN

### Political Freedom For One-Fifth Of Human Race



Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, Governor of West Bengal, with Mr. C. G. Ghosh, Chief Minister, West Bengal, and Mr. C. G. Ghosh, Chief Minister, West Bengal.

## POWER ASSUMED BY INDIANS

### Constituent Assembly Members Take The Oath WORK FOR COMMON PROSPERITY

From Our Special Representative

NEW DELHI, Aug. 15.—Two new Dominions, India and Pakistan, were born at zero hour today, ushering in political freedom to 400 million people, constituting one-fifth of the human race.

A special session of the Indian Constituent Assembly, the House assumed full powers for the administration of the Indian Dominion.

### NO DISTURBANCE IN CALCUTTA

No incidents of a communal nature occurred in Calcutta and Howrah yesterday.

The Constituent Assembly tonight passed Pandit Nehru's resolution presenting the Oath. All the members took the Oath and then Dr. B. R. Ambedkar presented the resolution for Government House to request the Governor-General to accept the post of Governor-General.

AUGUST 15, 1947.

A special Independence Day supplement is published with this issue of the Statesman. An exclusive article by a special correspondent on the occasion which led to India's freedom appears on page 6.



Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, Governor of West Bengal, with Mr. C. G. Ghosh, Chief Minister, West Bengal, and Mr. C. G. Ghosh, Chief Minister, West Bengal.

## First Governor of W. Bengal

### C. R. Sworn In This Morning

By a Staff Reporter

WITH the birth of the Indian Dominion, the Excellency Mr. C. Rajagopalachari assumed charge of the office of Governor of West Bengal at one o'clock (IST) this morning. Immediately afterwards Dr. P. C. Ghosh, Chief Minister, West Bengal, and the members of his Cabinet were sworn in.

The ceremony took place in the "Dewan" Room of Government House, Calcutta, in the presence of high-ranking civil and military officials, and some distinguished visitors, the whole proceeding occupying a little over half an hour.

Mr. Rajagopalachari's daughter also attended.

In order that the Calcutta ceremony should synchronise with the solemn ceremony elsewhere in the Indian Dominion, the swearing-in was (Continued on page 5 column 1-1)

### TWO HOLIDAYS

Members of The Statesman Staff will participate in the two public holidays on August 15 and 16 officially announced to celebrate the birth of the two new Dominions. There will, therefore, be an issue of the paper on August 16 and 17.

## Close Friendship with Britain

### Nehru's Reply to Mr. Attlee

NEW DELHI, Aug. 15.—"My colleagues in the U.K. Government join with me in sending, on this historic day, greetings and good wishes to the Government and people of India, says a message from Mr. Attlee to Pandit Nehru. He adds:

"It is our earnest wish that India may go forward in tranquillity and prosperity and, in so doing, contribute to the peace and prosperity of the world."

Pandit Nehru replied: "On behalf of my colleagues in the Government of India and myself I wish to express my grateful thanks for your message of greeting on this historic day when India emerges into freedom. This freedom means much to us, but it also means much to Asia and the world. We look to you for the furtherance of the peace and prosperity of the world. In these great tasks we shall look forward to the closest co-operation with your Government."

VIRKUNDT MOUNTBATTEN AWARDED BARLORD LONDON, Aug. 14.—(Special) Mountbatten, Governor-General-designate of India, was today awarded an OBE.

## Gandhi & Suhrawardy to Fast and Pray Today

### Meeting Listens to Mahatma Without Interruption

By a Staff Reporter  
MR. Gandhi will celebrate Independence Day today, by observing a 24-hour fast and spinning and holding special prayer. At his prayer meeting last evening he invited the people to observe the day in a similar manner.

Mr. S. Suhrawardy and Mr. S. M. Khan, ex-Mayor and Secretary, Calcutta District Magistrate, League, will lead the prayer. Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Suhrawardy will meet the several city of their joint prayer session in Belvedere, Calcutta, yesterday.

In contrast to the Indian Dominion, Calcutta yesterday, their conference became a place of prayer. A thousands of people yesterday, a large number of them were women. Both Hindu and Muslim came in a peaceful stream from different parts of the city and joined their prayers before Mr. Gandhi.

The Calcutta Weather  
Rainfall for the 24-hour period ending 8 p.m. IST yesterday: 4.44 inches. Temperature in Calcutta yesterday was 87° and maximum 29° (minimum 74°). Wind 14°.

## Joyful Scenes In Calcutta

### Celebrations By Hindus And Muslims

By a Staff Reporter

REMARKABLE signs of a return to communal amity after a year of bloodshed were seen in Calcutta last night and early this morning. Almost unbelievable scenes of fraternity and rejoicing were witnessed in some of the hitherto worst-affected areas of Central and North Calcutta.

Along Lower Chitpur Road, Jankar Road, Bowbazar Street and Dhurruddin Street.

The joy-ful an early hour this morning, resounded to cries of "Hindu-Muslim" and "Muslim-Hindu". The groups emerged from their, and the last light of Hindu and Muslim, who through the streets observing the signs of their joy. The first signs of a return of brotherly feeling between the two communities came with the day's progress.

Mr. Rajagopalachari entered the Theatre Room in procession for the official inauguration ceremony.

Mr. Rajagopalachari entered the Theatre Room in procession for the official inauguration ceremony.



Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, Governor of West Bengal, with Mr. C. G. Ghosh, Chief Minister, West Bengal, and Mr. C. G. Ghosh, Chief Minister, West Bengal.

## First Cabinet of India Begins to Function

### Pandit Nehru Heads Dominion Ministry of Fourteen

NEW DELHI, Aug. 14.—The first Cabinet of the Indian Dominion which will function from Aug. 15, announced tonight, will be headed by Pandit Nehru. The Cabinet consists of the following Ministers: Pandit Nehru, Prime Minister, External and Commonwealth Relations, Scientific Research.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Home, Information and Broadcasting, States, Mr. J. B. Kripalani, Food and Agriculture, Mr. K. M. Munshi, Education, Mr. M. S. Golwalkar, Railways and Transport, Mr. S. Baldev Singh, Defence, Mr. J. B. Kripalani, Labour, Mr. B. B. Kripalani, Commerce, Mr. B. B. Kripalani, Industries and Supplies.

Mr. N. V. Gadgil, Mines and Power, Mr. N. V. Gadgil, Industries and Supplies.

INTERNATIONAL RIGHTS OF INDIAN DOMINION

NEW DELHI, Aug. 15.—The Dominion of India will be widely entitled to all the international rights to which India was entitled. The Dominion of India will continue to be a member of international organisations of which India was a member, and the Dominion of Pakistan will have the same rights in the Dominion of India and Pakistan.

This is the substance of the Indian Independence Bill, which will be introduced in the Dominion of India and Pakistan.

(See Editorial Comment—Page 6.)



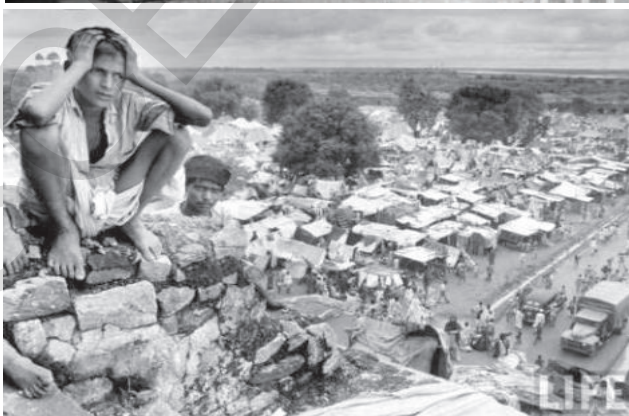
Fig 14.6 : Newspaper report on Indian Independence. What different items can you identify in it? Discuss.

were became refugees, lived in relief camps, and travelled on trains to find shelters. Mahatma Gandhi moved amongst the riot hit people, in camps and hospitals. He was trying to spread the message of peace and brotherhood. This was not the freedom and Swaraj he had worked so hard to achieve. The Father of the Nation fasted and did not celebrate on the first Independence Day.

At the initiative of Gandhi and Nehru, Congress now passed a resolution on “the rights of minorities”. Congress party had never accepted the “two-nation theory”. It was forced to accept Partition against its will. It still believed that “India is a land of many religions and many races, and must remain so”. Whatever be the situation in Pakistan, India would be “a democratic secular State” where all citizens



*Fig 14.7 : Various scenes of partition.  
Describe/Imagine the experiences of these migrants.*

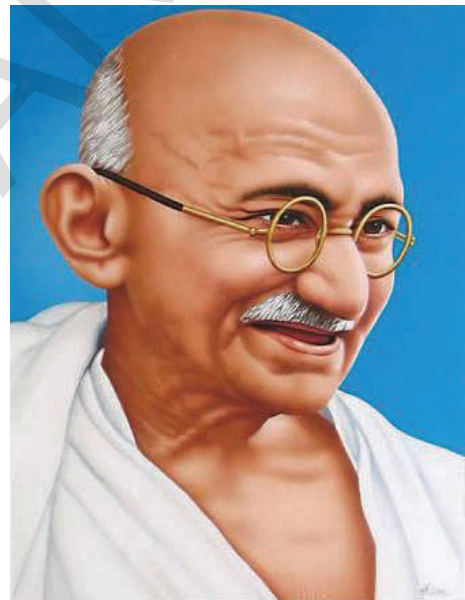


enjoy full rights and are have equal right to get the protection of the State, irrespective of the religion to which they belong.

### **Assassination of Mahatma Gandhi**

On 15<sup>th</sup> August, 1947, Mahatma Gandhi, father of the nation, was trying to bring peace to riot-torn Noakhali (in Bengal). He came to the capital, Delhi, only on 9<sup>th</sup> September, 1947. The old man was unhappy with the communal riots in north-western India and tried to calm the fears and anger of the people. Yet, some sections of people were annoyed with Gandhi for his role in Indian politics. They disturbed his all-religion prayer meetings many times. An unsuccessful attempt on his life was made two days before his actual assassination. It was on 28 January, 1948 that Gandhi said, "If I am to die by the bullet of a mad man, I must do so smiling. There must be no anger within me. God must be in my heart and on my lips."

Finally, less than six months after Independence, on the evening of 30<sup>th</sup> January, 1948, Gandhi was shot with three bullets while going for his all-religion prayer meeting. Before dying Gandhi said, 'Hey Ram'. His assassin, Nathuram Godse ran off from the scene of crime and was later arrested in Bombay. He was once a member of Hindu Mahasabha and because of his actions, many became against this organisation. Consequently, on 14<sup>th</sup> February, 1948, All India Hindu Mahasabha decided to 'suspend its political work and concentrate on real organisational work' instead. A fanatic Godse had, thereby, hurt his own friends and harmed his own mission.



*Fig 14.8 : Mahatma Gandhi*

### **Integration of States**

There were around 550 Princely states in India. These states enjoyed different levels of sovereignty but all were under British power. As the British were going to withdraw from India, these princely states were going to become independent. They were asked to decide if they wanted to join India, Pakistan or remain independent. The ordinary people of the princely states had become aware of democratic rights through participation in Praja Mandal movements. They did not want the princely families to continue to rule over them. In Travancore and Hyderabad, peasants were revolting with arms against the ruling zamindars.

The Congress supported the movements of the people of the princely states and declared that they should join India in making the new Constitution of the country. Sardar Patel was given charge of this matter in July 1947. He began

discussions with the princes about the necessity to join India. He even made it clear that if they did not do so, the army would have to be sent to complete the process of unification. By 15th August 1947, all states except Kashmir, Hyderabad and Junagadh had agreed to sign the Instrument of Accession with India. These three states were also made to join in the next two years.

The government of these princely states was taken over and the princes were given pension funds called privy-purse to meet their personal expenses. New administrative units were created by combining different territories. The first phase of this process of creating the new states of India went on till 1956. Interestingly, in 1971, the government of India abolished the privy purses and titles used by the former princely families.

The modern India that you know came into being. In 1947, it was a poor nation with low human development indicators and bad infrastructural facilities. In two centuries, colonialism had blocked the development of the country and tried to destroy the self-confidence of its people. Building a modern self-dependent and equitable nation in India was both a challenge and an opportunity.

### Keywords

Dominion status

Divide and rule

Separate electorate

### Improve your learning

1. Make a table and show how different groups, and individuals in India responded to World War II. What dilemmas were faced by these groups? (AS<sub>1</sub>)
2. Given the brutal manner in which particular communities like Jews and others were treated in Germany, do you think it would have been morally right to support Germany or Japan? (AS<sub>1</sub>)
3. Make a list of various reasons for the Partition of the country. (AS<sub>1</sub>)
4. What were the different ways in which power sharing among different communities was organised before Partition? (AS<sub>1</sub>)
5. How did British colonialists practice their 'divide and rule' policy in India? How was it similar or different from what you have studied about Nigeria? (AS<sub>1</sub>)
6. What were the different ways in which religion was used in politics before Partition? (AS<sub>1</sub>)
7. How were workers and peasants mobilised during the last years of freedom struggle? (AS<sub>1</sub>)
8. How did Partition affect the lives of ordinary people? What was the political response to mass migration following Partition? (AS<sub>1</sub>)
9. Integration of various princely states into the new Indian nation was a challenging task. Discuss. (AS<sub>1</sub>)
10. Locate the following in the political map of India. (AS<sub>5</sub>)  
a) Kashmir    b) Hyderabad    c) Junagarh    d) Bengal    e) Travancore
11. Which qualities do you like in Subhash Chandra Bose? Why. (AS<sub>6</sub>)

## The Making of Independent India's Constitution

### Revisiting Indian Constitution

To begin with, read the chapter 13 of class VIII Social Studies textbook and complete the following tasks regarding the Indian Constitution:

- Some significant contributors to the Indian Constitution were: \_\_\_\_\_; \_\_\_\_\_; \_\_\_\_\_; \_\_\_\_\_
- What are the basic ideals of Indian Constitution as reflected in its Preamble?
- Read the following two preambles along with the Indian Preamble and see how they are similar or different. Remember that each Constitution also reflects political events around the making of their nations. Try to relate to the political events that may have influenced the thought that went into the Constitution.

### Nepal Interim Constitution Preamble 2007

WE, THE SOVEREIGNTY AND STATE AUTHORITY INHERENT PEOPLE OF NEPAL, Respecting the people's mandate expressed in favour of democracy, peace and progression through historical struggles and people's movements launched by the people of Nepal at various times since before 2007 (1951) to till the date; Pledging to accomplish the progressive restructuring of the State in order to solve the problems existing in the country relating to class, ethnicity, region and gender;

Expressing our full commitment to democratic values and norms including the competitive multi-party democratic system of governance, civil liberties, fundamental rights, human rights, adult franchise, periodic elections, complete freedom of the press, independent judiciary and concepts of the rule of law;

Guarantee the basic rights of the people of Nepal to make a constitution for them on their own and to take part in a free and fair election to the Constituent Assembly in an environment without fear;

Putting democracy, peace, prosperity, progressive socio-economic transformation and sovereignty, integrity, independence and prestige of the country in the center;

Declaring Nepal as a federal, democratic, republican state upon duly abolishing the monarchy;

HEREBY DECLARE, with a view to institutionalising the achievements made through the revolutions and movements till now, the promulgation of this Interim Constitution of Nepal 2063 (2007), which has been made through a political understanding and to be in force until a new Constitution is framed by the Constituent Assembly.

### **Japan Constitution Preamble 1946**

We, the Japanese people, acting through our duly elected representatives in the National Diet, determined that we shall secure for ourselves and our posterity the fruits of peaceful cooperation with all nations and the blessings of liberty throughout this land, and resolved that never again shall we be visited with the horrors of war through the action of government, do proclaim that sovereign power resides with the people and do firmly establish this Constitution. Government is a sacred trust of the people, the authority for which is derived from the people, the powers of which are exercised by the representatives of the people, and the benefits of which are enjoyed by the people. This is a universal principle of mankind upon which this Constitution is founded. We reject and revoke all constitutions, laws, ordinances, and prescripts in conflict herewith. We, the Japanese people, desire peace for all time and are deeply conscious of the high ideals controlling human relationship and we have determined to preserve our security and existence, trusting in the justice and faith of the peace-loving peoples of the world. We desire to occupy an honoured place in an international society striving for the preservation of peace, and the banishment of tyranny and slavery, oppression and intolerance for all time from the earth. We recognise that all people of the world have the right to live in peace, free from fear and want. We believe that no nation is responsible to itself alone, but that laws of political morality are universal; and that obedience to such laws is incumbent upon all nations who would sustain their own sovereignty and justify their sovereign relationship with other nations. We, the Japanese people, Pledge our national honour to accomplish these high ideals and purposes with all our resources.

- What do you think is similar or different in the political context of these nations? What were the immediate prior events? Who were the previous rulers?
- Which Preamble refers to the word gender?
- Which Preamble reflects the desire for peace?
- How are people's movements reflected in the Preamble?

- What is similar or different between the Preambles in their reflection of the past?
- What types of promises are made about the future society in the three countries?
- What promises are made about the nature of political system?
- What promises are made to the citizen of these nations?

## Background of Nepal

In 1959, the first elections were held in Nepal under a new constitution issued by King Mahendra. However, within a year, the elected government was overturned and substantial power reverted back to the King. People's continuous struggle for a democratic representative government finally led to elections in 1991. In these elections, the Congress Party of Nepal came to power with a huge majority. The Communist Party was however not satisfied with this system of government in which the monarchy still had a dominant say. They wanted a complete overhaul of the political system and an abolition of monarchy. The movement transformed itself into an armed conflict between the pro and anti-monarchy groups. This struggle culminated in 2007 with the abolition of monarchy.

## Reading debates

The Constitution of any country provides a certain basic structure and principles according to which its state would function and future of the nation would be decided. Thus, a Constitution has a double purpose: a) outlining the role and rights of citizens, as well as defining the structure and powers of the government and its organs like executive, legislature, judiciary etc; b) indicating the nature of future society which has to be built by the joint efforts of the state and the society. The Constitution thus essentially maps the framework for the future highlighting how the current situation needs to be modified to move forward.

In Nepal, the process of making of Constitution began in 2007 and it was still not completed in 2015. This was largely because different political trends of Nepal could not come to a common agreement on many basic issues. The process of making a Constitution is thus a process of debate, discussion, ironing out differences and working out a framework this is acceptable to all the conflicting opinions. Let us see how this happened in India.

## The Making of Indian Constitution

The Constitution of India was prepared and adopted by the Constituent Assembly. This was the culmination of the long struggle of the Indian people for freedom from British colonial rule. As the British government decided to give freedom to the people of India, a new Constitution was needed through which the people of India could rule themselves and set long term objectives for themselves.

For this purpose, Constituent Assembly was formed in 1946, following the election to the provincial assemblies. The Constituent Assembly members were

elected indirectly by the members of the provincial assemblies. The Cabinet Mission appointed in 1946 allotted seats to each Province and each Princely State or group of States. Accordingly, Provinces or areas under direct British rule elected 292 members and all Princely States together elected 93 members. The plan also

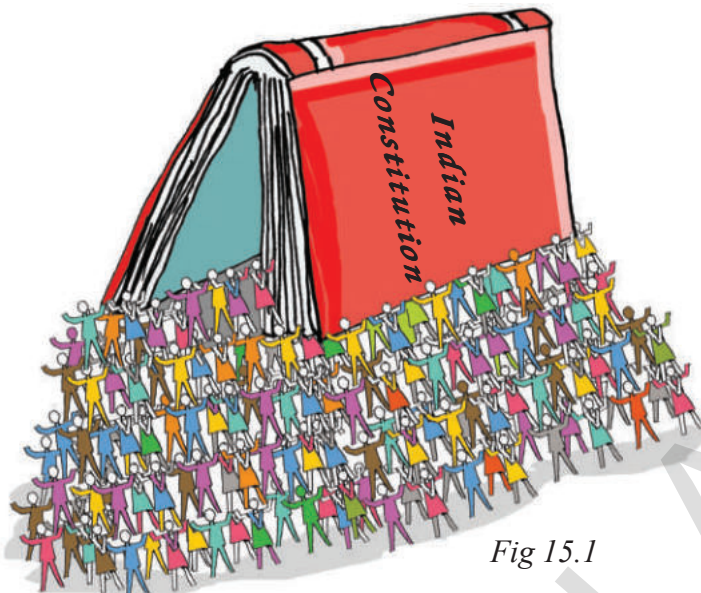


Fig 15.1

guaranteed that the seats in each Province had members from the major communities in India : Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs and others, in proportion to their respective populations. The Council also ensured that 26 members from Scheduled Castes are represented in the Assembly. While elections were held in Provincial legislative houses, representatives of Princely States were identified through consultation. In all it had only nine women members. The Indian

National Congress was the single largest party with 69% of all seats followed by the Muslim League which had most of the seats reserved for Muslims. In the beginning, it had members from all parts of British India and after 14 August 1947, as the country was partitioned between India and Pakistan, the members from Pakistan formed a separate Constituent Assembly for Pakistan.

As you can see, the Constituent Assembly (CA) was not elected through universal adult franchise, but indirectly and as such did not represent all sections of Indian society. Only about 10% of the population could vote in the provincial elections then. In fact, the members from the princely states were not elected at all and were decided through consultation with the concerned princely states. Such a decision was taken keeping in view the special situation that had arisen due to intense political activity on the eve of freedom and mounting tensions among the people. The princely states had not yet agreed to become part of the Indian Union and many of them



Fig 15.2 : Discuss the idea of equality and justice as shown in this picture.

hoped to remain independent kingdoms. That is why their representatives were asked to join the Assembly. In the beginning, the Muslim League members did not attend the meetings, though they joined it later.

Even though the C A was not strictly representative, it took

great care to consider all shades of opinions and give wide publicity to its own work so that all kinds of people could provide their inputs through letters, writings in the newspapers and other mediums. Jawaharlal Nehru made this significant statement in the Assembly on 13th December, 1946:

“... the future of India that we have envisaged is not confined to any group or

section or province or other, but it comprises all the four hundred million people of India... there is a duty cast upon us and that is to bear the absentees in mind, to remember always that we are here not to function for one party or one group, but always to think of India as a whole and always to think of the welfare of the four hundred millions that comprise India. ...it seems to me, the time has come when we should, so far as we are capable of it, rise above our ordinary selves and party disputes and think of the great problem before us in the widest and most tolerant and most effective manner so that, whatever we may produce, should be worthy of India as a whole and should be such that the world should recognise that we have functioned, as we should have functioned, in this high adventure.”

A ‘Drafting Committee’ was set up under the chairmanship of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar and its task was to prepare the final draft taking in account all view points. Various important aspects of the Constitution were discussed in great depth and the Assembly gave broad directions on them. The final draft was presented before the CA for discussion and approval. The Constitution was finally adopted by the CA on 26th November 1949 and it came into force on 26th January 1950. In the following section, we will read about some of the important debates in the CA in order to understand how some of these important provisions of Indian Constitution were arrived at.



Fig 15.3

- The Constitution of India begins with the statement, “We the people of India...”. Do you think this claim to represent all the people of India was justified?
- Do you think all the people in India can participate in the formulation of Constitution for the entire country? Was it important for all people to participate actively in this process or could it have been left to some wise people?
- If a Constitution for the entire school has to be drafted, who all should be involved in it and how?

## Reading Constituent Assembly Debates

Dr. BR Ambedkar presented the draft of the Constitution before the CA in 1948. Read the extracts from his speech. These are recorded in the “Proceedings of CA of India, [Certain parts of the speech have been shortened and are marked with ...]

Dr. Ambedkar begins with the process by which the draft was prepared. As the Assembly was not elected by universal suffrage, see the steps taken to ensure maximum participation of members and also general public.

Thursday, the 4th November 1948 DRAFT CONSTITUTION

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar ...: Mr. President, Sir, I introduce the Draft Constitution as settled by the Drafting Committee and move that it be taken into consideration.

The Drafting Committee was in effect charged with the duty of preparing a Constitution in accordance with the decisions of the Constituent Assembly, on the reports made by the various Committees appointed by it such as the Union Powers Committee, the Union Constitution Committee, the Provincial Constitution Committee and the Advisory Committee on Fundamental Rights, Minorities, Tribal Areas, etc. The Constituent Assembly had also directed that in certain matters the provisions contained in the Government of India Act, 1935, should be followed. ...I hope the Drafting Committee will be found to have faithfully carried out the directions given to it.

The Draft Constitution... is a formidable document. It contains 395 Articles

- Drafting Committee was appointed roughly \_\_\_\_ days after the Independence.
- The Assembly first appointed special committees on specific issues like, \_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_, and \_\_\_\_.
- The reports of these committees were discussed by the \_\_\_\_ and key decisions were taken by it.
- The \_\_\_\_ Committee headed by Dr. Ambedkar had to incorporate these decisions.
- The Draft also drew upon provisions of the \_\_\_\_ passed by the British Government.
- It was then made available to public for \_\_\_\_ months so that they could evaluate it and give their suggestions on it.
- In the Draft Constitution there were \_\_\_\_ Articles and \_\_\_\_ Schedules.

and 8 Schedules. It must be admitted that the Constitution of no country could be found to be so bulky as the Draft Constitution.

The Draft Constitution has been before the public for eight months. During this long time, friends, critics and adversaries have had more than sufficient time to express their reactions to the provisions contained in it.

Now, we will see how our Constitution draws from the experiences of other nations with regard to political organisation. In this presentation

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, the chairperson highlights the process of borrowing from other Constitutions. As you read through them, try to identify the institutional structure for parliamentary government provided in the draft. Remember that this presentation was being made one year after attaining Independence.

### Parliamentary system

“A student of Constitutional Law, if a copy of a Constitution is placed in his hands is sure to ask two questions. Firstly, what is the form of Government that is envisaged in the Constitution; and secondly, what is the form of the Constitution? ...I will begin with the first of the two questions.

“In the Draft Constitution there is placed at the head of the Indian Union a functionary who is called the President of the Union. The title of this functionary reminds one of the President of the United States. But beyond identity of names there is nothing in common between the form of Government prevalent in America and the form of Government proposed under the Draft Constitution. The American form of Government is called the Presidential system of Government. What the Draft Constitution proposes is the Parliamentary system. The two are fundamentally different.

“Under the Presidential system of America, the President is the Chief head of the Executive. The administration is vested in him. Under the Draft Constitution the President occupies the same position as the King under the English Constitution. He is the head of the State but not of the Executive. He represents the Nation but does not rule the Nation. He is the symbol of the nation. His place in the administration is that of a ceremonial device or a seal by which the nation's decisions are made known. Under the American Constitution the President has under him Secretaries in charge of different Departments. In like manner the President of the Indian Union will have under him Ministers in charge of different Departments of administration. Here again there is a fundamental difference between the two. The President of the United States is not bound to accept any advice tendered to him by any of his Secretaries. The President of the Indian Union will be generally bound by the advice of his Ministers. He can do nothing contrary to their advice nor can he do any thing without their advice.



Fig 15.4: Dr. BR Ambedkar

- The powers given to Indian President are more similar to \_\_\_\_\_ of \_\_\_\_\_ than \_\_\_\_\_ of \_\_\_\_\_.
- Constituent Assembly visualised that the Indian President follows the advice of \_\_\_\_\_.
- What do you think was the difference between the position of the British King and the President of India?

The President of the United States can dismiss any Secretary at any time. The President of the Indian Union has no power to do so long as his Ministers command a majority in Parliament. ...”

## Federalism

“Two principal forms of the Constitution are known to history - one is called Unitary and the other Federal. The two essential characteristics of a Unitary Constitution are: (1) the supremacy of the Central Polity [the word polity means system of government or political organisation ] and (2) the absence of subsidiary Sovereign polities. Contrariwise, a Federal Constitution is marked: (1) by the existence of a Central polity and subsidiary polities side by side, and (2) by each being sovereign in the field assigned to it. In other words, Federation means the establishment of a Dual Polity [dual system of government central and state]. The Draft Constitution is, Federal Constitution in as much as it establishes what may be called a Dual Polity. This Dual Polity under the proposed Constitution will consist of the Union at the Centre and the States at the periphery each endowed with sovereign powers to be exercised in the field assigned to them respectively by the Constitution.

“This dual polity resembles the American Constitution. The American polity is also a dual polity, one of it is known as the Federal Government and the other States which correspond respectively to the Union Government and the State

- Under federal polity, there are more than one government and in the Indian context we have them at \_\_\_\_\_ and \_\_\_\_\_ levels. You belong to \_\_\_\_\_ state while you belong to \_\_\_\_\_ nation.
- Which type of Constitution gives more powers to the governments at the Centre?
- Which type of Constitution gives definite powers to both Central and State governments?
- In what ways are Indian states not “administrative units or agencies of the Union Government”?
- Why do you think did the framers of the Indian Constitution reject the idea of dual citizenship (of India and of the state)?

Governments of the Draft Constitution. Under the American Constitution the Federal Government is not a mere league of the States nor are the States administrative units or agencies of the Federal Government. In the same way the Indian Constitution proposed in the Draft Constitution is not a league of States nor are the States administrative units or agencies of the Union Government. Here, however, the similarities between the Indian and the American Constitution come to an end. The differences that distinguish them are more fundamental and glaring than the similarities between the two. ...

“The proposed Indian Constitution is a dual polity with a single citizenship. There is only one citizenship for the whole of India. It is Indian citizenship. There is no State citizenship. Every Indian has the same rights of citizenship, no matter in what State he resides. ...

“There is another special feature of the proposed Indian Federation which distinguishes it from other federations. A Federation being a dual polity based on divided authority with separate legislative, executive and judicial powers for each of the two polities is bound to produce diversity in laws, in administration and in judicial protection. Up to a certain point this diversity does not matter. It may be welcomed as being an attempt to accommodate the powers of Government to local needs and local circumstances. But this very diversity when it goes beyond a certain point is capable of producing chaos and has produced chaos in many federal States. One has only to imagine twenty different laws - if we have twenty States in the Union - of marriage, of divorce, of inheritance of property, family relations, contracts, torts, crimes, weights and measures, of bills and cheques, banking and commerce, of procedures for obtaining justice and in the standards and methods of administration. Such a state of affairs not only weakens the State but becomes intolerant to the citizen who moves from State to State only to find that what is lawful in one State is not lawful in another. The Draft Constitution has sought to forge means and methods whereby India will have Federation and at the same time will have uniformity in all basic matters which are essential to maintain the unity of the country. The means adopted by the Draft Constitution are three

- (1) a single judiciary,
- (2) uniformity - in fundamental laws, civil and criminal, and
- (3) a common All-India Civil Service to man important posts.

“A dual judiciary, a duality of legal codes and a duality of civil services, as I said, are the logical consequences of a dual polity which is inherent in a federation. In the U. S. A. the Federal Judiciary and the State Judiciary are separate and independent of each other. The Indian Federation though a Dual Polity has no Dual Judiciary at all. The High Courts and the Supreme Court form one single integrated Judiciary having jurisdiction and providing remedies in all cases arising under the Constitutional law, the civil law or the criminal law. This is done to eliminate all diversity in all remedial procedures. Canada is the only country which furnishes a close parallel. The Australian system is only an approximation. [Explanation: In some federal countries, the Supreme court cannot over rule the judgements of the State courts relating to laws of the State. However, in India, the Supreme Court can hear appeals against the decision of any court and give judgement.]



*Fig 15.5 : An Aerial view of Republic Day from 1950's*

“Care is taken to eliminate all diversity from laws which are at the basis of civic and corporate life. The great Codes of Civil & Criminal Laws, such as the Civil Procedure Code, Penal Code, the Criminal Procedure Code, the Evidence Act, Transfer of Property Act, Laws

of Marriage, Divorce, and Inheritance, are either placed in the Concurrent List [or central list] so that the necessary uniformity can always be preserved without impairing the federal system.” [Explanation: The chapters on which law can be made are divided into Central list, State list, and Concurrent list. Only the Central government can make laws on the Central list and only the State Government can make the laws on the State list. Both the Central and the State Government can make laws on the Concurrent list. However, in case where a State makes a law contradictory, only the Central law will be valid.]

“The dual polity which is inherent in a federal system as I said is followed in all federations by a dual service. In all Federations there is a Federal Civil Service and a State Civil Service. The Indian Federation though a Dual Polity will have a Dual Service but with one exception. It is recognised that in every country there are certain posts in its administrative set up which might be called strategic from the point of view of maintaining the standard of administration. It may not be easy to spot such posts in a large and complicated machinery of administration. But there can be no doubt that the standard of administration depends upon the calibre of the Civil Servants who are appointed to these strategic posts. Fortunately for us we have inherited from the past system of administration which is common to the whole of the country and we know what these strategic posts are. The Constitution provides that without depriving the States of their right to form their own Civil Services there shall be an All India service recruited on an All- India basis with common qualifications, with uniform scale of pay and the members of which alone could be appointed to these strategic posts throughout the Union.” [Ambedkar is referring here to the creation of the Public

Service Commission (IAS, IPS ) through which most important officials are recruited both for the State and the Central Government.]

- Can you point out the main differences between Indian federalism and American federalism?
- Does the Indian Constitution allow the states to have their own civil servants (officers)?
- Are all officials of a state from the state's civil services?
- In America, the judiciary of the Central Government and the judiciary of the states are distinct and separate. In India, we have a judiciary in the centre and the states – Explain.

### Examples of critiquing in CA debates

There were many criticisms of the draft Constitution – some like Maulana Hasrat Mohani argued that Constitution is merely a copy of the 1935 Act. It was reminded that during the freedom movement when Cabinet Mission visited India, political groups like INC demanded Universal Adult Suffrage and opposed 1935 Act. People like Damodar Swarup Seth, a socialist, pointed out that draft does not adapt from more recent Constitutions of the time like Soviet Union and ignores the centrality of villages in the Indian context. D S Seth also argued that members of the CA were not elected by adult franchise. Let us read them.

D S Seth: “Sir, our Indian Republic should have been a Union - a Union of small autonomous republics. ...The Union that would have been formed in our country in this way, would not have required so much emphasis on centralisation as our learned Dr. Ambedkar has laid. Centralisation is a good thing and is useful at times but we forget that all through his life Mahatma Gandhi emphasised the fact that too much centralisation of power makes that power totalitarian and takes it towards fascist ideals. The only method of safeguarding against totalitarianism and fascism is that power should be decentralised to the greatest extent. We would have thus brought about such a centralisation of power through welding of heart as could not be matched anywhere in the world. But the natural consequence of centralising power by law will be that our country which has all along opposed Fascism - even today we claim to strongly oppose it - will gradually move towards Fascism. ...”

- How were the ideas of Seth and Draft Committee similar or different?
- Find out what form of autonomy is now being made available to villages after the 73<sup>rd</sup> amendment of the Constitution?

## Examples of Debate on Fundamental Rights

In the context of right to equality, it was decided to legally put an end to the practice of 'untouchability'. Let us read a part of the discussion on Fundamental Rights to understand the different view points.

Tuesday, the 29th April, 1947

Mr. President (The Hon'ble Dr. Rajendra Prasad) in the Chair.

Mr. Pramatha Ranjan Thakur: Sir, ... [A] point to which I wish to refer is in relation to clause 6 regarding 'untouchability' where it is said that-

"Untouchability in any form is abolished and the imposition of any disability only on that account shall be an offence."

I do not understand how you can abolish untouchability without abolishing the very caste system. Untouchability is nothing but the symptom of the disease, namely, the caste system... Unless we can do away with the caste system altogether there is no use tinkering with the problem of untouchability superficially.

S. C. Banerjee: Mr. President, the word 'untouchability' actually requires clarification. We have been accustomed to this word for the last 25 years, still there is a lot of confusion as to what it connotes. Sometimes it means merely taking a glass of water and sometimes it has been used in the sense of admission of 'Harijans' into temples, sometimes it meant inter-caste dinner, sometimes inter-caste marriage. Mahatma Gandhi who is the main exponent of 'untouchability', has used it in various ways and on different occasions with different meanings. So when we are going to use the word 'untouchability', we should be very clear in our mind as to what we really mean by it. What is the real implication of this word?

I think we should make no distinction between untouchability and caste distinction, because as Mr. Thakur has said, untouchability is merely a symptom, the root cause is caste distinction and unless and until the root cause, that is caste distinction is removed, untouchability in some form or other is bound to exist and when we are going to have an independent India, we should expect everyone to be enjoying equal social conditions.

Sri Rohini Kumar Chaudhury: ...[For] defining untouchability, it may be clearly stated that: 'Untouchability' means any act committed in exercise of discrimination on grounds of religion, caste or lawful vocation of life ...

Mr. K. M. Munshi: Sir, I oppose this amendment. The definition is so worded that if it is accepted, it will make any discrimination even on the ground of place of birth or caste or even sex 'untouchability'.



- What are the differences of opinion that are being raised in the above debate?
- If you were given the choice to participate in the debate, what solution would you suggest?
- Do you think it was a good idea to leave the term undefined in the Constitution? Give reasons for your argument.
- Do you agree with the view that the Constitution should have put an end to all aspects of the caste system instead of just ending untouchability? How do you think could it have been done?

Mr. Dharendra Nath Datta : Sir, it seems to me that whether the definition suggested by Mr. Rohini Kumar Chaudhury is accepted or not, it is necessary that there should be some definition put in. Here it is said that 'untouchability' in any form is an offence. A magistrate or a judge dealing with offences shall have to look to the definition. One magistrate will consider a particular thing to be untouchability, while another magistrate may hold a different thing to be untouchability, with the result there will be no

uniformity on the part of the magistracy in dealing with offences. It will be very difficult for the judge to decide cases.

Moreover, untouchability means different things in different areas. In Bengal, untouchability means one thing, while in other provinces, it means an entirely different thing.

Mr. President, ... I take it that the Union legislature will define the word 'untouchability' so that the courts might prescribe proper punishment.

[Eventually, it was decided to leave the definition of untouchability out of the Constitution and leave it to the legislature to make appropriate laws in the future.]

### Constitution and 'social engineering'

The makers of Indian Constitution confronted the fact that Indian society was ridden with inequality, injustice and deprivation and was a victim of colonial policies which had exploited its economy. Thus, the Constitution had to facilitate social change and development. Jawaharlal Nehru said that the Constituent Assembly represents "the nation on a move throwing away the shell of its past political and possibly social structure and fashioning for itself a new garment in its own making".

The Constitution thus has many provisions facilitating social change. You have read about abolition of Untouchability. The best example of this is the provision for reservations for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the Constitution. The makers of the Constitution believed that the mere granting of the right to equality was not enough to overcome age-old injustices suffered by these groups or to give real meaning to their right to vote. Special constitutional measures were required to advance their interests. Therefore, the constitution makers provided a number of special measures to protect the interests of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes

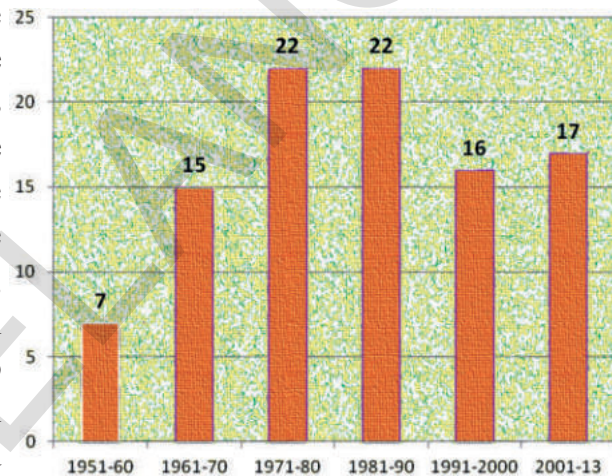
such as the reservation of seats in legislatures. The Constitution also made it possible for the government to reserve public sector jobs for these groups.

The Constitution also has in it the “Directive Principles of State Policy” which sets out the main social systems before the government. One important aspect of the social engineering is the problem of the right of minorities. The sad experience of suppression of Jewish minority in Nazi Germany weighed in the minds of the Constitution makers. They decided to give special protection to the minority community so that they don’t feel marginalised by the majority. One such right is the right of religious minorities to run their own educational institutions. Such institutions may even receive government funds.

## The Constitution Today

The Constitutional makers were aware that laws will have to be amended from time to time. Thus, it laid down the provisions for amending the laws and the articles in the Constitution as well. Often laws can be made with approval of more than half the members in legislative houses. However, amending the articles in the Constitution can be initiated only by the Parliament. It also needs the approval of 2/3rd members in both the houses of parliament - Rajya Sabha and Lok Sabha. And some articles may be amended only with acceptance (or ratification) from the state legislature as well. It is further necessary that the President of the country also approves the new amendment bill like other laws.

Some major changes in the Constitution were made during 1970s. The first among them is inclusion of two words into the Preamble of the Constitution “Secular” and “Socialist”. Many words in the preamble like “Equality”, “Liberty”, “Justice” etc emphasised the values of secularism and socialism and hence, these words were added. The second major event in the life of Indian Constitution has been a Supreme Court judgement popularly known as Keshavanada Bharati case. It was argued here that certain provisions in the Indian Constitution cannot be changed under any circumstances. One among them is the Fundamental Right. In the judgement on Keshavanada Bharati case, Supreme Court argued that there are certain basic principles upon which the nation continues to exist. While there have been different



Graph 1 : Since the Constitution was Came into force on 26th January 1950 till 2013 nearly 99 amendments were made.

- What are the examples and explanations that you can identify with basic features of Indian Constitution?

opinions on what constitutes the basic principles, a common listing could include the following: Form of the government; federal character; supremacy of the Constitution; sovereignty of the nation; provisions for justice and welfare state etc.

### Keywords

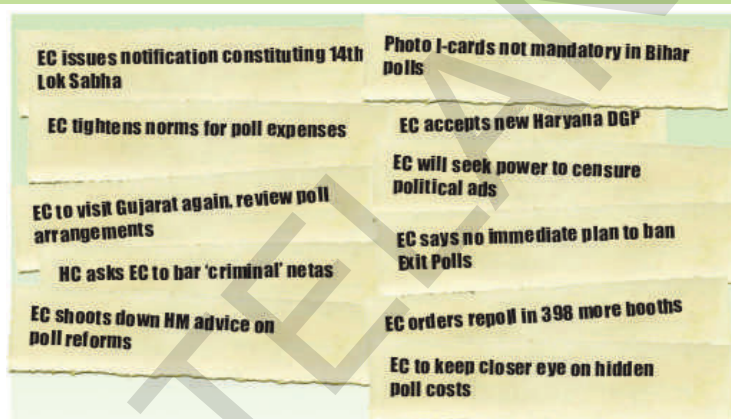
Drafting committee	Constituent Assembly	Preamble
Concurrent list	Unitary and Federal principles	Citizenship
Presidential and Parliamentary system		Amendment

### Improve your learning

- Find the odd one out: (AS<sub>1</sub>)
  - Indian Constitution adopts from experiences of freedom struggle
  - Indian Constitution adopts from already existing constitutions
  - Indian Constitution has remained the same since its drafting
  - Indian Constitution provides principles and provisions for ruling the country
- Correct the false statements: (AS<sub>1</sub>)
  - There was unanimity of opinion on all provisions during CA debates
  - The makers of Constitution represented only certain regions of the country
  - Constitution provides certain provisions to amend articles in it
  - Supreme Court of India has said that basic features of Constitution may also be amended
- Describe the unitary and federal principles of Indian government as discussed in the CA debates. (AS<sub>1</sub>)
- How does the Constitution reflect the political events of the time? Draw from previous chapters on freedom struggle. (AS<sub>1</sub>)
- What difference would it have made to the making of our Constitution if the Assembly had been elected through universal adult franchise? (AS<sub>1</sub>)
- Write a short note on basic principles of Indian Constitution. (AS<sub>1</sub>)
- How has the Constitution defined and changed political institutions in the country? (AS<sub>1</sub>)
- While Constitution provides basic principles it is the engagement of people with the system that brings in social change. Do you agree with this statement, give reasons. (AS<sub>1</sub>)
- Locate the following on the map of the world. (AS<sub>5</sub>)
  - Nepal
  - Japan
  - Delhi
  - USA
- Observe the Bar graph given in page 230 and answer the following questions. (AS<sub>3</sub>)
  - In which year the most number of constitutional amendments took place?
  - How many more number of amendments took place in the decade 1971-80 when compared to 1961-70?
- Prepare a pamphlet on the implementation of equality in your school. (AS<sub>6</sub>)

## The Election Process in India

Why are elections necessary in the democracy ? In this lesson we would learn about the setup and mechanism to conduct elections, what powers that setup has and what measures it takes from time to time. We even analyse the democratic, smooth and fair manner in which the elections are conducted. We even assess the role of Election Commission in conducting the elections. We discuss the reforms that are suitable to the present day situation to improve the prestige of Democracy.



Read these headlines carefully from newspapers during the time of elections. Whose powers are indicated in the lines? What might be the main objectives? Discuss.

### Election System in India

In a vast country like India which has an enormous population, it is never possible for all the people to gather and take decisions. So, the need for elections arise. India is the largest democratic country in the world. Since independence, a strong basis for democratic values was laid, by the elections.

The Election Commission of India conducts elections in our country. This Commission frames a Code of Conduct to the political parties. It declares the results of the elections and submits to the central or state authority concerned. By this, it becomes easy to form the government.

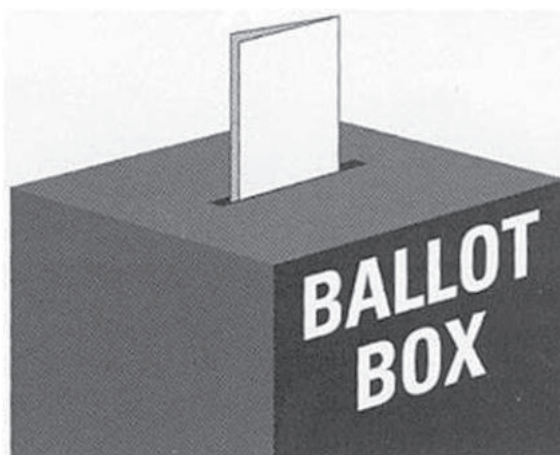


Fig: 16.1 Ballot Box

## The Election Commission of India

The Election Commission of India came into existence on 25 January 1950. This is an autonomous constitutional body. With its authority, it prepares electoral roles and conducts elections to Lok Sabha, Rajya Sabha, State legislative bodies, the President and the Vice President.



*Fig 16.2: Office of the Election Commission, India*

By the completion of 60 years on 25 January 2010, the Election Commission of India celebrated Diamond Jubilee and announced 25 January 2011 as 1st Voters Day.

### Autonomous status for Election Commission

It is very difficult to conduct elections in India because of a huge population. During the British rule, only 14% of the population had right to vote in the elections. At the time of first General Elections in 1952, there were 17.32 crore voters. At present, the number of voters is above 67 crores. For such a country, the Election Commission conducts elections with the help of about 45 lakh staff.



*Fig 16.3: Election Commission logo*

The Central Election Commission has no separate staff to conduct the elections. As per the article 324(6) of the Constitution, with the permission of the President of India and the Governors of the states, it utilises the services of central and state government employees. During such times, the Election Commission has a complete control over the government employees. Without the prior permission of the central Election Commission, the staff can neither be transferred nor be given promotions.

## The Chief Election Commissioner

The Chief Election Commissioner is the head of the Election Commission of India. The constitution guarantees certain powers to the Chief Election Commissioner to conduct elections for central and state legislatures in a smooth and a fair manner. Usually, he/she is from Indian Civil Services. His/her tenure is 6 years or upto 65 years of age, whichever is earlier.

Earlier, the Election Commission of India had only one Election Commissioner. A three member commission has come into existence from 1993 with one Chief Election Commissioner and two Election Commissioners.

In Indian political system, the Election Commission has been playing an important role. After T.N. Seshan (1990 -

1996) assumed the office, the Election Commission earned a considerable popularity. He took much initiation for the eradication of corruption in the elections of India. There was a nationwide recognition to the powers of the Election Commission.



Collect the information of other autonomous bodies in India.

There is no difference among the Chief Election Commissioner and other Election Commissioners as to their salary, privileges/ designation and powers are concerned. Usually, the decisions are taken unanimously or else taken by a majority vote.

### Recommendations of T.N. Seshan

- \* 14 days time limit for campaigning after the date of withdrawal of nominations.
- \* One candidate should not contest from more than two constituencies at a time.
- \* If any candidate is punished for two years, he/she is barred from contesting elections for the next six years.
- \* If the contesting candidate expires, the election shall be postponed but not to be abolished.
- \* After completion of campaign time, sale of liquor shall be banned for 48 hours.

### Functions of the Election Commission

Article 324 to 329, part 15 of the constitution states the formation, powers and functions of the Election Commission. The constitution gives some powers to

the Election Commission to conduct elections. The functions are classified as

Initially, the constitution of India declared 21 years as the voting age. But in 1988, 61st amendment was passed and this was reduced to 18 years of age.



1. Administrative functions
2. Advisory functions and
3. Quasi judicial functions.

Under these functions, the Election Commission prepares electoral rolls, revises them in due time, demarcation of constituencies and their territorial limit as per the Delimitation Commission. It announces the schedule of elections, receives nominations, scrutinises, finalises the polling dates, gives recognition to the political parties and allots the symbols to them. It frames and implements the code of conduct to be followed by the parties during elections. It appoints the enquiry officers to observe electoral mall practices.

It advises the President and the Governors of the states regarding the disqualification of the representatives to the parliament and the state legislatures. It solves the disputes between parties. At this time, it acts like a Quasi judicial authority.

As per the guidelines issued by the Election Commission of India, all the people who attain the age of 18 years on or before the 1st January in the year of elections irrespective of caste, creed, religion, gender, language etc., shall be registered as the voters. The right to vote without any discrimination is called as “universal adult franchise”. The body of voters is called as an ‘Electorate’.

### Political parties in Elections

A political party is formed when it has a written code of conduct and registers at the Election Commission. The party symbols can be allotted by the Elections Commission based on the mandet in the elections, parties are declared by Elections Commission regional or national parties. In a state, if a party wins 3% of valid votes are 3 Assembly seats, it is declarad as a regional party. A party can be recognized in more than one state. If a party is

Collect symbols of some national parties and state parties.

recognized in four states with 6% of valid votes or 11 Lok sabha M.P. seats from 4 different states, it is called a national party.

### **Elections - The code of conduct**

The Election Commission announces the schedule of election.

Since then, the model code of conduct comes into effect. According to this, all the people and the candidates contesting the elections shall abide by the rules and regulations of the Election Commission. Violation of these rules and regulations is treated as malpractices for which disciplinary action shall be initiated.

### **Key points of Code of Conduct**

1. The contesting candidates and political parties shall not make any statements pertaining to caste, creed, religion, or regional, while criticizing other parties.
2. No personal comments shall be made that are not relevant to political life.
3. No political announcements targeting a caste or religion shall be made.
4. In places, such as churches, mosques, temples, other holy places, educational institutions, no candidate should canvas/campaign.
5. No candidates shall influence the voters either by giving cash or any articles.
6. No voter shall be used to cast his/her vote in other's identity.
7. No campaigning within 100 mtrs on the day of polling.
8. There should be no campaigning after or before the permitted hours.
9. No political party shall either get voters to the polling station or drop the voters from the polling station.
10. Every one has the right to lead a peaceful life. Taking out rallies in the residential areas and picketing is against the rules.
11. Hosting party flags, tying banners and writing on the walls, pasting posters on the houses are not allowed without permission.

A few people and some organisations have approached the court on the model code of conduct.

### **Conducting Rallies and Public Gatherings**

1. The political parties shall obtain prior permission from the local police to conduct public gathering. They should inform the police about the place of gathering and it's time. So that the police could make arrangements to protect law and



\* Find out if any disciplinary action was taken against any candidate for violating the code of conduct.

\* Find out if any candidate was found guilty by the judiciary and disqualified from the elections or any political portfolio.

order and regularize the traffic movement.

2. The contesting candidates shall find out if any prior instructions are there in the place where they are planning to hold public gathering while entering the prohibited areas shall strictly follow the rules.
3. They must take prior permission to use loudspeakers. If any one obstructs to the conduct of public gathering, they shall not directly attack instead inform the police.

- Should political parties campaign through public meetings and rallies only or are there any other ways?

### On the day of Polling

1. The polling personnel shall make all the arrangements to the voters to cast their vote in a democratic and peaceful atmosphere.
2. Leaders of all political parties shall cooperate the polling staff to discharge their duties.
3. The polling agents sitting in the polling booths shall be issued identify cards. The names or the party symbol shall not be on these cards.
4. The campaigning should end before 48 hours of polling day. SMS's also prohibited, alcohol shall not be distributed.
5. Neither the contesting candidate nor the supporters shall gather in large number near the polling booths.
6. There shall not be any posters, flags, symbols and election material in the camps. Any kind food shall not be kept in the camps.



*Fig 16.8: Voters in Queue*

### Elections - Court Judgments:

\* In 2013, in the case of Dr. Subramanya swamy, the Supreme Court stated that the voting machines shall allow the voter to verify that their vote was cast correctly. The Voter Verified Paper Audit Trail (VVPAT) shall enable the notes to get the feedback to whom he/she has caste vote.

\* In 2013, in the case of Peoples Union of Civil Liberties, the Supreme Court stated that the voter has the liberty to cast his/her vote against all the contesting candidates. To implement this judgment the Election Commission of India has inserted "NOTA".

\* In 2013, in the case of Peoples Union of Civil Liberties, the Supreme Court stated that the contesting candidates either parliament as to the state legislature bodies, shall compulsory declare the details regarding, his/her crime record, spouse, children's, assets/liabilities, educational qualifications.

## Ruling party at the time of elections

There is a chance to the ruling party to influence the voters by misusing the power. In order to check this, the Election Commission has laid down some rules and regulations. They are:

1. The ruling party leaders shall not misuse the power, they should not use bureaucracy for party related works.
2. Their official visits and party related visits shall not be mingled.
3. They should not use government vehicles for campaigning.
4. If more than three security vehicles are used in campaigning, it should be shown in poll expenditure
5. The movement the election schedule is issued, the election expenditure will come into force.
6. The public properties like government buildings, offices, places shall not be used for campaigning by any party.
7. No advertisements of the government schemes shall be given either in print media or in electronic media.
8. Before giving announcements on TV, the political parties shall obtain permission of the Election Commission.
9. After the election notification is issued, the ruling government shall not release any grants, make payments, issue new schemes. They should not start any new projects or give any kind of promise.

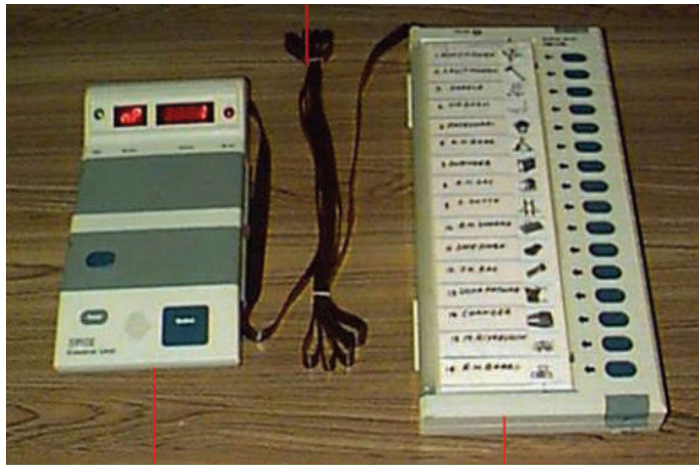
### Voters' pledge

we the citizens of India, having abiding faith in democracy, here by pledge to uphold the democratic traditions of our country and the dignity of free and fair peaceful elections, and to vote in every elections, fearlessly and without being influenced by considerations of religion, race, caste, community, language or any inducement.

## Conduct of elections at various levels

The Chief Electoral Officer at the state level assists the Election Commission of India. He/She is appointed by the Election Commission of India, after consulting the state government concerned. This post doesn't have a constitutional status. Generally, the senior most IAS officer shall be appointed. The elections to the parliament and state assembly in the state are held under his/her monitoring. At the district level, the District Collector acts as the Chief Election Officer.

To conduct and monitor elections in every constituency, an officer is appointed. He/she is called as the "Returning Officer". The candidates, who registered their names in the voters' list, are eligible and have zeal to be elected as representatives submit their nomination papers to the Returning Officer. Their nominations must be supported by at least one registered elector of the constituency. If a candidate is sponsored by a registered party, he/she is called the party candidate. The others are called the independents.



*Fig 16.9: Control Unit, Ballot Unit*

The Returning Officer scrutinizes the nominations and announces the eligible contesting candidate's list. The contesting candidates are given the option to withdraw their nominations within the specified period. Later the Returning Officer shall declare the final list of contesting candidates in the constituency. The party candidates are allotted the party symbol and the independent

candidates will be allotted the symbols available at that time. After this, the names and symbols of the contesting candidates are entered into EVM's (Electronic Voting Machine). The same procedure is followed for conducting elections to the Parliament, state assemblies and local self - governing bodies.

### Voting Mechanism

The Chief Election Officers in the districts make elaborate arrangements to conduct the polls. They depute polling personnel as Presiding Officer and polling officers to every polling booth to conduct the polls. The Election Commission appoints observers to monitor the polls on the polling day. On the day of the poll, all the voters whose names are enrolled in the electoral list are allowed to cast their votes. Polling agents assist the polling staff to identify the voters, who are appointed by the contesting candidates. Indelible ink is applied to the left forefinger before they cast their vote. In case, EVM is not there, Swastik mark (卐) shall be applied on the ballot paper folded in the proper manner and put in the ballot box.



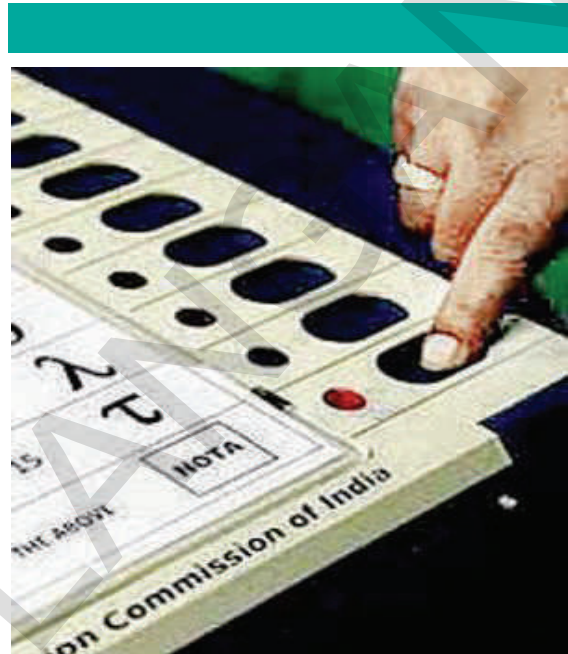
*Fig 16.10: Staff, discharging duties in polling booth*

After the completion of polling, EVMs or ballot boxes are sealed and brought to the counting centres. Counting of the votes takes place at the counting centres. The candidate who secures highest number of votes is declared as elected.

**General Elections** are conducted for every 5 years at national/state level. Before completion of 5 years tenure, if the elections are held for either Assemblies or Parliament are called '**mid term elections**'. The elections are conducted for one or more vacancies are termed as "**By-Elections**".

### Vote to reject – NOTA (None Of The Above)

On the basis of the judgment given by the Supreme Court in **2013** in the case of Peoples Union of Civil Liberties, NOTA is introduced. The Supreme Court stated that NOTA is a part of the freedom of expression. NOTA was first introduced as an option in the state assembly elections held in Delhi, Mizoram, Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh and Chattisgarh in 2013. NOTA is an option only. It does not affect either the winning or the losing capability of the candidates. Even though the highest number of votes are polled for NOTA, the candidate who secures second position would be declared win.



*Fig 16.11: NOTA Symbol*

### The need for Electoral reforms

India is the second most populous country in the world. It is a magnum opus task to conduct elections in our country. Every political party promises to give good governance, socio - economic equality, and the eradication of poverty. But few corrupted politicians, those who have criminal background adopt illegal practices to manage the voters. These practices are making fun of the democracy.

Even though there are some problems in the democratic process, many examples of sincere and dedicated politicians made our democracy proud.

- Suggest a few measures for better democracy and ethical governance.
- If only one family enjoys the reservation in elections, how can the other members belong to the same community get the opportunity? Discuss your opinion.
- If a candidate spends a lot of money and wins the elections, how will his/her thought process be? If the voters take money to cast their votes, do they have a moral right to question their elected representatives for their problems? Discuss.

## Postal Ballot

The polling staff who have deputed for polling duties responsibilities, they have no scope to cast their vote because they will be deputed for polling duties to other stations rather than their working place. To avoid this the Election Commission facilitated with “postal ballot”. It means, those who are deputed for election duties, they utilize their right to vote, before the commencement of the polling date with ballot paper. The election authorities send the Postal ballot to the voter’s respective places with special facility.

### **The Election Notification for these two Assembly seats is cancelled:**

New Delhi: For the first time in the history of Election Commission, it cancelled the notification that it released earlier. The EC had cancelled the polls of Aravakurichi, Tanjavur constituencies “By-Elections” in Tamilnadu, after the allegations of large sums of money is being distributed. So the elections on 16th May 2016 have been postponed by the Election Commission.

### Keywords

- 1) Vote      2) Code of Conduct    3) EVM      4) Constituency    5) NOTA

### Improve your learning

- 1) How can you say that right to vote plays a key role in democracy?(AS1)
- 2) Estimate the role of Election Commission in India. (AS1)
- 3) Define the functions of the Election Commission. (AS1)
- 4) What is the necessity of model code of conduct in a democracy? (AS1)
- 5) Our responsibility does not end with casting the vote. To protect the democracy, we should always be alert. Support.(AS1)
- 6) Have you ever observed any malpractices in the elections of your area? Which rule of Code of Conduct was violated?(AS4)
- 7) Read the paragraph under “Need for election reforms “ and comment. (AS2)
- 8) Prepare a pamphlet creating awareness about the importance of voting.(AS6)

### Project

- Collect the information of ideal politicians who have sacrificed their lives for the nation? What do we learn from their lives?
- Collect the information, create a table and analyse the results of Lok Sabha elections held recently.

## Independent India (The First 30 years - 1947-77)

On the 26th of January 1950, we are going to enter into a life of contradictions. In politics we will have equality and in social and economic life we will have inequality. In politics we will be recognising the principle of one man one vote and one vote one value. In our social and economic life, we shall, by reason of our social and economic structure, continue to deny the principle of one man one value. How long shall we continue to live this life of contradictions? How long shall we continue to deny equality in our social and economic life? If we continue to deny it for long, we will do so only by putting our political democracy in peril. We must remove this contradiction at the earliest possible moment or else those who suffer from inequality will blow up the structure of political democracy which this Assembly has so laboriously built up.

- B R Ambedkar

In the 15<sup>th</sup> chapter, we read about how the Constitution of India was made. The Constitution sought to fulfill multiple goals simultaneously, including making democracy work, unification and creation of a single political community and bringing about massive social and economic changes. The setting of national goals and putting in place institutional mechanisms to achieve them within a relatively short span of time was undoubtedly a great achievement for a people who had been ruled by foreign power for more than two centuries.

The early years after independence are arguably the defining period in India's post-independent history. The main challenge before the leadership was the need to maintain unity and integrity, bring about a social and economic transformation and to ensure the successful working of the democratic system. These challenges are interrelated and great care had to be taken to ensure that the system did not get imbalanced. For instance, developmental goals, unity and integrity should not come at the cost of democracy. In this chapter, we will examine three interrelated issues including how the Constitution and democracy worked and how India resolved some key issues of nation building.

- In your opinion, have we been able to achieve social equality: think of instances that you would identify as examples of social equality and inequality.

## First General Elections

The first general elections to be held under the new Constitution were immensely significant for Indian democracy. It represented India's determination to take the path of democracy after independence from British rule. India adopted Universal Adult franchise at one go, unlike in the West where franchise was extended in stages, first to the propertied and only subsequently to other sections of society. For instance, women in Switzerland got the right to vote only in 1971.



*Fig 17.1 : Voting in first general elections*

- How do you think does illiteracy affect elections, especially when it comes to exercising the choice of voting? How do you think can this problem be solved?
- Could we have considered that our country was democratic if all the people did not have voting rights?
- Given the literacy rate of women being low, if women were not allowed to vote how would it affect our policies?
- Being able to conduct regular elections can be considered a clear sign of being able to establish democracy. Do you agree with this statement? Give reasons.

The first elections were difficult because of the social dimensions also. A large section of the population did not know how to read and write. How were they going to indicate their choice? In some parts of the country, women were known by their father's or husband's name, they did not have an independent identity. This had to change if women were to have equal rights and take the country towards greater social equality. How were electoral rolls to be made? An Election Commission was set up to take care of the practical matters of conducting elections across the length and breadth of the country.

To overcome the problem of illiteracy, the Election Commission came up with a novel idea of having symbols from everyday life to represent political parties and candidates. This creative innovation dispensed with elaborate instructions and required only visual identification. This basic idea continues even today. To make it even easier, in the first election each candidate had a separate ballot box with the symbol stuck outside; the voter only had to drop their ballot paper in the box of their preferred candidate. In the run up to the elections, there was a massive campaign to encourage the voters to go out and vote.

### Description of Elections

In districts where purdah was strictly observed, separate voting booths, staffed entirely by women were usually provided.

In Ajmer, a Rajput woman arrived at the polls in a heavily veiled chariot, her whole body was draped in velvet. The only part she exposed to the public gaze was the left forefinger which, as was required to prevent repeated voting, she extended to be marked with indelible ink.

Some villages voted as body. From Assam came the report of a tribal village whose members journeyed to the polling station the day before voting was to take place. They spent the night dancing and singing around large bonfires until sun-up when they marched to the booths in orderly fashion.

The people of PEPSU (Patiala and East Punjab States Union) region solved the problem of which of the two rival candidates to support by arranging a wrestling match between two of their young men, each named to represent a candidate, having agreed that all would vote for the candidate whose representative won.

Many offerings were brought, petitions professing loyalty or begging for food and clothing were sometimes found when ballot boxes were opened.

(Extracts from “The Indian Experience with Democratic Elections” 1958 by Margaret W. Fisher and Joan V. Bondurant, Indian Press Digests.)

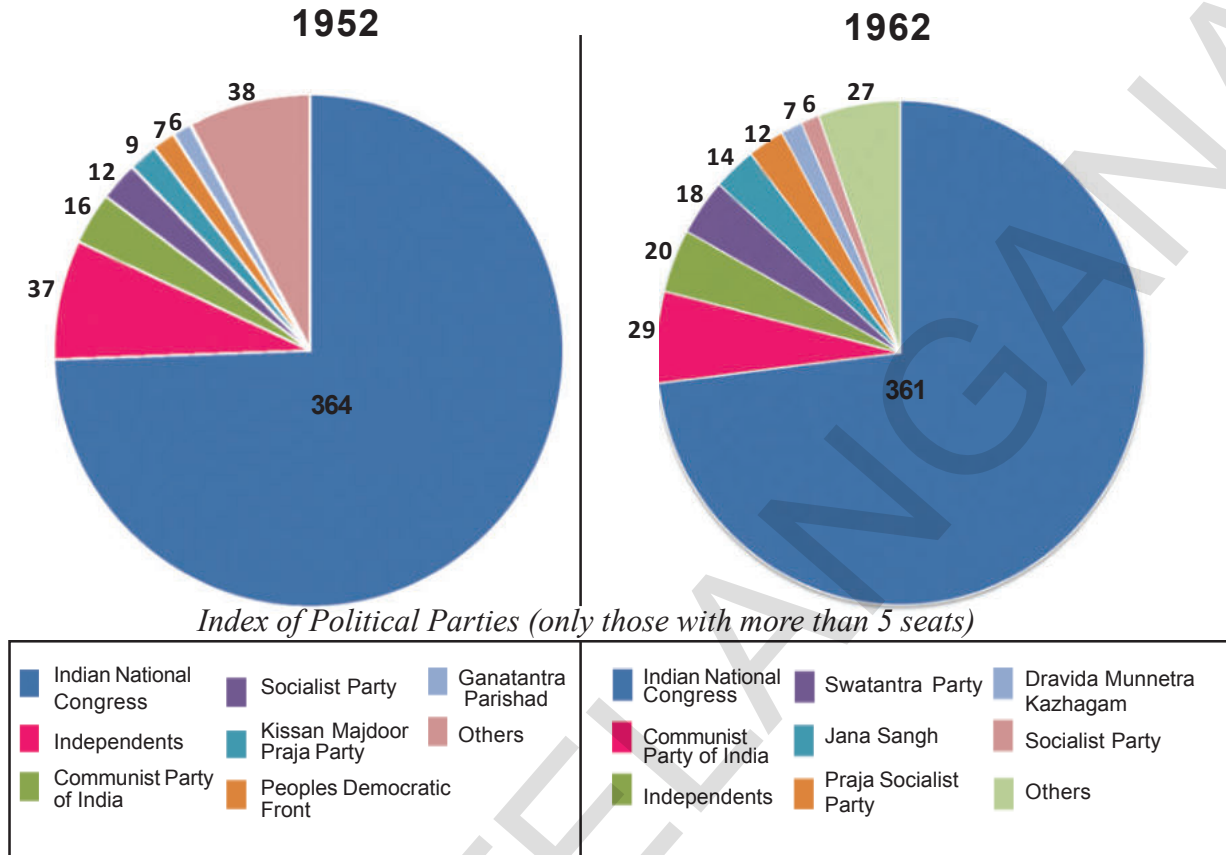
### OneParty Dominance in Political System

In Independent India's first three general elections in 1952, 1957 and 1962, the Indian National Congress won reducing other participants to almost nothing. Jawaharlal Nehru became the first Prime Minister of India. None of the other parties individually got more than 11% of the votes polled. The Congress consistently won over 70% of the seats by obtaining about 45% of the total votes cast. No other party was anyway near the Congress.

The Congress party formed the government in many of the states as well. This inaugurated what some observers called the Congress System. This period is identified specifically by the nature of the relationship between the almost always ruling Congress party and the other parties. However, the Congress always had smaller groups within it. Though these groups originated on the basis of personal competition between leaders, they shared in the overall goals of the party but differed on some policy issues.

The groups took different positions on various issues depending on the interests of the members. This made the Congress appear as if it was a party representing diverse interests and positions. At times, these groups also tied up with other political parties to pressurise the leadership. This also acted as an inbuilt corrective mechanism within the ruling party. Political competition in the one-party dominant system therefore took place within the Congress and the opposition parties only posed a latent and not a real threat.

Graph 1 : Seat Share of various political parties in 1952 and 1962



It was therefore not an undemocratic situation marked by the absence of other political parties. It was that other parties contested but were not able to win enough seats to challenge the Congress. However other political parties gradually built themselves and within a couple of decades became strong contenders for power. This period, to a large extent helped nurture democracy in its early years allowing the establishment of a multi-party system based on free and open competition.

It was the strength of the Constitutional framework and the democratic foundations laid by the freedom movement which enabled Indian politics to develop a multiparty democracy. Ruling parties have often acted in a partisan manner to silence the opposition and prevent multiparty democracy from striking roots.

- Summarise the features that could explain the Congress was able to dominate the political system.

India's experience, was therefore, very different from that of other colonial countries which got freedom around the same time like Indonesia, Pakistan, China, Nigeria and so on.

## Demand for State Reorganisation

Among the first challenges that the new nation faced was the demand for reorganisation of states on the basis of language. During the British period, the country was divided into Presidencies (Calcutta, Madras and Bombay) and a number

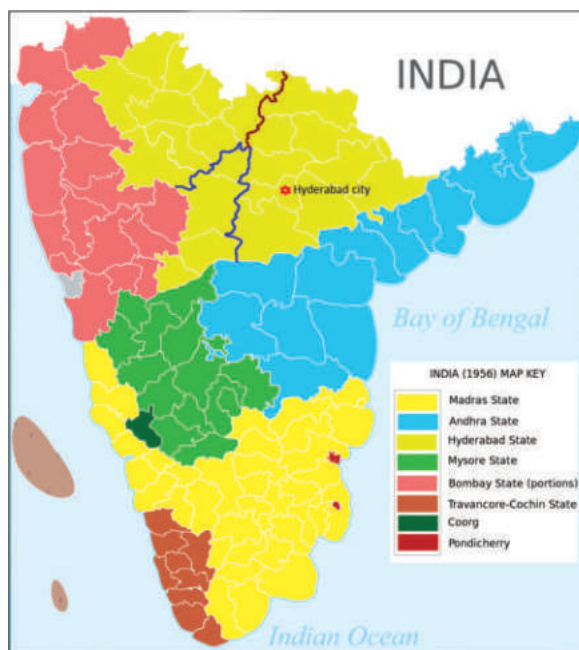
of very large states like Central Provinces and Berar. A large part of the country was under princely states. In each of these, people speaking many different languages were living together. For example, Madras Presidency had in it people speaking Tamil, Malayalam, Kannada, Telugu, Gondi and Oriya languages. All the people speaking a language and living in contiguous areas demanded to be organised under one state. These included the campaign for Samyukta Karnataka (uniting Kannada speakers spread across Madras, Mysore, Bombay and Hyderabad), Samyukta Maharashtra, the Mahagujarat movement, the merger of Travancore and Cochin princely states and the state of Punjab for Sikhs. Would agreeing to these demands help to build the unity of the country or would it lead to the breaking of the country along linguistic lines was the main concern?

The partition of the country on the basis of religion had created doubts and fears about the security and stability of India in the minds of the leadership. There was a fear that language reorganisation would lead to break down of the country. Hence, even though the Congress itself was organised on the linguistic lines and had promised to restructure the country on those lines, it developed cold feet when independence came.

The most vigorous of all the movements was that of the Telugu speakers which called upon the Congress to implement the old resolutions in favour of linguistic states. The Andhra Mahasabha had been active even during the British rule and was attempting to bring together the Telugu speaking people in the Madras presidency. This movement continued even after independence. The methods used included petitions, representations, street marches and fasts. Given the Congress opposition to this demand, the party did badly in the Telugu speaking areas in the first elections. The seats went to parties who supported the linguistic movement.



*Fig 17.2 : Jawaharlal Nehru inaugurating a road in early 1950s*



*Map 1 : A graphic representation of various regions in the southern peninsula before State reorganisation.*

Jawaharlal Nehru was not opposed to linguistic states; he only believed that this was not the right time for it. It was also the consensual position among the leaders of the day. They believed that India was in the process of consolidating itself and there should be no distraction.

### **State Reorganisation Act, 1956**

Potti Sriramulu who demanding the formation of a separate Telugu speaking state began a hunger strike. In 15<sup>th</sup> December 1952, he died after 58 days of fasting. Potti Sriramulu's death was a turning point. Consequently, the states of Andhra State and Tamil Nadu were created. In August 1953, the States Reorganisation Commission (SRC) was appointed, with Fazl Ali, K. M. Panikkar and Hridaynath Kunzru as members, to address the issue of formation of states on the basis of the linguistic principle. On the basis of its report in 1956, the States Reorganisation Act was passed in parliament. This led to the creation of 14 states and six union territories. It should be noted that when the linguistic states were being formed, the tribal languages like Gondi and Santhali or Oraon were not taken into account;

- Do you think that the unity of India would have been better served if linguistic states were not formed?
- Why do you think were the tribal languages were ignored at this time?
- Do you know how many states and Union territories are there in India today?
- Which are the newest states of India and when were they created?

only languages like Tamil or Telugu spoken by dominant or powerful populations were considered.

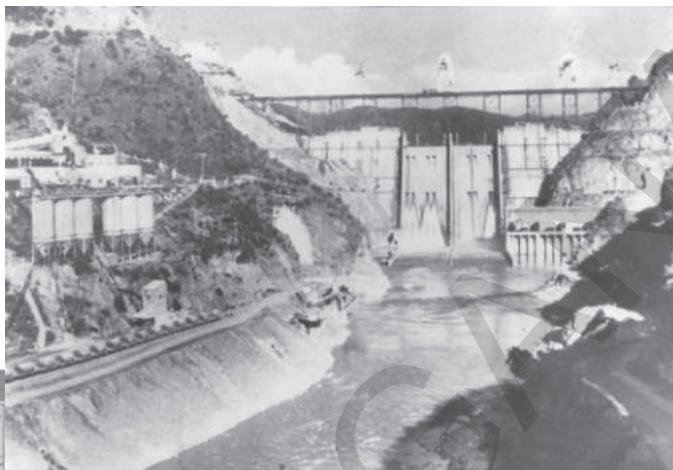
The creation of linguistic states was an example of how popular will triumphed and also showed how politics resolved a problem. Looking back today, linguistic reorganisation actually helped consolidate India and did not necessarily weaken India as expected.

### **Social and Economic Change**

The Constituent Assembly had called for social, economic and political justice and equality of status and opportunity, it put social and economic change at the top of the agenda of modern India. The Planning Commission was set up after the inauguration of the new Constitution. For Nehru, planning was not only about good economics but good politics as well. He hoped that planned development would dissolve the divisions of caste and religion, community and region as well as other disruptive and disintegrative tendencies and help India to emerge as a strong and modern nation.

The First Five Year Plan focussed on agriculture and stressed on the need for increasing food production, development of transport and communications and the provision of social services. It also stressed the need to industrialise India as quickly as possible. Given that food was a basic requirement, there was a consensus on increasing food production but there was no agreement on how this should be

*Fig 17.3 Bhakra Dam under construction during 1960. This was one among the first dams India built after Independence. (below) Image of an adult literacy class from early decades. Discuss how different ideas of development or changes in society are reflected with these projects.*



achieved. The two main questions that divided political opinion were: What place agriculture should have in the larger development strategy? How should resources be allocated between industry and agriculture?

For Nehru, agricultural transformation was not simply an economic issue, but a political, social and economic transformation of the rural sector. The strategy favoured by Nehru and finally adopted included three components: land reforms, agricultural cooperatives and local self-government. Three types of land reforms were contemplated: abolition of Zamindari system, tenancy reform and land ceilings. The primary aim of all these was to ensure that the land went to the hands of the actual tiller and this was to be an incentive for them to produce more. Cooperatives were to bring economies of scale and also provide valuable inputs like seeds, manure, fertilisers and so on. Local self-government would ensure that the land reforms were carried out and the cooperatives run according to the collective interests of the village.

Land reforms were however implemented in a half hearted manner across India. While Zamindari system was abolished, redistribution of land to the landless did not take place. The rich and powerful in the rural areas continued to control most of the land. The dalits continued to be landless but benefitted from the abolition of forced labour and abolition of untouchability.

The First Five Year Plan focussed on improving agriculture by building large dams to irrigate and produce electricity. Dams benefitted both the agriculture and the industrial sector. Though there was an increase in agricultural production, it was still not sufficient to meet the needs of the population.

The planners felt that for the country to develop, it was essential to develop industries so that more people can shift to towns to work in factories and in the service sector. Hence, from the Second Five Year Plan onwards, the emphasis shifted to industries. You would have read about these aspects of economic development of India in the earlier classes.

## Foreign Policy and Wars

When India became independent, the Cold War had just begun and the world was being polarised into countries in the US or USSR camp. Jawaharlal Nehru followed a policy of not joining either camp and tried to maintain an equidistant and independent position in foreign policy. He also joined hands with several other countries that had become independent around the same time and wanted to follow

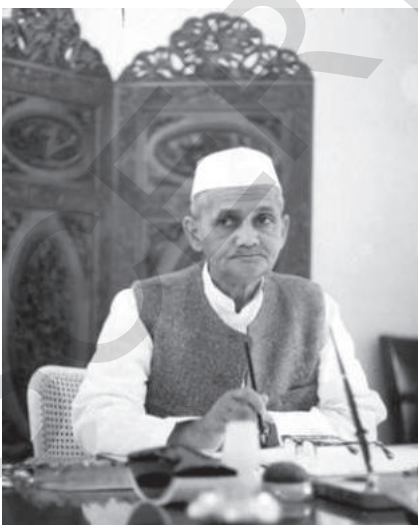
- If you live in a rural area, find out if institutions like cooperatives were established before 1970's and who became members in it.
- Compare the land reforms carried out in India with that of China or Vietnam.

a similar policy – Indonesia, Egypt, Yugoslavia and so on. Together they built the Non Aligned Movement. As for the immediate neighbours, he formulated the Panchsheel policy of non-interference in each other's internal affairs. However, India had to face wars during this period, first with

Pakistan over Kashmir in 1948, 1965, over Bangladesh issue in 1971 and with China over border issue in 1962. India was not well prepared for the wars, especially the war in 1962 and sustained heavy losses of human life and money.

## The Succession

With Nehru's death in 1964, critics raised doubts as to whether democracy itself would survive, or would it lose its democratic ethos like other countries?



*Fig 17.4 : Lal Bahadur Shastri*

The Congress however managed a successful transition by choosing Lal Bahadur Shastri as its leader in the government. Shastri was immediately put to test with a series of issues which challenged the fundamental values and goals of the Indian nation. These included the Anti-Hindi agitation led by the DMK in the South, which threatened the goals of unity and integrity, the shortage of food which came in the way of social and economic transformation, and a war with Pakistan in 1965. Indira Gandhi succeeded Shastri as Prime Minister after his untimely death in 1966.

## Anti-Hindi Agitation

When the Official Languages Act was passed in 1963, the DMK believed it was an attempt to foist Hindi on the rest of the country and they began a state-wide campaign

protesting the imposition of Hindi. These included strikes, dharnas, hartals and burning of effigies, Hindi books as well pages of the Constitution. Hindi signboards were also blackened in many places. There were pitched battles between the police and the agitators. The Central government had to soon take note of these protests. The Congress itself was divided between pro-Hindi and anti-Hindi camps. Some felt that the unity of the country was at stake.

Finally, when things seemed to be going out of hand, Shastri, though he supported the pro-Hindi stand, made a series of concessions to assuage the feelings of the anti-Hindi camp. These included among others, the right of each state to have a language of its own, which could be the regional language or English, communications could be in regional languages with English translations, English would continue to be the communication language between the centre and the states and that the civil service exams would be conducted in English rather than Hindi alone.

Here again, we see how a popular social movement forced the government of the day to reconsider the official position. The prime minister in both cases went out of their way to ensure that things were within control, despite not being personally in favour of the stand by the agitationists. It was clear for both Nehru and Shastri; the unity of the nation came first over personal standpoints.

- How did the language policy help foster national unity and integrity?
- Is there a need for a national language? Why?
- Should all languages have equal status? Why?

## Green Revolution

The debate regarding the developmental strategy was not simply an economic one but also had political implications. While Nehru and the left of centre group within the Congress favoured the state-controlled and institutional strategy in agriculture, there was right of centre faction which was opposed to state control. They constantly criticised these programmes and attempted to water down the proposals. Since this group was most powerful at the state level, they also ensured that most radical plans were not implemented properly.

Once it became clear that the existing strategy was not increasing food production, there was a shift to a different strategy between the years 1964-67. This attempted to secure the cooperation of the state governments as well as increase food production. In a way, it also reflected the changes in economic policy after Nehru's death and also the changes in economic thinking.

## Rise of Regional parties and Regional movements

The 1967 election was a landmark election in the history of India. It showed that elections had come to be taken very seriously and had a life of their own. By this time, there were gainers and losers from the economic development process and this changed the pattern of political competition. It was not surprising that the Congress party suffered its worst defeat till then. It was returned with the lowest majority it had since independence (284 seats). It was defeated in assemblies like Bihar, U.P., Rajasthan, Punjab, West Bengal, Orissa, Madras and Kerala. This was the first big transition in India. The party which had ruled continually for nearly 30 years was now being challenged. The defeated party did not try to cling to power but allowed the victors to form the government. This showed that democracy had taken roots in India and the country was moving towards a competitive multi-party system.

The prominent losses for the Congress included Tamil Nadu and Kerala. In Tamil Nadu, the DMK won by a huge margin. It also showed that strongly organised regional movements could challenge the dominant party. The DMK had strong links with the film industry and was able to galvanise fans organisations of the popular hero, M G Ramachandran popularly called MGR across the state.

The Congress also lost in the neighbouring state, Kerala, as also in West Bengal and Odisha. These defeats and challenges also weakened the Congress internally. In many states in the north, where it had won narrow victories, its members defected to opposition parties. Consequently, the Congress governments fell and they were replaced by Samyukta Vidhayak Dal (SVD) governments. These were basically a coalition of legislators against the Congress - made up Jan Sangh, Socialists, Swatantra Party, and Congress defectors, besides local parties.

The new governments are an important marker in India's political history because it was in a way the first democratic upsurge. It was for the first time that the intermediate castes; the groups who had first benefitted from the land reforms and acquired some degree of economic standing gained political power. These castes included the Jats in Haryana and Uttar Pradesh, Kurmis and Koeris in Bihar, Lodhs in MP as well as the Yadavs in all these states; the Reddys and Kammas in Andhra Pradesh, the Vokkaligas in Karnataka and the Vellalas in Tamil Nadu. They were the dominant castes in their respective states and also had a significant numerical presence. The DMK itself is the best example of the coming to age of the other dominant (backward) castes.

Many of these SVD governments were however short-lived. Their life was marked by defections and corruption. Power seemed to be the only thing that united them. These governments had nothing to showcase. However, the problem is that even today, the regional or state parties are evaluated from this standpoint.

This period saw a renewal of a regional sentiment in different parts of the country. In Andhra Pradesh, there was demand for the separation of Telangana. The movement was spearheaded by the students of Osmania University, whose main

grouse was that the benefits of development were reaching only few regions of the state.

In Assom, a new state called Meghalaya was created in December 1969 out of the tribal districts of Khasi, Jaintia and Garo hills. Punjab, despite being formed in 1966, did not have a capital of its own. During the period 1968-69, there were a series of demonstrations asking for Chandigarh which served as the common capital of Haryana and Punjab to be given to them. In Maharashtra, there was a curious demand of Bombay for Maharashtrians only. This was led by the Shiv Sena. The main target of this party was the South Indians who the party believed were cornering all the employment in the city.



*Fig 17.5 : Indira Gandhi*

At the same time, old demands also continued. The Kashmir and the Nagaland demands also came up during this period. Sheikh Abdullah came back to the state after he was freed from house arrest. Similarly in Nagaland, a new younger leadership came up to take the struggle forward.

This was also a period of communal tension. There were riots in different parts of the country including Ranchi (Bihar), Ahmedabad (Gujarat), Jalgaon (Maharashtra) as well as Aligarh (Uttar Pradesh). These were difficult times. A political transition has just happened and a new leadership was taking its place. The new leadership was yet to be equipped to handle the multitude of pressures that were arising as a result of the growing political awareness and articulation of demands.

### Jammu and Kashmir

The circumstances under which Jammu and Kashmir acceded to the Indian union were very different from these of the other states. Unlike most other states, the ruler Hari Singh wanted the state to remain independent of both India and Pakistan. The state had a Muslim majority population and was being ruled by a Hindu ruler. Around the time when India got independence, there was a popular movement, All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim conference in the state led by Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah against the Maharaja asking for greater representation of Muslims in government employment and for a representative government among other things. This movement became the National Conference and it had Hindus and Sikhs as its members. The National Conference shared many similarities with the Congress in terms of both a commitment to religious harmony and socialism.

Towards the end of 1947, the state began to face an external invasion on its western borders by Razakars supported by Pakistan. With the attackers nearing

Srinagar, the Maharaja requested Indian forces for their defence. The Governor General of India, however held that Indian forces would be available only after the accession of Jammu and Kashmir to India. At the same time, various options available regarding the future of the state, including being autonomous, were being widely discussed.

In January 1948, India took the case to the United Nations. However, the case was not presented convincingly and the issue got transformed into a India-Pakistan question. Meanwhile, Sheik Abdullah reached what is called the Delhi Agreement, whereby Kashmiris would become full citizens of India and have greater autonomy as well as powers compared to the other states of India. Most of the clauses of this agreement that were intended to protect the essential characteristics of the state found a place in the Constitution in the form of article 370.

At the same time, there was also an economic divide in the state which acquired a religious tone. The land reforms in the state disposed many of the landlords who happened to be Hindus, of land beyond the ceiling limits, while the major beneficiaries of this economic programme happened to be Muslims. During the period of 1950-1990, many attempts were made by the central government to reduce the autonomy of the State and bring it in line with other States. This caused a severe reaction among the people of Kashmir. This was used to ferment a movement of Independence in Kashmir in 1990s. During this period a large number of Hindu families in the Kashmir valley were forced to migrate to other parts of India.

Indira Gandhi took up the challenge both from within her party as well those outside by taking a sharp left turn post the 1967 elections. She attempted to create a new social base of her own and for her party by identifying with the poor and down trodden. This move was a double edged weapon. Old promises of social and economic development were yet to be fulfilled and this was seen to be the major reason for the defeat of Congress party in 1967. Yet, the Congress under Indira Gandhi was making new promises. Less than a decade later, the lack of fulfilment of rising mass expectations created frustration and disheartenment and culminated with the imposition of Emergency.

### **Bangladesh War**

In the early 1970s, trouble was brewing in East Pakistan (what is now Bangladesh) as a movement for the assertion of Bengali identity and protest against what was seen as a step-motherly treatment by West Pakistan. In the general elections, the party led by Mujibur Rahaman won but he was arrested and taken to West Pakistan and a period of military repression of East Pakistan began. Lakhs of

refugees streamed to India which had to feed and house them. Meanwhile, a liberation movement started in Bangladesh and India was asked to assist in it. In 1971, a war broke out between India and Pakistan and India decisively intervened to ensure the liberation of Bangladesh and its establishment as an independent country. India was able to do this not only because it had built up its military strength but also because it skillfully used its non-aligned position between the two super powers to ensure that they did not intervene in the war.

## The Left turn

Indira Gandhi charted a new path for the Congress and herself by introducing new policies and programmes. This policy also helped her get control over the party organisation.

Until 1971, the elections to the Lok Sabha and Legislative Assembly were held simultaneously in most States. Indira Gandhi broke this pattern, by calling for early elections in 1971 rather than 1972. The Congress went to elections using popular slogan “*Garibi Hatao*”. It also promised radical restructuring of the system to benefit the poor and marginalised. The Congress won with a record margin and this raised the popularity of Indira Gandhi. The opposition was decimated, her critics were silenced and she became the darling of the masses. Soon after, there was the war with Pakistan and India’s victory further raised the popularity of Indira Gandhi. In the legislative assembly elections held subsequently in 1972, the Congress did well and was riding on the popularity wave of Indira Gandhi. She now had control over both the party as well as the parliament.

Among the important legislations that were passed during this period apparently to achieve the goal of social and economic transformation were the nationalisation of many private banks and abolishing of princely pensions. Both these legislations were challenged in the Courts and this, in a way, made the Court appear as if it was coming in the way of the political goals.

The judiciary, however, had other ideas regarding the policies and programmes. The Supreme Court was afraid that the Constitution was being amended rapidly in the name of achieving social and



Fig 17.6 : Family Planning Clinic in Calcutta (Kolkata).

economic change which and this was unbalancing the existing relations between different institutional structures. In 1973, the Court came up with the landmark decision on the Basic Structure of the Constitution, which put a check on the governmental power to amend the Constitution.

Events beyond her control put Indira Gandhi in a spot and made it difficult for her to fulfil all the promises. Her term coincided with a rather grave social and economic conditions. The 1973, Arab-Israeli war raised the oil prices to an all time high and put huge pressure on the government. Inflation and the rise in prices of essential items, scarcity of food and unemployment began to have an effect. There was a general unhappiness among large sections of the population. This gave the Opposition a chance to get its act together. They began to tap into this discontent in different parts of the country. The opposition, united under Jaya Prakash Narayan, ran a series of campaigns in different parts of the country against the Congress and especially against Indira Gandhi. This was the JP movement and it was very prominent in Bihar and Gujarat.

## Emergency

The government reacted harshly by coming up with a series of laws which violated civil rights in the name of maintaining order. The opposition also criticised the P.M. for personalising the government. Meanwhile, due to a decision of Allahabad High court, Indira Gandhi was unseated from Lok Sabha for violating some election provisions during the 1971 elections. However, she got a stay from the Supreme Court.

A few days later, with the JP movement gaining more strength, the government imposed Emergency and justified it as necessary to preserve order, save democracy, protect the social and economic transformation and preserve national integrity.

With this, democracy was put on hold. The government began a series of repressive measures, claiming that this was necessary to bring order in the country. Many of the fundamental rights were suspended. There were also instances of arbitrary detention, torture and other violations of civil liberties. While people welcomed control over price rise and the campaign against black marketing and bonded labour, many programmes undertaken by the emergency government such as demolition of slums and forced sterilisation in the name of population control became very unpopular. However, in the absence of civic freedom, people could not express their discontent and the government, therefore, could not take corrective measures.

The major highlight of this period was the 42nd Constitutional Amendment which brought about a series of changes. It had the following aims: a) Excluding the courts from election disputes; b) Strengthening the central government vis-à-vis the state governments; c) Providing maximum protection from judicial challenges to social and economic transformation legislation; d) Making the

judiciary subservient to parliament. While the supposed aim of the Amendment was to protect social and economic development from judiciary, strengthen national unity and so on, in reality, it actually weakened the democratic fabric of this country.

### Summing up

Though the first thirty years ended with the Emergency, if a balance sheet were to be drawn, there would be more credits than debits.

The most important achievement of this period was the establishment of a stable democracy. The gradual emergence of a competitive multi-party system, with parties representing diverse interests was a real achievement if one were to compare India with other countries that got independence around the same time. India, unlike other countries, not only had regular, free and fair elections but also had genuine change of governments and leaders as well. The Indian Constitution not only guaranteed civil rights but also had an institutional architecture in place to ensure its protection.

India also set up an impressive institutional framework with independent institutions like the judiciary, Election Commission, Controller and Auditor General and so on. Bureaucratic neutrality was also an important achievement. The establishment of civilian control over the armed forces was another significant achievement. In comparison to our neighbour, Pakistan, India stands far ahead in the institutions of democracy.

India has been extremely successful in holding together and maintaining its unity and integrity. India was seen a fit case for break up given its extreme diversities and the fact, that it has not done so is a valuable lesson for many other countries.

In terms of economic goals, the setting up of the Planning Commission and the aim of balanced regional development is noteworthy. There was a genuine concern for the social and economically deprived sections of society. From a state of dependency for food, India gradually became self-sufficient in food production. It laid down the foundation for an enviable industrial base. However, balanced regional development did not take place and some regions developed better than others. Similarly, employment opportunities also did not increase as much as they should have.

One of the greatest weaknesses was undoubtedly the low priority given to primary education and public health. This was going to haunt India for a long time to come. Other countries like China and Korea which also began a new innings around the same time did much better on these two counts as compared to India.

While the more obnoxious effects of the caste system, like untouchability were removed, there still remained a large amount of discrimination. Gender discrimination continued.

## Keywords

State reorganisation  
Regional movements

One party dominance  
Nationalisation

Emergency

## Improve your learning

1. What measures were taken to bring in socio-economic change during the initial years after independence? (AS<sub>1</sub>)
2. What do you understand about one party dominance? Would you consider it as dominance only in elections or also in terms of ideology? Discuss with reasons. (AS<sub>1</sub>)
3. Language became a central rallying point in Indian politics on many occasions, either as a unifying force or as divisive element. Identify these instances and describe them. (AS<sub>1</sub>)
4. What were the major changes in political system after 1967 elections? (AS<sub>1</sub>)
5. Think of the other ways in which states could have been created and how would they be better than language based reorganisation. (AS<sub>1</sub>)
6. What measures of Indira Gandhi are called 'left turn'? How do you think was this different from policies of the previous decades? Based on the knowledge gained the economics chapters, describe how is it different from the current policies. (AS<sub>1</sub>)
7. In what ways was the Emergency period a set back to the Indian democracy? (AS<sub>1</sub>)
8. What were the institutional changes that came up after the Emergency? (AS<sub>1</sub>)
9. Locate the following on the map of India. (AS<sub>5</sub>)
  - a) Maharashtra
  - b) Gujarat
  - c) Bihar
  - d) Uttar Pradesh
  - e) Jammu-Kashmir
  - f) Nagaland
  - g) Punjab
  - h) Meghalaya
10. Analyse the advantages and problems faced by the people done to the Multi-party system in India. (AS<sub>4</sub>)
11. Read the para 2 of page 242 and comment on it. (AS<sub>2</sub>)

## Emerging Political Trends 1977 to 2000

- Write a brief summary of the political events discussed in the previous chapter on Independent India.

In this chapter, we will look more closely at political events in contemporary India. Many of these events and issues have sharply divided and even polarised the political landscape of this country. As a result of change in the party system and emergence of competitive multi-party system no single party was able to form a government on its own and we have a series of coalition governments. In the economic sphere, this period brought about a major shift in the development strategy. The tension between the economics of market and the politics of democracy begins to play itself out during this period. At the same time, old issues of religious and caste differences are repackaged and used for political mobilisation. This chapter will examine these issues of the contemporary period with reference to their impact on the fundamental values of constitution like democracy, unity and integrity and social and economic change.

Both teachers and students are sure to have their own views on the events of this period depending upon their own convictions, but it is suggested that everyone should try to understand the perspective of others with an open mind and also express their own views with care not to offend other people. The developments discussed in this

End of Emergency and formation of Janata Party governments under Morarji Desai  
Charan Singh

Formation of Congress government led by Indira Gandhi

Formation of TDP

Operation Blue Star and Assassination of Indira Gandhi

Rajiv Gandhi Accords with HS Longowal on Punjab and AASU on Assam

Accord with Mizo National Front

Agreement with Sri Lanka

Election and formation of Janata Dal government with VP Singh and Chandrasekhar

Decision to implement Mandal Commission recommendation

Ram Janmabhoomi Rath Yatra

Assassination of Rajiv Gandhi and government led by Congress party  
with P.V.Narsimha Rao as PM

Economic Liberalisation

Demolition of Babri Masjid

National Front Government with Deve Gowda and IK Gujral as PMs

NDA government led by AB Vajpayee as PM

chapter have an important bearing on the nature and future of our democratic institutions and we should try to understand their various dimensions. The maturity of our democracy depends upon how we conduct these discussions.

### **Return of democracy after Emergency**

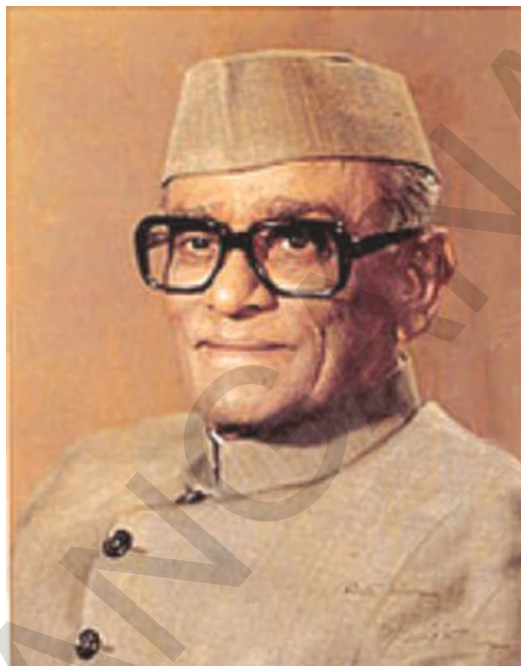
The period between 1975 to 1985 was a testing time for Indian democracy. It began with the state of Emergency in which basic democratic rights were denied and ended with the historic electoral victory of the Congress led by Rajiv Gandhi. Though it began and ended with the rule of the Congress party, it saw the emergence of viable alternatives to the Congress at both the Centre and in the States. This effectively prevented India from sliding into a 'single party democracy' as it happened in many countries. The emergence of competitive alternatives ensured that Indian voters could always exercise a reasonable choice. This also allowed many different political viewpoints and sectional interests to become active in state level as well as national politics. Political viewpoints of Socialists, Hindu nationalists, Communists, as well as sectional interests like those of farmers, dalits, backward castes, and regions among others now came to the fore and asserted their claims. At the same time, a number of non-political movements like environmental movements, feminist movement, civil liberties movement, literacy movements and so on also emerged and became powerful motors of social change. Let us examine some of these issues in greater detail.

- Do you think 'single party democracy' would have been a better alternative to multi-party democracy?
- In what ways does a multi-party democracy create favourable conditions for social movements of protest and change?

### **1977 Elections and the End of Emergency**

When elections were announced in January 1977, it took everyone by surprise. No one had expected elections to be held. Indira Gandhi also released all political prisoners, removed censorship as well as all other regulations in place which restricted freedom of movement, campaigns and meetings. The major opposition parties decided to come together to challenge the Congress. The Congress (O), Swatantra Party, Bharatiya Jan Sangh, the Bharatiya Lok Dal and the Socialist party decided to merge together and form the Janata (peoples) Party. Some important Congress leaders like Jagjivan Ram quit the party to join the anti-Congress front. The other major opposition parties like the DMK, the SAD and the CPI (M) chose to maintain their separate identities but supported the Janata Party in a common front against the Congress. Senior leaders like Jayaprakash Narayan and Acharya JB Kriplani played an important role in bringing together all the anti-Congress and anti-Emergency parties to fight the elections. It should be noted that some of these parties had diametrically opposite viewpoints on social and political issues.

It was a historic election for the Indian democracy. The Congress party was defeated at the national level for the first time and the Janata Party came to power. Mr. Neelam Sanjeeva Reddy was unanimously elected as speaker of the 6<sup>th</sup> Lok Sabha on 26<sup>th</sup> March, 1977. Later, he was elected unopposed, the only President of India to be elected being unanimously supported by all political parties including the opposition Congress party and sworn as the 6<sup>th</sup> President of India on 25<sup>th</sup> July, 1977. This ushered in the practice of accepting personalities of great statesmanship with high standards in public life, being preferred for public offices and certainly a move away from the traditional party based politics. During his term of office, Sanjeeva Reddy had to work with three governments under *Prime Ministers* Morarji Desai, *Charan Singh* and *Indira Gandhi*.



*Fig 18.1 : Neelam Sanjeeva Reddy  
6<sup>th</sup> President of India*

The victorious Janata Party attempted to consolidate itself by dismissing nine Congress governments in the states. Was the central government justified in dismissing state governments even if they enjoyed majority in their assemblies just because the party ruling in those states had been defeated in the parliamentary elections? The Janata Party argued that the Congress party had lost its mandate to rule in the States as it had been defeated. Its stand was somewhat vindicated by its victory in Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Bihar and the victory of CPI (M) in West Bengal and DMK in Tamil Nadu.

### Some opposition parties of 1970s

**BLD** – Bharatiya Lok Dal – a party which was formed of socialists who called for special attention to Indian farmers, based mainly in Uttar Pradesh.

**Congress (O)** – The conservative section of the Congress which had opposed the policies of Indira Gandhi.

**CPI (M)** – Communist Party of India (Marxist) – a party with a national presence, which strove for radical land reforms, trade unionism and socialist policies.

**DMK** – Dravida Munnetra Kazagam – a party based mainly in Tamil Nadu which sought greater autonomy and powers for the state.

**Jan Sangh** – A Hindu nationalist party largely confined to the northern States.

**SAD** – Shiromani Akali Dal – a party based in Punjab catering specially to the Sikhs and organised around Gurudwaras. It therefore had a semi religious character. It was also in favour of greater autonomy to the States.



*Fig 18.2 : Morarji Desai  
the First Non Congress  
Prime Minister*

The Janata Party had come to power promising a restoration of democracy and freedom from authoritarian rule. However, the disunity among the partners had a serious effect on the governance and its rule is most often remembered for internal squabbles and defections. The factional struggle in the party soon culminated in the fall of the government within three years leading to fresh elections in 1980.

The Congress returned to power in 1980. The Congress immediately paid back the Janata in the same coin by dismissing the Janata and non-Congress governments in nine States. The Congress was victorious in all the States except Tamil Nadu and West Bengal.

The actions of both the Janata Party and Congress governments weakened the federal principles and backed a

more centralising position. This was accompanied by some serious challenges to national unity too. The people of many states felt alienated and wanted either greater autonomy from the centre or even wanted to go separate from India itself. The non-congress regional parties (like SAD and DMK ) meanwhile attempted to come together to form a common front in support of greater say in national level decision making, greater financial autonomy, lower interference in State matters and stopping the misuse of the powers of the Governor and arbitrary imposition of President's Rule.

### President's Rule

As per the provision of the Constitution (article 356), the governor of a State can recommend to the President the dismissal of a State government and even dissolution of a State assembly if he or she is convinced that the government is not able to administer the State as per the Constitution. The President may then on the advice of the Prime Minister, dismiss the State government and order the Governor to take over the administration of the State.

Since there was no clear guideline in the Constitution in this regard, many central governments often misused article 356 to harass and dismiss State governments headed by opposition parties.

In 1994 in an important judgement the Supreme Court laid down strict norms for the use of article 356 by the Central Government. Since then, such misuse of this power has become rare.

- There have been many instances in which governments at centre removed governments at the state, if they are from different political parties. Discuss how does it violate democratic principles.

### Emergence of Regional Aspirations

Let us look at three movements for greater autonomy in different parts of India: Andhra Pradesh, Assam and Punjab. Can you identify the similarities and dissimilarities between these movements? They represented three strands of the demands for autonomy.

## Andhra Pradesh

In combined Andhra Pradesh, the frequent change of Chief Ministers by the central Congress leadership and the imposition of leaders from above created a bad taste. There was a feeling that the Andhra Pradesh leadership was not getting respect from the national Congress leadership. This was perceived as an insult to the pride of the Telugu people. N T Rama Rao (NTR), popular film actor, chose to take up this cause. He began the Telugu Desam Party (TDP) on his 60th birthday in 1982. He said that the TDP stood for the honour and self respect of the Telugu speaking people (*Teluguvari atma gauravam*). He argued that the State could not be treated as a lower office of the

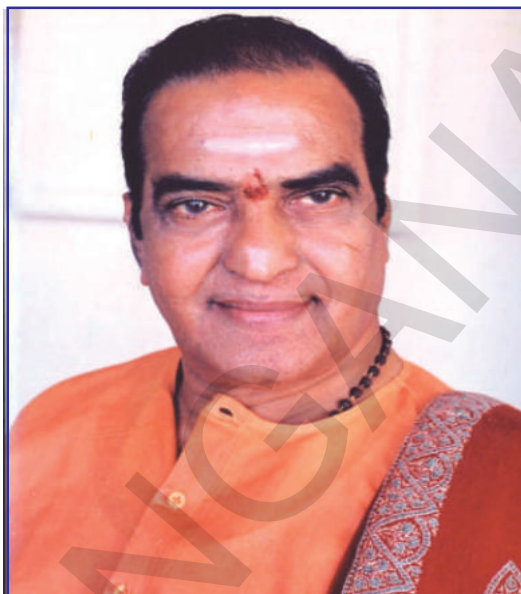


Fig 18.3 : N T Rama Rao

Congress party. Equally important were his promise of some very important welfare measures for the poor including midday meal scheme in government schools, sale of rice at Rs 2 per Kg to the poor and liquor prohibition. These populist measures helped the TDP to sweep the 1982 elections. However, he was surreptitiously dismissed by the Governor in 1984 when he was away in the United States for a surgery. The Governor appointed N Bhaskar Rao, who had defected from the TDP to the Congress. On his return, NTR challenged the action of the Governor and proved that he had the support of majority of the MLAs. After a month of campaigning, the central government appointed a new Governor who reappointed NTR as the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh. In this struggle, against arbitrary dismissal, NTR was supported by several parties holding power in States like CPI (M), DMK, SAD and National Conference among others.

- Discuss the importance of the following factors in the politics of NTR:
  - i. Background of being a film hero
  - ii. Fight for self respect of the state
  - iii. Popular welfare schemes for the poor
  - iv. Alliance with other regional parties

## Assam (Assom) Movement

A similar but much stronger demand for autonomy was also taking place in Assam. In Assam, besides Assamese, Bengali was also a major spoken language. From British times, Bengalis occupied the lower and middle rungs of the administration in the State. The Assamese speaking people felt that the Bengali officialdom did not treat them as equals but as second-class citizens. To make matters worse, there was a lot of migration from across the border from Bangladesh. Whenever there was any political instability or natural calamity in the neighbouring country, thousands of people moved into the state creating huge discomfort for

the locals. The local people felt that they would lose their cultural roots and soon be outnumbered by the ‘outsiders’.

In the late 1970s, this general feeling of unhappiness was transformed into a social movement. The All Assam Students Union (AASU) was at the forefront of the agitation. This organisation spread across the State and was especially popular among the youth. It led a number of strikes, agitations and marches directed against the central government to make its demands clear - mainly to remove the so-called ‘outsiders’.

Besides culture and demographics, there was also an economic dimension to this issue. Trade and other establishments were in the hands of non-Assamese communities. The major resources of the state, including tea and oil, did not benefit the locals. The tea industry was mainly based in Kolkata and the oil industry had very few locals involved despite being in the hands of the public-sector. Furthermore, the oil was being moved out of the state and refined elsewhere. All in all, the dominant thrust of the movement was that Assam was being treated as an “internal colony” and this had to stop. The main demands were that the local people should be given greater preference in employment, the “outsiders” should be removed and the resources should be used for the benefit of the locals.

These demands, however, created a communal polarisation as most of the outsiders who came from the neighbouring country were Muslims. To make matters worse, the movement soon began to take anti-Bengali, anti-Left (as West Bengal was being ruled by the Left Front), anti-non-Assamese and gradually even an anti-Indian stand. The central government was soon forced to take note of the movement as violence and disruption increased. Talks between the agitationists and the central government went on for three years before they came to an agreement. An agreement was signed by the Central Govt and the AASU at the initiative of the then Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi, in 1984. To restore normalcy, in an unusually magnanimous move, the Congress government in the State stepped down and allowed elections even before the end of its term. When elections were held, the Assam Gana Parishad (AGP - an offshoot of AASU) came to power.

This political transition, however, did not resolve the long term problems which gave rise to the movement. The border with Bangladesh could not be sealed due to both diplomatic as well as geographic reasons (given the waterways and hills, it is not possible to erect fences everywhere). It was also not possible to really differentiate between old Bengali settlers and fresh immigrants or send the immigrants back. At the same time, too much emphasis on ethnic identities had a negative impact on other communities of Assam like the Bodos, Khasis, Mizos and Karbis. Many of them too demanded autonomous status. They began to assert themselves and wanted to drive out people of other communities from their areas. This has led to violent attempts of ‘ethnic cleansing’ or forcible eviction of minority tribal communities by even outright mass killing in many parts of Assam. Often, in

order to counter violent activities of one community, the governments instigated or armed another community and in this way, kept alive the tensions instead of solving them.

The Central Government also stepped up the deployment of armed forces in these areas to reduce tension and bring peace. Three factors influenced the use of armed forces in the North Eastern region: firstly, the fact that it was a sensitive border area adjacent to China, Burma (now Myanmar) and Bangladesh; secondly, the rebel groups often demanded separation from India and procured arms and help from outside forces; and thirdly, the fact that these rebel groups indulged in large-scale ethnic violence against minority communities. As the Indian armed forces entered this difficult terrain, it led to suspension of civil liberties and freedom and also to giving abnormal powers to the army. The government thought that this was the only way to bring about peace in the area.

Thus, what started as a problem between Bengalis and Assamese developed into a complex inter-community conflict in a very sensitive area. The problem of ethnic identities and ethnic assertion, therefore, requires a broad minded approach rather than narrow minded and quick solutions.

- In what ways do you think is the Assam movement similar or different from the movement of NTR in Andhra Pradesh?
- Organise a debate in your class on the following themes:  
Only one community should live in a region and all posts and trade-business should be in the hands of the people of that specific community only or all people of India should be free to move from one part to another and settle and work in places of their choice.
- Will an open policy of free movement of people cause rich and powerful outsiders to buy up all land and resources and leave the original people of a locality poor and impoverished?

## The Punjab Agitation

At the other end of India, another movement for autonomy was taking shape in the State of Punjab. Here too, the difference in language and religion of the dominant population became a point of mobilisation. Here also the grouse was that the contribution of the State was being ignored. They also believed that the State had received an unfair bargain when it was created. It laid claims to the new capital city of Chandigarh which remained a union territory directly administered by the Centre. Punjab also claimed more water from Bhakra Nangal dam and greater recruitment of Sikhs in the army.

The Akali Dal had passed a set of resolutions in 1978 during the Janata Party rule in the centre, calling upon the central government to implement them. Its

most significant demand was to amend the Constitution to give more powers to the states and ensure greater decentralisation of powers. The resolution said,

“the Shiromani Akali Dal emphatically urges upon the Janata Government to take cognizance of the different linguistic and cultural sections, religious minorities as also the voice of millions of people and recast the Constitutional structure of the country on real and meaningful federal principles to obviate the possibility of any danger to the unity and integrity of the country and, further, to enable the States to play a useful role for the progress and prosperity of the Indian people in their respective areas by a meaningful exercise of their powers.”

With the increasing electoral competition between the SAD and the Congress, things took a turn for the worse. The dismissal of the Akali government and the return of the Congress in 1980 only added to already surcharged atmosphere and the feeling that the Sikhs were being discriminated against. A series of untoward incidents followed, increasing the alienation/ distance between the Sikhs and the central government. Bhindranwale, the leader of the group of militant Sikhs, began to preach separatism and also demanded the formation of a Sikh State- Khalistan. This was a period of intense turmoil in the State. The militants tried to impose an orthodox life code on all Sikhs and even non-sikhs of Punjab. There was also a communal colour to the conflict. People belonging to non-Sikh communities were subjected to communal attacks. All this finally culminated in the occupation of the Golden Temple by the Sikh separatist groups and the army had to intervene to vacate



*Fig 18.4 : during the 1970s and 1980s India made many different achievements in Technology co-operatives etc., some examples are like in above Sriharikota launch of PSLV, Amul cooperative etc.,*

the premises. This was seen as an act of desecration of the holiest shrine of the Sikhs and increased their alienation.

A fallout of all this was the assassination of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi in 1984. This was followed by riots, especially in Delhi, in which thousands of Sikhs were attacked, murdered and their properties destroyed. The administration seemed to do little to stop the violence.

After Rajiv Gandhi became the Prime Minister, he held talks with SAD and entered into an agreement with Sant Langowal, the SAD president. Though fresh elections were held in Punjab and SAD won them, peace was short lived as Longowal was assassinated by the militants.

In April 1986, an assembly at the Akal Takht made a declaration for an independent state of Khalistan. Several groups claiming to be fighters for an independent state formed armed detachments and engaged in terrorist activities. The government of India claimed that these groups were actively supported by the government of Pakistan. This was a decade of violence and conflict in Punjab. The period of insurgency saw clashes of the Sikh militants with the police, as well as with other religious groups. Journalists, politicians, artists and activists who did not conform to militant-approved behaviour were killed. There were indiscriminate attacks designed to cause extensive civilian casualties: derailing trains, exploding bombs in markets, restaurants and other civilian areas between Delhi and Punjab. In 1991 alone, about a thousand people were killed. The militants were also engaged in large scale kidnapping and extortion to raise funds for their work. All this gradually alienated them from the masses of the Punjabi people including Sikhs. Over a period of time, effective police action broke down the militancy and as public sympathy declined rapidly, peace finally returned to Punjab by the end of the 1990s.

However, the government used very harsh methods for the suppression of militancy in Punjab, many of which were seen as violations of Constitutional rights of citizens. Many observers felt that such violations of Constitutional rights and human rights were justified as the Constitutional machinery was on the edge of collapse due to militant activity. Even judges were afraid of passing adverse judgements on the militants for fear of reprisals by them. Other observers felt that such use of extra constitutional powers by the state cannot be justified and in the long run, it would strengthen undemocratic tendencies in the polity.

- What was the role of anti-sikh riots of Delhi in 1984 in fuelling Sikh separatism and extremism?
- Compare the similarities and differences between Assam and Punjab movements. What kind of challenges did they pose to our political system?
- Did the way the government handled the two problems, strengthen our democratic polity or weaken it?

## New initiatives in the Rajiv Gandhi Era



*Fig 18.5 : Rajiv Gandhi*



*Fig 18.6 : Operators at work in the New Delhi Telephone Exchange - 1950's*

the story of the poor remained the same. The fact that most people who had been poor and marginalised including women, dalits and tribals were not getting access to the fruits of development. He also realised that there needed to be a sea change in the way things were being done. Rajiv Gandhi felt that the best way to do this was to ensure the participation of the mass, of people in governance by activating the Panchayati Raj Institutions. However, many State governments, especially, those run by

The Congress, led by Rajiv Gandhi, won an unprecedented victory in the elections. Rajiv Gandhi began a peace initiative in Punjab, Assam and Mizoram and also in the neighbouring country of Sri Lanka. India sent its army to maintain peace between the warring parties (Separatist Tamils and Sinhalese government), but this turned out to be a misadventure as it was not accepted by either the Tamils or the Sri Lankan government and the force was finally withdrawn in 1989.

Rajiv Gandhi realised that despite all the attention to development in the country, much of it did not reach the real beneficiaries. In a famous speech, Rajiv Gandhi said that out of every Rupee spent on the poor, barely 15 paise reaches them! It highlighted the fact that despite huge increases in development expenditure,

- Looking back from the present, what do you think were the lasting contributions of Rajiv Gandhi to the country?
- Discuss in your class why the poorest people often do not get to benefit from schemes intended for them. What long term steps should be taken to ensure that such benefits really reach the poor?
- Find out and list all the benefits students of your school are entitled to. Do they manage to get them properly? Discuss in both the class and outside the school in your homes or playground.

opposition parties felt that it was an attempt to bypass them and reduce their powers.

In the economic sphere too, Rajiv Gandhi attempted to chart a different course. His government's first budget in 1985 moved towards a more liberalised system by removing some of the checks and controls that were in place.

Rajiv Gandhi was also convinced that India needed to adapt itself to the new technologies emerging in the world, especially computer and telecommunication technologies. He initiated what is called the 'telecom revolution' in India which spread the network of telephonic communication in the country using satellite technology.

### Rise of Communalism and Corruption in High places

After the horrors of partition, there had been some attempt to keep religion away from the active and formal political sphere. This period, however, saw the emergence of new kind of political mobilisation which had communal overtones. This use of religion for political purposes and the partisan role of the government was going to lead to disastrous consequences which would raise question marks on the issue of national unity and integrity.

#### The Prime Minister's Apology

Dr. Manmohan Singh's statement in the Rajya Sabha

... Four thousand people were killed in this great national tragedy that took place in 1984. This should be an occasion for introspection, how working together as a united nation, we can find new pathways to ensure that such ghastly tragedies never again take place in our country. ... I have no hesitation in apologising not only to the Sikh community but the whole Indian nation because what took place in 1984 is the negation of the concept of nationhood and what is enshrined in our Constitution. So, I am not standing on any false prestige. On behalf of our Government, on behalf of the entire people of this country, I bow my head in shame that such a thing took place. But, Sir, there are ebbs, there are tides in the affairs of nations. The past is with us. We cannot rewrite the past. But as human beings, we have the willpower and we have the ability to write better future for all of us.... ([pmindia.nic.in/RS%20speech.pdf](http://pmindia.nic.in/RS%20speech.pdf))  
11 Aug 2005.

- What is the most important message in this speech?
- What signals does this speech send out?
- Why is it important that the Prime Minister made this speech?

In 1985, the Supreme Court passed a judgement on a case filed by Shah Bano who had been divorced by her husband ordering that she should be paid maintenance by her ex-husband. While the progressive Muslims welcomed the decision, others

protested against this judgement saying that it went against Islamic law and that if this was allowed then there may be further interference in the religious life of the community. The leaders of women's movement and those who stood for reform within the Muslim society argued that it would help to reverse the gross injustice being meted out to Muslim women who were divorced unilaterally by their husbands. The government came under pressure of the orthodox sections and enacted a new law in 1986 which let off Muslim husbands and permitted Muslim religious bodies to pay maintenance to divorced women for a short period of 3 months. This was widely seen as compromising before religious orthodoxy and ignoring the interests of women of the community.

Around the same time, some sections of the Hindus had begun a campaign for building a temple for Lord Rama in Ayodhya, in the place of the controversial construction, Babri Masjid. They claimed that it was the birth place of Lord Rama and it has been built by destroying the earlier temple. The custodians of Babri Masjid denied this and claimed that this was a place of worship for Muslims. This place had been under dispute for some time and the Court had ordered it be kept closed except on one day in a year till the final decision was taken. In 1986, the Court ordered that the mosque may be kept open on all days and allow Hindus to perform worship on a daily basis. It was widely believed that this could happen only because the central government approved of this decision. This opening up of the temple helped those groups who wanted to convert the mosque into a temple to mobilise a large number of people.

To many observers, it appeared that the established political parties were losing popularity among the people. Large number of popular movements were emerging over a number of issues under non-political leaderships. The large farmers producing for market were fighting for better prices for agricultural products and greater subsidy for inputs like diesel, fertilisers and electricity. Farmers of UP and Haryana agitated under the leadership of Mahendra Singh Tikait, while farmers of Maharashtra were fighting under the leadership of Sharad Joshi. In many States, movements of adivasis and farmers against displacement by development projects like dams and mines were also building up. The observers felt that this decline in popularity led the national political parties to pander to religious feelings in both Hindu and Muslim communities so as to retain their support in elections. However, it weakened the secular fabric of Indian polity and made way for a rise of communal politics in the following decade.

Around the same time, charges began to be levied against several leaders that they had directly or indirectly received bribes from the Swedish manufacturers of guns that were being supplied to the Indian army. Even though these charges could never be proved clearly, a powerful campaign was led by some former ministers of cabinet itself like V P Singh. The issue of corruption in administration and in political circles became the main plank of the election campaign for non-congress

political forces in the next elections held in 1989. Once the non-congress parties, irrespective of their differences amongst themselves got together, it became difficult for the Congress to win. Though Congress returned with the highest number of seats, it did not have enough seats to form a government on its own. The first coalition government led by V P Singh's Janata Dal was formed.

### The Era of Coalition politics

The 1990s were years of very significant change in the post Independence India. With the transformation to a competitive multi-party system, it became near impossible for any single party to win a majority of seats and form a government of its own. Since 1989, all governments that had formed at the national level have been either coalition or minority governments. A number of national and regional parties had come together to form governments at the centre. This meant that the political ideologies and programmes of a number of parties had to be accommodated and a common agreement had to be arrived at. Thus, no party could pursue its extreme agendas and had to tone down their approaches. While this enabled the central government to become more sensitive to multiple viewpoints in politics and policy matters, it also caused considerable instability. Even small parties tried to gain undue advantage as the withdrawal of their support could cause the fall of the government. Sometime this also caused 'policy paralysis' – as the coalition could not implement any policy which called for serious change for fear of withdrawal of support by one or the other partners.



Fig 18.7 : VP. Singh

While the early coalition governments were highly instable and did not last their full terms, the later coalitions have put in place multiple mechanisms like common minimum programmes and coordination committees to bring about greater understanding between the partners. Later coalitions like the BJP led National Democratic Alliance and the Congress led United Progressive Alliance have completed their terms. Moreover, the UPA was the first coalition to be re-elected.

- While some people feel that coalition politics has weakened the government, others feel that it has prevented one party from steamrolling its agenda on the country. Discuss this with examples.

### The 'Left Front Government' in West Bengal

The Left wing political parties like the Communist Party of India (CPI), Forward Block, Revolutionary Socialist Party, Communist Party of India Marxist (CPM) won the elections in the State of West Bengal in 1977 and formed the Left Front Government led by Jyoti Basu from CPM. One of its most important programmes was to carry out the unfinished tasks of land reforms in the State. In June 1978, the

West Bengal government launched Operation Barga to record the names of the sharecroppers (Bargadars who tilled the land belonging to landlords and paid a large share of the produce as rent to them), who formed a major part of the agrarian population in West Bengal and to secure their rights. Operation Barga depended heavily on collective action by the sharecroppers and panchayati raj institutions, thus avoiding bureaucratic delays and domination of the landowning classes. Officials held camps in the villages in which the various stakeholders would meet and discuss their issues. A list of claimants would be drawn up immediately after, and publicly verified in the presence of the landholders, who could then record their objections. Then, the names of the bargadars would be recorded on the spot, and all legal documents would be issued and distributed immediately.




As a result of Operation Barga, the landlords were largely prevented from forcibly throwing the bargadars off the land. In fact, the bargadar rights were made hereditary and thus perpetual. Secondly, the State guaranteed that the bargadars would receive a fair share of the crop (75 per cent if the bargadar provided the non-labour inputs and 50 per cent if the landlord provides those inputs). In all, approximately half of rural households in West Bengal have received land reform benefits.

- Compare the land reforms in West Bengal and the land reforms in Vietnam or China. In what ways were they similar or different?
- Why do you think did the protection of sharecroppers lead to an increase in production?

As a result of these measures, agricultural production in West Bengal had increased almost by 30% and rural poverty declined significantly. However, many critics felt that the majority of shareholders of West Bengal (about 70%) have still not been registered and this partial implementation has led to the rise of a new class of rural rich.

Nevertheless, Operation Barga and the implementation of Panchayati Raj helped the Left Front to gain substantial support from the rural population and the government repeatedly won elections till 2006. This is one of the ways in which the needs of the people of the State was addressed through democratic means.

#### *Coalition Governments and some political parties from 1980's*

<b>Governing Parties</b> 	<b>Governing Parties</b> 	<b>Governing Parties</b> 
JD; DMK; AGP; TDP ; Jammu & Kashmir National Conference (JKNC)	JKNC ; TDP; TMC; CPI; AGP; DMK; MGP; Samajwadi Party	JDU; SAD; AIADMK, JKNC; Trinamool Congress; Biju Janata Dal ; Shiva Sena ;
<b>Supporting Parties</b> CPM; CPI, BJP	<b>Supporting Parties</b> CPM	<b>Supporting Parties</b> TDP
This is not a complete list of political parties that either supported for were part of the government. Often we have listed only those parties that had more 5 or MPs		

## Political concerns in the last decade of the 20th century

This shift in politics was accompanied by some other significant developments. On one hand, India was forced to open up and 'liberalise' its economy by allowing freer flow of foreign capital and goods into India; on the other hand, new social groups asserted themselves politically for the first time, and finally religious nationalism and communal political mobilisation became important features of our political life. All this put the Indian society into great turmoil. We are still coming to grips with these changes and adapting ourselves to them.

### Extention of Constitutional Privileges

The Janata Dal focused on the need for inclusive development and ensuring opportunities for people from backward communities. The National Front government resurrected the Mandal Commission report which had recommended reservations for other backward castes (OBC) in government employment and educational facilities. The V P Singh government announced that it was implementing the core recommendation of the Commission by reserving 27% of the seats in government employment for candidates from the socially and educationally backward castes that were identified by the Commission. This order sparked numerous protests, especially in north India. In the south, most States already had a high proportion of the seats reserved for the OBCs. Most of the other political parties were not in favour of V P Singh government's decision, but did not want to oppose it as they feared that they would become unpopular. This was because, during the previous two decades, many of the OBC castes had become rich and started to assert themselves. They had especially benefitted from land reforms and green revolution, but found that they did not have adequate representation in education, government service and even in politics. They now began to demand for their share in these spheres. The V P Singh government tried to address this demand by implementing the Mandal Commission recommendations. Thus, gradually all political parties came to

### Panchayati Raj & 73<sup>rd</sup>, 74<sup>th</sup> amendment

In 1992 government led by P.V. Narasimha Rao passed an important amendment to the Constitution to provide local self governments a Constitutional Status. The 73rd Constitutional Amendment created institutions of local self government at the village level while the 74th Constitutional Amendment did the same in towns and cities. These were pathbreaking amendments. They sought to usher in for the first time, office bearers at the local level elected on the basis of universal adult franchise. One third of the seats were to be reserved for women. Seats were also reserved for scheduled castes and tribes. The concerns of the State governments were taken into account and it was left to the States to decide on what functions and powers were to be devolved to their respective local self governments. Consequently, the powers of local self governments vary across the country.

accept the assertion of the OBCs in Indian politics. This process also meant that Indian polity in general became more sensitive to caste issues and especially, the problems faced by the lower castes. Many parties Bahujan Samaj Party, claiming to represent the interests of the dalits and many regional parties which represented the emergent castes like the Yadavs and Jats, became important in Indian politics.

### **Use of religion and politics**

The political tendency that seeks to build our nation based on nationalism, is led by Bharatiya Janata Party. This party believes that ideas of democracy and secularism are western ideas and are not sufficient and what is needed is to draw upon ancient Indian culture. The BJP, however, opposes the idea of a religious priesthood run theocratic state. The BJP has opened the debate on the nature of secularism by asserting that a secular state does not give special treatment to minorities, but common civil code is to be applicable to all.

This tendency was largely on the margins of Indian politics till the 1980s. For example, in the 1984 Lok Sabha elections, they won only 2 seats. However, BJP made great strides when it took up the Ayodhya issue – it decided to campaign for the building of a temple at the site of the mosque claiming that it was the site of birth of Lord Rama. In 1990, L K Advani, the leader of BJP led a “*Rath Yatra*” from Somnath to Ayodhya in support of these demands. During the campaign, the BJP tried to argue that the secular politics was trying to ignore the interests of the Hindu majority while trying appease to the minority communities, especially the Muslims. This campaign was accompanied by intense communal polarisation causing a large number of communal conflicts and finally ended with the arrest of L K Advani in Bihar. The BJP responded to this arrest by withdrawing support to V P Singh government and forcing early elections.

During this election campaign, Rajiv Gandhi was assassinated by LTTE, a Tamil separatist group of Sri Lanka, as a retaliation for his role in sending Indian army to Sri Lanka. In the sympathy wave that followed, the Congress came back to power in the Centre, but this time, BJP’s strength had gone up to 120 in the Lok Sabha. In 1992, a large crowd mobilised on behalf of the temple campaign gathered in Ayodhya and destroyed the mosque. This event sparked off widespread protests and communal riots in which many of people were killed.

### **Economic liberalisation**

In 1991, when the V P Singh government fell, India was facing very serious economic crises. Its reserve of foreign currency with which it repaid its loans and paid for imports, had been virtually exhausted. This meant that India would have to default in payments to foreign countries unless it urgently got some loan. In 1992, when the new Congress government under P V Narasimha Rao was formed, it

negotiated with the International Monetary Fund for loans to tide over the crises. The IMF laid down certain stringent conditions (called ‘structural adjustment programme’), forcing India to accept a policy of liberalisation. This meant

- a. drastic reduction of government expenditure – including cuts in subsidies to farmers, expenditure on public services, health, etc.
- b. reducing restrictions and taxes on import of foreign goods
- c. reducing restrictions on foreign investments in India
- d. opening of many sectors of the economy (like telephone, banking, airlines, etc) to private investors (these were government monopolies earlier)



Fig 18.8 : P.V. Narasimha Rao

These measures brought in foreign goods and forced Indian business to compete with global manufacturers. It also led to the setting up of industries and business by foreign companies in India. However, it also meant a lot of hardship for the common people as the government was forced to cut subsidies to the people and as many factories closed down due to influx of cheap foreign goods. This also led to privatisation of many public amenities like education, health, and transport and people had to pay high prices to private service providers.

The twentieth century closed with an India which was drawn into the world market, an India which seemed to have a thriving democracy in which voices of different sections of the population were making themselves heard and in which, divisive and communal political mobilisation were threatening to destroy social peace. It had stood the test of time for over fifty years and had built a relatively stable economy and deeply rooted democratic politics. It still had not managed to solve the problem of acute poverty and gross inequality between castes, communities, regions and gender. This was the legacy which the 50 years of post-independence period left for the 21st century India.



Fig 18.9 : H. D. Deve Gowda



Fig 18.10 : A.B. Vajpayee

## Conclusion

We have seen that Indian democracy has been able to withstand numerous challenges and in the process has strengthened itself. Indian democracy would be called successful on many indicators, including free, fair and regular elections,

voter turnouts, and government turnovers, empowerment of new groups and maintenance of essential civil liberties. Yet, by the turn of the century, there were many questions being asked of India's democracy. Despite being a continuous democracy, why hasn't India been able to take care of the well being of a large number of its citizens? How would India tackle the increased tensions between the contradictory demands and tensions of the development process? Why has democratic India not been able to dent the established social and economic inequalities? These are questions that Indian democracy will have to grapple with in the years to come. Do you think India will be able to do so?

### Keywords

Regional aspirations  
Majority

Coalition governments  
Minority

Communalism

### Improve your learning

- Match the Following : (AS<sub>1</sub>)
  - economic liberalisation
  - arbitrary dismissal
  - ethnic cleansing
  - federal principle
  - restriction in foreign import tax
  - of state governments by central government
  - towards people who are different from themselves
  - greater autonomy for state governments
- Identify the major changes in party system during the second phase of Independence. (AS<sub>1</sub>)
- What are the major economic policies of various governments at the centre and the state discussed in this and the previous chapters. How are they similar or different? (AS<sub>1</sub>)
- How did regional aspirations lead to the formation of regional parties? Compare the similarities and differences between the two different phases. (AS<sub>1</sub>)
- In order to form governments, it becomes necessary for political parties to attract people from different sections of society. How did different political parties realise these objectives in the second phase after independence? (AS<sub>1</sub>)
- What were the developments that weakened the inclusive nature of Indian polity? How is the ability to accommodate different communities and regional aspirations changing? (AS<sub>1</sub>)
- How do different types of regional aspirations draw from cultural and economic dimensions? (AS<sub>1</sub>)
- In the first half of the period after independence, there was a lot of importance given to planned development. In the later part, emphasis was given to liberalisation. Discuss and find out how does it reflect political ideals? (AS<sub>1</sub>)
- Study the newspapers and magazines to identify at least one example each of moderation in policies due to coalition and how do different political parties in coalition emphasise their regional demands? (AS<sub>3</sub>)
- Prepare an album by collecting the photos of Prime Ministers of India and write their specialities. (AS<sub>3</sub>)
- Read the para under the title "Andhra Pradesh" from "In combined Andhra Pradesh ..... office of the congress party" of page 262 and comment on it. (AS<sub>2</sub>)
- What are the effects of changes of 'Telecom Revolution' on the Human life styles. (AS<sub>4</sub>)

### Discussion :

Is it the responsibility of Government or Society to face extremism, terrorism? Conduct a debate. What is its impact on human life. Discuss the experiences.

### Aftermath of the World War II

The impact of the Second World War was different for different countries. The worst affected were the European countries, especially the USSR, Poland and Yugoslavia, which lost about 20% of its population. In economic terms too, the USSR and other European countries lost heavily with the destruction of cities, factories and mines on a massive scale. About 1700 towns, 31,000 factories and over 70,000 villages of USSR had been completely destroyed. In contrast the USA suffered less as the war was not fought on its territories. In fact, the Second World War helped USA to grow out of its economic misery caused by the Great Depression. Far from the threats of the war, the industries and agriculture of USA actually prospered. This ensured full employment and high productivity in US during the Second World War. In March 1945, the US President, Harry Truman, said, 'We have emerged from this War, the most powerful nation in the world – the most powerful nation, perhaps, in all history.'



*Fig 19.1 : View of the city of Warsaw after the war where 85% of buildings destroyed*

Even as the war - devastated countries rebuilt their economics, the world saw some new processes came into existence. Three of the most important processes were the establishment of the United Nations, Cold War and Decolonisation. The Second World War had been fought on the principles of peace, democracy and freedom of nations in contrast to the Nazi ideas of dictatorship and Imperialism. Thus, the first task was to establish a global organisation that would ensure peace and development in all nations. This led to the formation of the United Nations Organisation. Colonial powers like Britain and France could no longer justify their old colonial policies. They also had been politically and economically weakened vis a vis USA which was pressurising them to dismantle the old colonial system which gave the old colonial powers exclusive access to the colonies. The USSR was also emerging as a champion of anti colonial struggles which in many places were led by Communist Parties inspired by the USSR. Under these conditions ,old powers like Britain had no choice but to grant freedom to their old colonies. You

have already read about this in an earlier chapter. As these countries became free, they faced a world greatly torn between Capitalism and Communism, between USA and USSR – and were constantly under pressure to choose between the two rather than follow their own paths of development. They also got an opportunity to negotiate by playing one power against the other. In this section, we will study about some of these issues in detail.

- What do you understand by the term ‘decolonisation’?
- How do you think would the newly freed countries have been influenced by the competition between the two power blocks?

## United Nations Organisation (UNO)

The principle Allied countries like Britain, France, USA, USSR and China drafted a Charter for the formation of the UNO even as the war drew to an end. The Charter not only emphasised the need to preserve peace and prevent wars, but also the need to ensure human rights, democracy and eradication of poverty and hunger for all people in the world. The UN thus started with a twin objective of ensuring lasting peace and human development. At the same time, it recognised the autonomy of states and promised not to interfere in any internal affairs of a country except in cases mandated by serious human rights violation or threat to world peace.

At the time of its establishment, UN had membership of 51 countries and today (2016 ) there are 193 countries. As countries liberated themselves from colonial powers in the decade that followed, they joined UN. The UN works through six different organs. Each of these organs has specific functions like maintaining peace and security, improving education and health facilities, alleviating poverty, providing justice in the context of international crimes and so on. Some bodies responsible for these functions include International Court of Justice located in Hague; the World Health Organisation located at Geneva, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation functioning from Paris, and United Nations Children's Fund functioning from New York.



Fig 19.2 : Emblem of UNO

In electing the Secretary General, the main officer of the UN, all nations participate and the post is rotated across different continents. The General Assembly is the main body where regular discussions between nations take place. However, decisions relating to war and peace are taken in the Security Council and five nations have special status within it. These are called permanent members of the Security Council and they are: China, France, United Kingdom; USSR (now Russia) and USA. Any decision taken by the Council can be vetoed (made invalid or rejected) by the intervention of even any one of these countries.

Often the great powers themselves involved in many of the conflicts used their veto power to block any action by the UNO. Sometimes, they have also used their power to force the UN to bend to their dictates. However, the very existence of a forum like UN has forced the great powers to exercise moderation and self-control. The special powers also have given the great powers a special role and responsibility in preserving world peace.

While the UN has been doing commendable work in the area of education, health, cultural exchange and protection of heritage, it has been less successful in preventing wars. It has often been held hostage to the ambitions of the super-powers who seek control over the world.



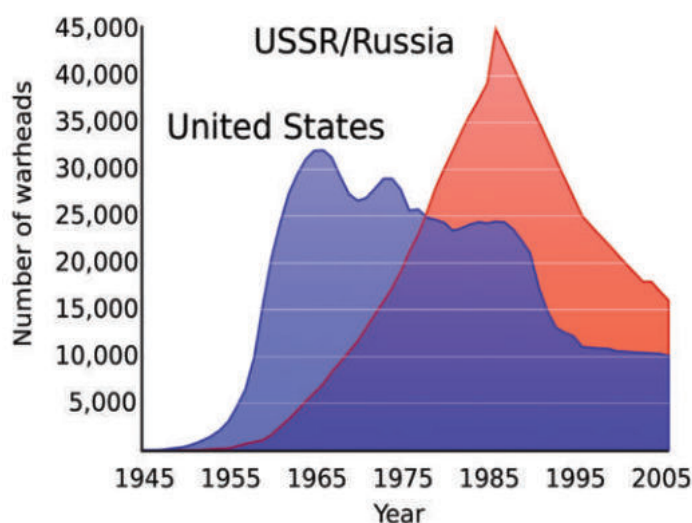
*Fig 19.3 : UN headquarter's at New york*

- Do you think that wars are related to poverty, lack of equitable development and cultural exchanges between countries?
- According to some, the special powers given to the five powers is undemocratic and should be abolished while some others feel that if these country do not have special powers, the UNO cannot function smoothly. Discuss.

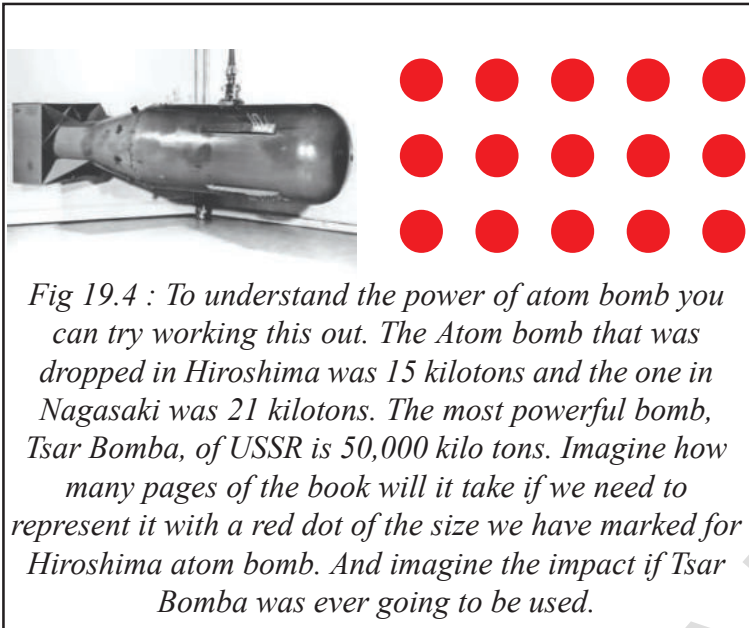
### **The Two Camps and the Cold War (1945-1991)**

Two major ideological and political camps emerged in the post war period – the Communist block led by the USSR and the Democratic-Capitalist Block led by the USA. On one hand, the USSR promoted the ideas of equality and state controlled development and suppression of opposition to these principles. On the other hand, USA promoted the ideas of multiparty democracy and private capitalist controlled process of development. The USSR had the entire Eastern Europe (Poland, Hungary, and East Germany) under its influence and many colonies which were gaining freedom like China and Vietnam were closely aligned to it. The countries of Western Europe like Britain, France, Spain were closely allied with the USA. The two blocks competed with each other for bringing all the intermediate countries in their blocks.

For more than forty-five years after the Second World War, a rather strange



*Graph 1 : US and USSR nuclear stockpiles*



war was fought between the two blocks. It was a war in which the principal contenders did not physically attack each other or fight each other directly and hence, there was no 'hot' war. Instead, a War was fought behind closed doors through propaganda and words. It is called the Cold War simply because of the absence of a real fight as in traditional wars. This Cold War, characterised by intense tension between the United States and the USSR, influenced and shaped

almost everything that happened in the world between 1945 and 1991.

The Cold War was not just a propaganda war. It also saw real fighting and cost around 20 million human lives. However, almost all of the people killed were citizens of the Third World, viz., countries emerging from colonial domination like Vietnam, Korea, Angola and Afghanistan. This division turned ethnically similar people and geographically adjacent territories into enemies and it led to wasteful wars between these countries.

Some main tactics used during the Cold War included proxy wars, military alliances, and arms race.

### **Proxy War**

Right from the outset, the two countries tried to bring the countries fighting for freedom under their sphere of influence. This was done by supporting the two opposing sides in each of those countries. US President Harry Truman authorised support for the anti-communist forces in Turkey and Greece in 1947. The Belgian colony in Africa-Congo, got independence in 1960. But it's radical communist leader, Patrice Lumumba, was killed in 1961, allegedly at the behest of US spy agency called CIA. Angola became independent from Portugal in November 1975. The Communists in Angola captured power with the help of USSR and Cuba. In Latin America, Fidel Castro had led a revolution against an American backed government and sought to build socialism on the lines of USSR. This inspired a large number of people in Latin American countries to fight for a similar transformation in their countries. One of their very popular leaders, Che Guevara, was killed. Even elected governments led by socialists like the government of Chile led by S Allende were toppled by US backed army generals.

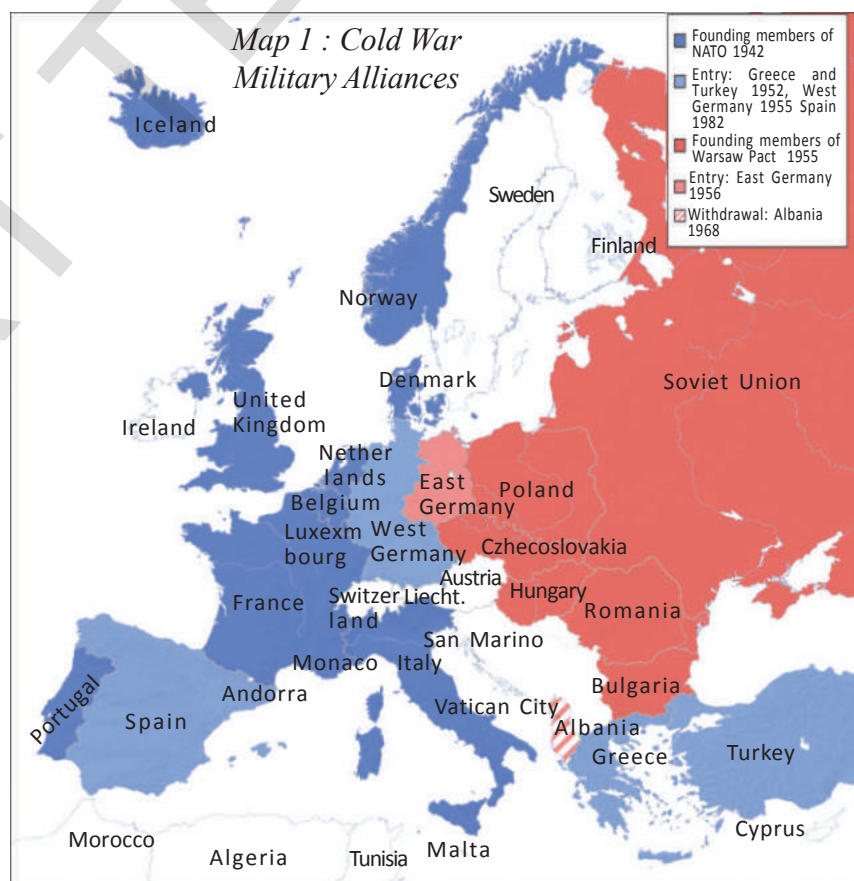
The USSR also tried to expand its sphere of influence. To begin with, in 1950s, it had to face the resistance of countries like Germany, Hungary and Czechoslovakia. It sent its armies to dismiss unfriendly governments and install friendly governments in those countries. After 1960s, China decided to disassociate itself from the USSR and the latter tried unsuccessfully to pressurise China. In 1971, USSR invaded Afghanistan to install a friendly government there. The US in turn provided armed support to Afghan rebels who were also religious extremists. A prolonged civil war ensued and as the USSR decided to withdraw from Afghanistan in 1985, the country fell to religious extremists led by the Taliban which has now turned against the USA. In all this chaos, we can see that the threat of warfare and destruction was faced by the third world which was trying to emerge out of colonial control and the wars were not fought so much by the Soviet or US troops but by the people of the third world.

### Military Alliances

Both USA and USSR were in possession of nuclear weapons but knew very well that neither would be a winner in a nuclear war. Yet, they formed military and strategic alliances - the west formalised its alliances in an organisation known as North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) in 1949. To counter this, Communist nations made similar alliances and signed the Warsaw Pact. In addition to this, U.S. established regional military and strategic alliances like South East Asian Treaty Organisation (SEATO) and Central Treaty Organisation (CENTO).

Even though they strengthened themselves by creating military blocks, they knew that fighting wars would lead to a massive destruction of human life, threatening the whole civilisations. Hence, they maintained a constrained relationship acting as a deterrent to each other.

The alliances helped the super powers which wanted to expand their influence to gain access to :



- the vital resources like oil and minerals
- markets for their products and places to safely invest their capital
- military bases to launch their troops and weapons
- spread their ideology and
- gain economic support, to pay huge military expenses

## Arms and Space Race

Both the USSR and USA spent huge amounts of money to conduct research into weapons and build arsenals of devastating nuclear arms and missiles which could strike across continents. The two countries together had enough nuclear arms to destroy the entire earth many times over. Gradually their allies like Britain,



France and China too built nuclear arsenals. The competition now also extended to the space as satellites helped in spying and in directing missiles. USSR put the first satellite Sputnik and the first human Yuri Gagarin in space. This was followed by intense competition between the two blocks to put more and more satellites and eventually led to the US sending Neil Armstrong and others to the Moon in 1969.

Fig 19.5 : (left) Yuri Gagarin, (right) Man on Moon

## Flash points

As the rival powers accumulated destructive weapons, the world was constantly threatened by a nuclear holocaust. People of all countries lived in constant fear of war. There were many moments when nuclear war between the two countries seemed imminent, but got defused somehow through diplomacy. Some of these were the incidents relating to the shooting down of U2 US spy plane over USSR, the discovery of Soviet missile build up in Cuba and several times during the Korean and Middle East wars.

## Non Alignment Movement (NAM)

In 1950s, the world was getting increasingly militarised and divided into two antagonistic camps. The rivalries between the two super powers for military supremacy, ideological conflicts and rivalry to gain economic supremacy lead to the establishment of a bipolar world. Though this conflict did not leave much space

for those who did not want to be involved in either of the blocks, there was an attempt to create one. The core concerns of people, especially those who were recently de-colonised, like poverty, disease, inequality and colonialism were not addressed by any of these issues of contention.



*Fig 19.6 : J. Nehru, Kwame Nkrumah of Kenya, Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt, Sukarno of Indonesia, Tito of Yugoslavia at NAM meeting 1960*

The leaders of newly independent nations felt the need for a change from the insecure and tense

situation. So, in 1955, a conference was held at Bandung in Indonesia. It was the first Asia-African conference represented by 29 nations. The most important leaders of this conference were Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the then Prime Minister of India, Gamal Abdel Nasser, the leader of Egypt and Josip Broz Tito, the leader of Yugoslavia. Pt. Nehru was acknowledged as the chief spokesperson. It paved the way for Non Aligned Movement (NAM).

Thus, non-alignment was established as an international organisation with an aim to promote cultural and economic cooperation among the newly independent countries of Asia, Africa and later Latin America.

The first Summit was held at Belgrade in Yugoslavia in September 1961. It was attended by 25 member countries. By 2012, the membership has grown to 120 countries with 17 Observers. The first Summit was the culmination of three major concerns:

- Cooperation among the member nations of NAM, most of them had newly emerged as free countries.
- Growing Cold War tensions and its impact on the world at large.
- To prevent any of the newly decolonised independent countries from joining any of the military blocks.

Over the years, the NAM helped countries like India to take an independent position when the two super powers fell apart and pulled countries to their side. It also helped the newly emerging countries to bargain for space and assistance from the super powers by playing one against the other. To some extent, it also helped to ease tensions amongst the NAM countries. Even though both the blocks looked at NAM with suspicion, the US regarded the NAM as being closer to the USSR on wider international issues. Its inaction in the case of Soviet invasion of Afghanistan

was often seen as a partisan position contrary to NAM's principles. Another weakness of NAM was its inability to effectively stop its own members from

- What was the main purpose of 1955 Bandung conference?
- How did super powers react to the principles of Non-alignment?
- Why were the Non-aligned nations known as third world countries?

waging wars against each other. Thus, when Iran and Iraq were in a long war lasting seven or more years, NAM could do little about it. Despite these limitations, the NAM helped the newly independent nations assert their autonomy in international affairs in a world torn between the two super powers.

## West Asian Conflicts

West Asia refers to the region towards the west of Asia. The term 'Middle East' is also used to describe this area. The conflicts that developed between Arabs and Jews are often described as the West Asian Crisis. It was mainly related to the occupation of Palestine. Palestine, which was inhabited by Arabs, was under the control of Britain before Second World War. Jerusalem, which is a holy city for Jews, Christians and Muslims alike, is situated in it.

The Jews traditionally considered Palestine as their 'Promised Land' from where they had been exiled in ancient times and pushed across Europe and Asia. In Europe, they were a persecuted community as Christians considered them responsible for the crucifixion of Jesus Christ. The conflict came to a head in Germany under the Nazis when millions of Jews of Europe were jailed and killed.

A movement had emerged among the Jews called the 'Zionist Movement' which called for uniting Jews spread across the world and to reclaim Palestine as their homeland and build a separate state for Jews. After 1945, this demand was supported by Western powers. However, since Palestinians (who were mostly Arab Muslims) were already living there, this became a bone of contention.

Matters were also complicated by the discovery of massive oil reserves in the Middle East, especially in the Arabian peninsula. Both US and USSR wanted to bring this region under their sphere of influence and would not let the other country establish its control.

In 1947, United Nations passed a resolution, according to which, Palestine was divided into two parts -Arab and Jewish States. In 1948, the British withdrew their troops from Palestine and Israel was created for Jews. The Arabs did not agree to giving up their homeland. The Arabs refused to recognise Israel as a legitimate state. The policies pursued by the state of Israel increased the bitterness. The Arabs were forced to leave their homes and properties and had to take shelter as refugees in the other Arab states.

The President of Egypt, Gamal Abdel Nasser (1918-1970), made an effort to unite the Arabs. He formed *fidayeens* (suicide squads) for causing explosions in

public places in Israel.

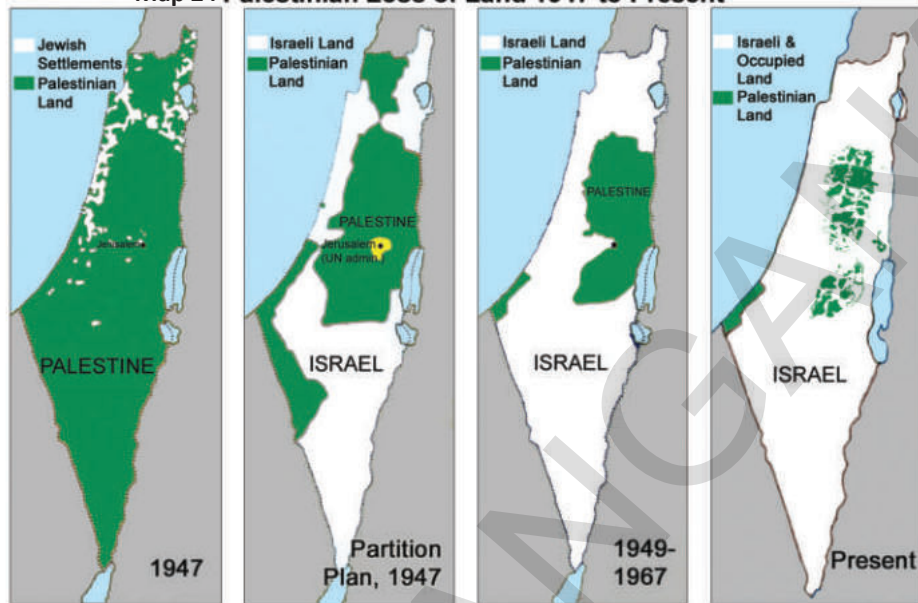
In 1956, Israel attacked Egypt with the support of Western powers and both United States and USSR demanded a cessation of war and a cease-fire. Israel had to withdraw its army. In 1967, Arabs attacked Israel once again. Israel

decided that offence is the best form of defense and it attacked Egypt and destroyed its entire air force. It also occupied the territories of Gaza, Golan Heights and the West Bank. Israel while refusing to return the occupied territories despite UN resolution, agreed for a ceasefire. Israel believed that these occupied territories would act as buffer zones. This war was a setback to the Arab cause.

In the meanwhile, an organisation called Palestinian Liberation Organisation (PLO hereafter) was established in 1964 in Jordan and added a new dimension by bringing together all the different Arab factions. Its aim was to regain the land it lost without violence. However, in 1967, PLO under the leadership of Yasser Arafat applied pressure and force on Arab states to attack Israel. But the Arab states were not very enthusiastic. Hence, a faction of PLO led by Arafat carried out terrorist attacks like plane hijackings, holding the Israeli Olympic Squad at the Munich Olympics as hostages in September 1972 and killing many of the sportspersons etc. Israel used such attacks by the Palestinians to mount further attacks on them and refused to implement the promises it had made.

The region has been constantly in a state of war and terrorist attacks as a result of retaliation and counter retaliation. The PLO too broke into many mutually warring factions. Eventually, Arafat gave up terrorism and agreed to find a peaceful solution by recognising the formation of Israel. He held negotiations with Israel to

Map 2 : Palestinian Loss of Land 1947 to Present



- What were the reasons for the conflict between Arabs and Jews?
- Why did Egypt support the Palestinians during the conflict?
- Why do you think did some Palestinians adopt the path of terrorism? What was its outcome?
- Find out about the condition of Palestinians who are living in refugee camps and constantly facing warfare and poverty.

end the long war and came to many agreements regarding self rule for Palestinians. Israel agreed to withdraw its forces from West Bank in addition to giving voting rights to the Arab residents of Palestine. However, this was not successful as Israel failed to implement its promises and continued to attack the Palestinians under one pretext or the other. Many countries agreed to recognise the PLO as the legitimate representative of the Palestinians state and Arafat as its President. Arafat died in 2004 due to flu fever.

The Palestinians are still fighting for their homeland and peace under very difficult conditions of exile and warfare.

### **The Growth of Nationalism in the Middle East**

The continued support of the US to Israel and the plight of Palestinians created a widespread feeling against the US in the region. The US also became unpopular because it supported undemocratic regimes in this area so that the oil resources were available to the US and its allies. People, on the other hand, wanted the revenues from oil resources to be used for the welfare of common people who did not have any other resources in the desert area. In 1968, a coup took place in Iraq in which Saddam Husain came to power with the twin slogan of Arab Nationalism and Socialism. By socialism, they meant nationalisation of oil resources and the use of oil revenues by the state to fund welfare measures for the citizens. Similar developments took place in Libya in 1969 (you have read about this in class IX, chapter 18). These regimes combined welfare policies with autocratic and dictatorial rule of a ruler or a small group. They did not allow any opposition or democratic protest against themselves.

In many cases, the opposition to the US and US backed regimes took religious colours. Nationalist forces, instead of supporting the idea of equitable distribution of wealth and opportunities, fostered the idea of establishing religious orthodoxy in those countries. A revolution took place in Iran in 1979 in which the old King of Iran (who was supported by the US) was removed and a new government jointly controlled by Shia Islamic clerics and democratically elected leaders was established.

The Taliban, which took over Afghanistan after the withdrawal of Soviet troops, similarly established an extremist Islamic state. These states tried to force all the people to strictly follow the rules laid down in religious texts. In many cases, this meant the denial of basic freedom and equality of opportunity to women and religious minorities.

The beginning of the twenty first century witnessed growing discontent among the Arabs which resulted in the growth of religious terrorism. Some Arab terrorists hijacked two aircrafts in the US and crashed them into the World Trade Centre in New York killing thousands of people. This led to a war against Taliban and eventually to a war against Iraq. Find out more about these recent events from the newspapers and magazines.

## Peace Movements, Collapse of the USSR and the end of the Cold War

As time passed, USSR and USA came under tremendous public pressure to roll back the arms race and destroy their nuclear arsenal. You will read more about this later on in this book. This forced them to hold talks to mutually reduce the stockpile and weapons race and eventually to ban nuclear tests between 1985 to 1991.

This was largely made possible by the coming to power of Mikhail Gorbachev in the USSR. He tried to transform the politics of USSR by making it more open and bringing about radical changes. He was a liberal who introduced certain reforms for the revival of their economy and promoted healthy relations with the West. The reforms introduced by the open regime are often described as 'Glasnost' and 'Perestroika'.

Around the same time, the countries of Eastern Europe faced serious economic crises and the USSR was not in a position to help them. As a result, popular movements demanding freedom, democracy and economic reforms swept across Eastern Europe. Soon, the governments were unable to manage the country and collapsed. This is best symbolised by the breaking down of the infamous Berlin Wall that separated Eastern and Western Germany and symbolized the unpopular control of the USSR over Germany.



Fig 19.7 : Demolition of Berlin Wall that divided East and West Germany

In the USSR itself, Communist hardliners

- Explain the terms bipolarity and unipolarity.

encouraged a coup in 1991 to remove Gorbachev from power. This backfired and Boris Yeltsin resisted the coup on behalf of the Russian parliament. He eventually won the Presidential elections and announced the disbanding of the USSR in 1991. The components of the former USSR became independent countries and many of them formed an alliance with Russia later on.

With the collapse of the USSR, a new era began in world politics: the era of unipolar world and the era of Globalisation. You studied about this in a separate chapter in this book.

- What are the similarities and differences between Arab Socialist Nationalism and Religious Nationalism?
- Find out more about the developments in Iran and Afghanistan under the Taliban to understand how religious states work.

## India and its Neighbours

We saw that India was the founder of the NAM which sought to keep an independent position between the two superpowers. India tried to base its foreign policy on the Gandhian principles of peace and non-violence. To emphasise its determination for peace, Jawaharlal Nehru formulated his renowned Panchsheel principles:

1. Respect for each other's sovereignty and territorial integrity.
2. Non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries.
3. Non-aggression and settlement of disputes with mutual understanding.
4. Endeavour to achieve cooperation and mutual respect in international relationships.
5. Promoting peaceful coexistence.

These were to determine India's relations with other countries, especially its neighbours – China, Pakistan, Sri Lanka and subsequently, Bangladesh.

Read the following account of India's relation with its neighbours and understand the extent to which it has been based on these principles.

## India's Relationship with China

After a long struggle and a violent revolution, China became a Communist republic in 1949. India was one of the first countries to recognise China's Communist government. India also supported a permanent seat in UN Security Council for China, the seat that was earlier occupied by the Chiang Kai Shek Government. India helped China take part in Bandung conference in spite of their ideological differences. Both the countries signed the Panchsheel pact on 29 April 1954. The leaders of both the countries visited each other's country and they were greeted by large friendly crowds.

During the colonial rule Mc Mahon line was drawn as the border between the countries. Nehru accepted it. Tibet which lay between China and India was to be an independent buffer zone. But China annexed Tibet in 1950 on the plea that it was a dependent state of the old Chinese Empire. This removed the buffer between the two countries. There was a revolt in Tibet which was crushed by the Chinese. Thousands of Tibetans escaped along with Dalai Lama and took refuge in India. India gave asylum to Dalai Lama and this caused a conflict. Chinese started considering India as an adversary. Prior to this, a border dispute had surfaced between India and China. China laid claim to Aksai-chin area in Ladakh region and much of Arunachal Pradesh. Despite many efforts and long discussions, the conflicts have not been resolved till today.

China tried to invade Indian territories in October 1962, violating the peace treaties it had signed with India. India was not prepared for this surprise attack and suffered great losses in the war. Eventually, China declared unilateral ceasefire and withdrew its troops to its pre-war position. It took more than a decade to resume

normal relations. Full diplomatic relations were restored only in 1976.

Now, both the countries have strategic as well as economic advantage as they are recognised as rising powers of Asia. The two countries today have the ambition of emerging as major world economic and political powers. Thus, they also see each other as economic and political competitors. At the borders, both the governments have taken measures to maintain peace and tranquility despite occasional actions to the contrary.

- Do you think it was correct for India to give refuge to the Dalai Lama and his Tibetan followers?
- Do you think China was justified in wanting to control Tibet?
- To what extent do you think can both the countries forget about their past conflicts over the boundaries and develop meaningful cooperation and friendship?

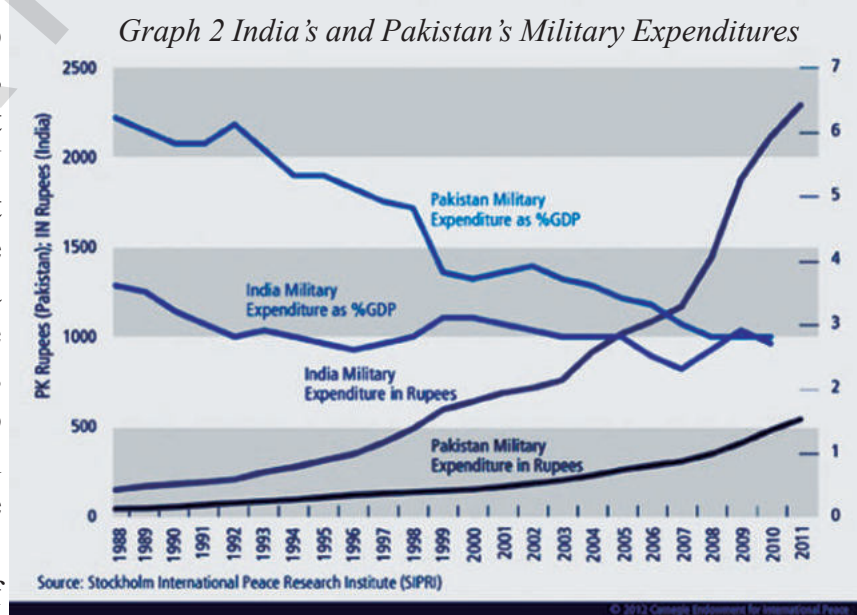
## India's relation with Pakistan

As we saw in an earlier lesson, India and Pakistan became independent nations by bifurcating the erstwhile British India. After partition, the conflicts between India and Pakistan became perpetual, the main bone of contention between the two countries being Kashmir.

The first war between the two countries took place in 1947-1948 for Kashmir. But it did not settle the problem. The war divided Kashmir into two parts: Pakistan occupied Kashmir (PoK) and the Indian province that were divided by a line of control.

In 1965, when Lal Bahadur Shastri was the Prime Minister, Pakistan was under the military dictatorship of General Ayub Khan. Ayub Khan hoped to provoke a revolt in Kashmir by invading India in the name of liberating Kashmir. However, the people of Kashmir did not respond to this and backed the Indian state in its war efforts. India responded by opening a front in Punjab targeting Lahore and this forced Pakistan to retreat from Kashmir front. UN secretary general U Thant persuaded both the countries to agree to a ceasefire. After the ceasefire, an agreement was signed between the two countries at Tashkent in 1966 by the two Prime Ministers.

In the beginning of 1970, Pakistan faced the



## Religion and War

Lal Bahadur Shastri, in a rally in Delhi after the end of the war, decried the attempt of Pakistan to use religious symbolism in the war claiming it to be a war of Muslims against Hindus. He proudly stated that India was a secular country.

“The unique thing about our country is that we have Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Sikhs, Parsis and people of all other religions. We have temples and mosques, gurudwaras and churches. But we do not bring this all into politics... This is the difference between India and Pakistan. Whereas Pakistan proclaims herself to be an Islamic State and uses religion as a political factor, we Indians have freedom to follow whatever religion we may choose [and] worship in any way we please. So far as politics is concerned, each of us is as much as Indian as the other.”

biggest internal crisis. The military dictator of Pakistan, General Yahya Khan, promised a democratic government and ordered elections. The election produced a split verdict-West Pakistan was won by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto while Awami league led by Sheikh Mujib-ur-Rahman swept the polls in East Pakistan. But the government of Pakistan refused to accept the verdict as well as the demand of Awami League for a greater autonomy for East Pakistan. Instead, they arrested Mujib-ur-Rahman and unleashed a reign of terror. India was faced with an influx of refugees from East

Pakistan. Supporters of Mujibur Rahman organised a liberation struggle in the form of ‘Mukti Bahini’. India under its Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi, began to provide support to it and tried to win international support for its cause. India also signed a treaty of friendship with the USSR which promised support to India.

A full-scale war broke out with Pakistan in December 1971. The war ended only after the liberation of East Pakistan leading to the creation of Bangladesh and declaration of ceasefire by India. Later, the Shimla agreement was signed between the countries under the leadership of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Prime Minister Indira Gandhi.

Since the 1971 war, there has been no open war, but innumerable border skirmishes and battles over respective positions across the border. You may have heard of the ‘Kargil War’ in which anti-Indian militants had occupied portions of Indian territory with the backing of Pakistani army and had to be repelled through a major military operation in 1999.

Pakistan has, over the years, encouraged separatist movements in the border states of India like Punjab, Jammu and Kashmir. India has often accused Pakistan of not only supporting such movements but actively training and sending religious extremists to foment trouble in India. Pakistan, in turn, has been accusing India of trying to destabilise it and constantly threatening it with military action and stockpiling of nuclear arms and missiles. This has also led to the two countries spending inordinate amounts of scarce funds on arming themselves against each other. Both the countries have nuclear weapons and believe that this would act as a deterrent.

At the same time, given the long history of shared culture and civilisation, the people of India and Pakistan have often tried to overcome the hatred nurtured by

vested interests and build bridges of friendship through trade, sports, films, tourism and cultural exchanges. Many Indians and Pakistanis feel that secularism, democracy and freedom in both countries will enable a greater understanding and cooperation between the two people. These ideals are under threat by forces which seek to promote conflict between the two countries.

- What steps do you think should India and Pakistan take to build lasting peace between the two countries?
- Why is peace between India and Pakistan necessary for the development of both the countries?

### India's relation with Bangladesh

Bangladesh was liberated from Pakistan with the help of Indian troops in 1971. It signed a 25 years peace treaty with India immediately after its independence. However, they have had differences over several issues like sharing of river waters of the Ganga and the Brahmaputra. India also opposed the large-scale illegal migration of people of Bangladesh into India. The Bangladesh government objected to fencing of borders by India to prevent illegal entry. It feels that India behaves like a big brother in this region.

In spite of these differences, both the countries have cooperated on many fronts, especially on the economic front. Bangladesh is an integral part of the Indian 'look East policy' to link up south Asia via Myanmar. Both have cooperation on disaster management. Bangladesh has rewarded many Indians who rendered their services and sacrificed their lives for the liberation of Bangladesh.

### India's relation with Sri Lanka

Sri Lanka is an island country situated in the Indian Ocean towards the south of India. It got its freedom in 1948. Since times immemorial, India and Sri Lanka have cultural, ethnic and economic relations. Both were decolonised almost at the



Fig 19.8 : (Left) People Protesting against China in 1958 the banner says China Hands Off Tibet, (Right) East Pakistan Refugees arriving in India, 1971

- Many small countries feel that their larger neighbours act like 'big brothers'. What do you think is meant by this?
- Look at the map of India and Bangladesh and see why cooperation between the two countries is of vital importance to both.

same time and remain democratic till to day. A major irritant in the relation between the two countries has been the treatment of Tamil speaking minorities by the Sri Lankan government. You have read about this in class IX – recall the discussion.

The large scale influx of Sri Lankan Tamil refugees into India posed a special problem. This led to a more active intervention by India which entered into an agreement with Sri Lanka and the Tamil militants to maintain peace on the island. You have also read earlier about India sending its armies to keep peace in Sri Lanka and the assassination of former Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi by Tamil militants. Eventually India decided not to interfere when the Sri Lankan government began an all out war against the Tamil militants which caused immense bloodshed and violation of human rights. This enabled Sri Lanka to finally bring a cessation of military conflict on the island.

- Compare the support of India to Bangladesh and its role in Sri Lanka. Do you think the situation was similar or different?

### Keywords

Military alliances	Proxy war	Arms race	Unipolar	Bipolar
Decolonisation	Veto	Ethnic conflict	Panchsheel	

### Improve your learning

- Choose the correct answer: Which among the following statement about the Cold War is wrong?  
a) Rivalry between US and USSR. b) USA and USSR engaged in direct war. (AS<sub>1</sub>)  
c) Triggering off an arms race. d) An ideological war between the two super powers.
- Who amongst the following is not involved in the West Asian crisis? (AS<sub>1</sub>)  
a) Egypt b) Indonesia c) Britain d) Israel
- What was the nature of shift in power in the world after the second world war? (AS<sub>1</sub>)
- What are the different roles played by United Nations in order to build peace in the world? (AS<sub>1</sub>)
- Given the idea of democracy, do you think a few countries should have special powers in making the decisions? (AS<sub>2</sub>)
- How were the super powers benefited by military alliances? (AS<sub>1</sub>)
- How did Cold War produce arms race as well as arms control? (AS<sub>1</sub>)
- Why did West Asia become a center of tensions in the world? (AS<sub>1</sub>)
- By the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, there is only one single power that dominates the world. In this context, what do you think would be the role of NAM? (AS<sub>1</sub>)
- “Formation of NAM was not merely in the context of military alliances but also in the context of economic policies”. Justify the statement. (AS<sub>1</sub>)
- Draw a table to show the relations between India and its neighbouring countries with regard to the following items: issues of conflict; events of war; events of help and co-operation. (AS<sub>3</sub>)
- “The ethnic conflicts affected India’s relations with Sri Lanka”. Justify. (AS<sub>1</sub>)
- Locate the following on the map of the world. (AS<sub>2</sub>)  
i) Poland ii) USSR iii) Vietnam iv) Spain v) Latin America vi) Afghanistan
- Observe the graph-2 of page 288 and answer the following. (AS<sub>3</sub>)  
i) Which country’s Military expenditure is high  
ii) What do you observe in the military expenditures of the two countries as percent of GDP?
- Read the last para of page 285 and comment on it. (AS<sub>2</sub>)

## Social Movements in Our Times

You may have witnessed many movements in which people participate in large numbers, try to understand some problem, decide in favour of some form of change and campaign actively for it. You may even have participated in some of them. Recall some such movement that you have read about in the newspapers or participated in. What were the problems, who were the people affected? What did they want? Who led the movement? How were the people persuaded to join the movement? Were there any differences within the movement? How did the movement proceed and to what extent did they achieve their objectives?

### Background

During the first half of the 20th century, the world was dominated by the great wars, revolutions, emergence of German Fascism, Soviet Socialism, Western liberalism, national liberation movements etc. However, with the end of the Second World War and the independence of colonies and semi-colonies like India, China, Indonesia, Nigeria and Egypt by mid 1950s, a new era began in the world. This was an era of economic growth and prosperity for most of the countries, but also of growing tensions in many countries. Sections of societies which had long been denied equal rights came out asserting their rights.

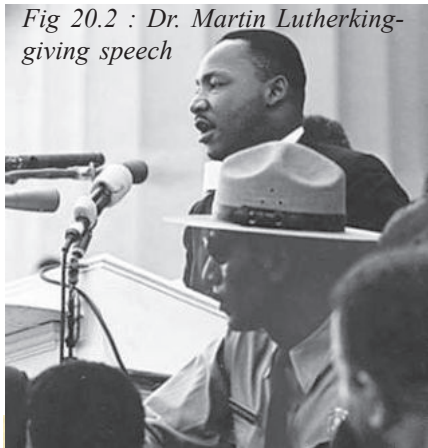
### Civil Rights and Other Movements of 1960s

One of the most important movements was the American Civil Rights Movement. It fought for equal treatment of Afro-Americans or Black Americans and against rules that permitted segregation of blacks and whites in schools, buses, and public places and discriminated against them in appointments, housing, and even voting rights. This movement reached its height during the 1960s. It was largely non-violent and took the form of massive demonstrations, marches, 'civil disobedience' (violating discriminatory laws peacefully) and boycott of



*Fig 20.1 : Elizabeth Eckford a black girl attempting to enter Little Rock School on 4th September 1957.*

Fig 20.2 : Dr. Martin Lutherking-giving speech



discriminatory services (like buses which segregated whites and blacks). One of the important actions was the year long boycott of buses by blacks in Montgomery led by Dr. Martin Luther King. This caused a huge loss to the bus company and eventually forced the court to ban segregation of seats for blacks and whites in buses in 1956. At the same time, a powerful movement was going on for ending segregation in schools (black and white children

had to go to different schools). On 28th August 1963, more than two lakh people marched to Washington demanding the passage of Civil Rights Act and demanding among other things, program for generation of employment, full and fair employment, decent housing, the right to vote, and adequately integrated education system in which whites and blacks could study together. This was addressed among others by Dr. King who made his historic speech, "I have a dream.." These

### I Have A Dream..

Five score years ago, a great American, in whose symbolic shadow we stand today, signed the Emancipation Proclamation. This momentous decree came as a great beacon light of hope to millions of Negro slaves who had been seared in the flames of withering injustice.... But one hundred years later, the Negro still is not free. One hundred years later, the life of the Negro is still sadly crippled by the manacles of segregation and the chains of discrimination....

I have a dream that my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the colour of their skin but by the content of their character... Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.

- Try to read this famous speech of Dr King and write an essay on the ideals he set for American society and how he planned to achieve it.

laws were subsequently passed and after a long struggle, many of them got effectively implemented. This became an inspiration all over the world for leading non-violent social movements for reform and change.

As the movement grew in strength, several viewpoints emerged – many people agreed with Dr King that it was possible to achieve equality for all people through peaceful means and persuading the government to pass necessary laws. However, many others like Malcom X were of the view that blacks were a separate nation and should fight for independence from white rule. They also felt that in order to win power they will have to use all the means including armed conflict.

A large section of people who actively participated in the civil rights movement were black women, who felt that their voice was not being heard even within the movement which was dominated by men. In fact, no woman was allowed to speak in

the famous Washington March. They felt that women needed to assert themselves for the equality of women.

All these diverse streams also contributed in their own way in building a powerful movement for equality which shaped modern history of the USA.

- Make a table and list the demands of civil rights movement and the possible solutions in your opinion.
- USA claims to be a democracy, yet it kept certain groups of people segregated, till middle of last century. Discuss how the idea of democracy needs to be more inclusive in our context.
- Why do we hear different voices within a movement? Can you identify differences in them?

### Human Rights Movements in the USSR

In those days, USSR and the countries of Eastern Europe which were within the sphere of influence of the USSR had a government which did not allow free multi-party elections, free uncensored press or media, or even freedom of expression or movement for ordinary people. These governments were constantly under fear of conspiracies to destabilise them and kept a close control over all activities of people. As people grew tired of such controls, many movements for human rights, freedom of expression, movement and free press took place in different parts of USSR and Eastern Europe. In countries like Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Poland, this also took the form of demand for freedom from the control of USSR over them. Some of these movements also received support from the anti-Communist countries including the USA and UK. These movements for human rights had many shades of differences. Some of these trends called for greater freedom for common people, while others sought to dismantle the socialist system as it existed in these countries. Alexander Solzhenitsyn, the famous writer, and Andrei Sakharov, the nuclear scientist, were important leaders of this movement. Under the influence of these and other movements, a new leadership emerged in

- Can you think of the similarity or differences in the nature of political system in USA and USSR and how was their response to people's rights?

the USSR under President Gorbachev who initiated a process of reform called Glasnost to bring greater freedom for the people.

### Anti-nuclear and Anti-war Movements

The 1970s and 1980s saw a new kind of movement - the movement against war and nuclear arms. The entire world was witness to the horrors of nuclear bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in August 1945. Despite this, leading superpowers like the USA, USSR, Britain and France began building arsenals of nuclear weapons and justifying them as a means of deterring the other powers from using them.

Those were the days of intensive Cold War between the USA and USSR and America's war with Vietnam. The entire world was constantly under the fear of another World War. It was feared that if a war broke out and nuclear weapons were used, entire mankind would be wiped out of the earth. Thousands of scientists and intellectuals from across the world campaigned for abolishing all nuclear weapons and insisted that USA and USSR come to an agreement and end the futile Arms Race.

In the Vietnam conflict, it is estimated that as many as 8,00,000 to 30,00,000 Vietnamese military and civilians were killed, apart from equally large number of Cambodians and Laotians. USA did not see any civilian deaths but a large number of military personnel died and more were physically handicapped. Vietnam was a largely a forested and poor nation in comparison with their opponents, USA and France. The Vietnamese used guerrilla warfare techniques to fight the war. The USA invented and used newer arsenal like chemical weapons including napalm bombs destroying complete villages.

During the early 1970s, more and more American soldiers returned from Vietnam with serious doubts about the wisdom of bombing innocent people who in no way posed a threat to the Americans. More and more Americans were also unhappy about sending their children to war in distant Vietnam. Thus, mass protests

### "We Won't Go"

America has a law which requires all able bodied citizens to enrol in the army for a short period. During the Vietnam War, thousands of citizens refused to get drafted into the army to fight in Vietnam. Let us read about one such protest refusal. This is a statement that appeared in a newspaper, *Harvard Crimson*:

"We, the undersigned, as American men of draft age, may be asked by our government to participate in the war in Vietnam. We have examined the history and the nature of this war, and have reached the conclusion that our

participation in it would be contrary to the dictates of our consciences.

We therefore declare our determination to refuse military service (*all citizens are required to do so by law*) while the United States is fighting

in Vietnam. Our intention in signing this statement is to unite with other draft-age men who share our convictions, in order to turn our personal moral rejection of this war into effective political opposition to it."

- Some thought that these people were being un-patriotic while others thought that they were justified in refusing to participate in an unjust war. Discuss the two points of view in the class and write a short note of arguments of both sides and your own viewpoint.

swept across America against the Vietnam War. This eventually forced the US government to end the war and leave Vietnam in 1975. The success of this campaign inspired peace movements across the world.

The nuclear arms race intensified after the end of Vietnam War as more and more countries competed with each other to stockpile nuclear arms. Companies which produced these arms (called the military-industrial complex) and the governments tried to create a war panic among the common people so that they could support greater expenditure of tax payer's money on nuclear arms. Gradually, many people especially in Europe, realised that war mongering and the consequent arms race only made the world more unsafe and increased the possibility of a disastrous war for all countries, even those not directly involved in the conflict. Massive protests took place against the policies of the governments demanding that they begin negotiations with other governments to reduce nuclear arms and work towards peace.

As a result of these pressures, the USA and the USSR, the main competitors in the arms race, began talks to cut down their nuclear arsenal - Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT) which however were unsuccessful. Finally a treaty was signed in 1991 which is called Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START). START negotiated the largest and most complex arms control treaty in the history, and its final implementation in late 2001 resulted in the removal of about 80 percent of all strategic nuclear weapons then in existence. A little while after the signing of the treaty, the USSR was dissolved and in its place a new Russian state was formed. With this ended the

*Fig 20.3: a. Vietnam War protesters; b. A woman demonstrator offers a flower to military police on guard at the Pentagon. Discuss the ideas in these images.*



- What were the different types of responses to the weaponisation?
- If people from different countries met each other there would be less chances of war, than the governments alone deciding the policy with each other. Would you agree with this statement? Give reasons for the answer.
- Explain how environmental issues can affect people of nations who may have no role in deciding the location of nuclear plants, polluting factories etc. How do we deal with such situations?

long period of Cold War and the constant threat of a catastrophic World War. This did not however mean the end of war or violence between countries as we have witnessed the disastrous wars in Eastern Europe, Iraq and Afghanistan.

During the last phase of the existence the USSR, a major accident took place in its nuclear plant in Chernobyl. This caused the death of a large number of workers in Chernobyl. But more important, it contaminated the atmosphere of a very large region including many other countries of Europe. Its effects created a new awareness among the people of the world about the danger of nuclear power whether for peaceful or warlike purposes. It helped to merge anti

war concerns with the concerns of environmental protection.

### **Globalisation, marginalised people and environmental movements**

The economic and political changes happening worldwide since 1990s which go by the name of ‘globalisation’ or ‘neo-liberalism’ have deeply impacted the lives of the underprivileged and poor. Tribal people, poor farmers, landless workers, women, urban poor working in the unorganised sector and industrial workers have been the worst hit. By and large, these are also the people without access to formal education or adequate nutrition and health. As a result, they had no access to better paying jobs or to legal or other constitutional remedies.

During the last few decades, tribal and marginal farmers have also been threatened by commercial farmers, mining corporations, dam projects etc. As the large companies find rare resources in remote rural areas, like minerals, rare plants or animals and water, there has been a rapid increase in the ousting of the farming and tribal population from their traditional areas. This resulted in dispersion of the communities into new areas and the destruction of tribal cultures. As a result, they have been reduced to being the most vulnerable sections of the society. Along with this, such processes of development have severely threatened the natural resource base giving rise to environmental movements that seek to combine the voice of the marginalised with the anger over the destructive and violent nature of these development forces. These movements seek a vision that is different.

## Greenpeace Movement in Europe

This movement initially started as a protest in 1971 against the American underwater nuclear tests near Alaska. Volunteers set out in a small ship to the test area to protest. This ship was named “Greenpeace” and this eventually became the name of the movement. Today, it is spread over forty countries with its headquarters in Amsterdam (Holland) and has become an important international ‘non-governmental organisation’.

During the last few decades, scientists have discovered that pollution causes the depletion of the protective ozone layer in the atmosphere which is important to absorb harmful rays of Sun. Due to pollution, the average temperature of Earth has been increasing steadily. This is causing the melting of Polar Ice Caps – the vast accumulation of water in the form of ice on the two poles. As the ice melts and joins the oceans, the water level of oceans and seas will rise causing submergence of land in the coastal areas all over the world. Countries like Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Mauritius, India and Indonesia where a very large number of people live along the sea coast will face severe problem of flooding and submergence. Even the people living deep inside the continent will not be spared as the global warming will cause erratic rainfall (unseasonal rains, excess rains and droughts) and crop failure. In other words, global climate change will affect those countries whose population particularly depends upon agriculture.

Greenpeace has taken up the impact of climate change across many countries. It aims at “ensuring the ability of the Earth to nurture life in all diversity”. Over the years, the movement has developed the idea of ‘sustainable development’, that is development which is environmentally sustainable over a long time and also just for all people, both of the developed world and the undeveloped world.

- Look up the website of Greenpeace movement (<http://www.greenpeace.org/international>) to find out about the issues they have been fighting for and how the methods they have used for fighting. Find out about the debates and controversies about this movement too.

## Bhopal Gas Disaster related movements

You must have read about the great tragedy which happened in Bhopal in 1984. A poisonous gas leaked out of the Union Carbide factory (later this factory was purchased by Dow company). Thousands of people lost their lives and many more are still suffering from its ill effects. This was perhaps the worst industrial disaster in the world. Right from the beginning, the people of Bhopal have been fighting for four main demands:

Proper medical treatment of the victims; adequate compensation for them based on international standards as the company was a multinational company; fixing criminal responsibility for the disaster on the management of the multinational company; and finally steps to prevent such disasters in the future.



Fig. 20.4 Bhopal gas tragedy being commemorated

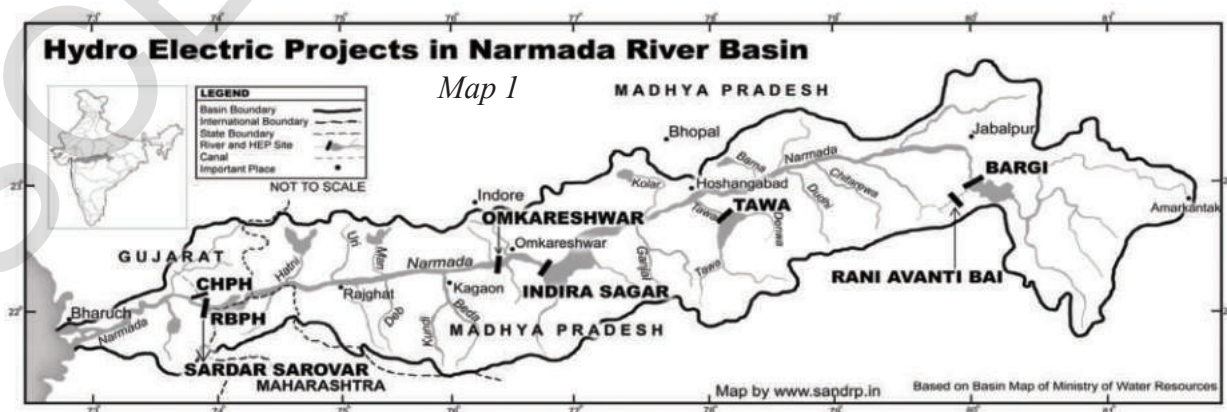
While they have succeeded to some extent, they are still a long way before they can claim to have achieved all the major demands. While enormous sums have been spent on setting up medical facilities in Bhopal, the victims are still suffering from its effects; compensation has not been paid as per international standards and that too not properly to all the affected people. The government has failed to prosecute and punish the management of the company for its negligence which led to the accident. We do have better laws today, yet we still do not have a proper policy or adequate impartial inspecting mechanism which will eliminate the possibility of such disasters in the future. The protests against this has been even more complex since the company itself was based in USA. People today need to use international laws to fight against the problems that the factory workers and women face who are affected by the pollution created by the company. Many people across the globe boycotted products made by the company. Even today social mobilisation continues when the Dow company sponsored Olympics in London, people across the globe signed petition against it. Multiple organisations from around the world pointed at the unethical alliance of Olympic body with Dow.

## Environmental movements

Environmental movements started in our country too in the 1970s as grass roots movements for protection of natural forests. One such movement was the Chipko Movement which you studied about in chapter 11.

## Movements against dams on the Narmada river

Building of large ‘multi-purpose dams’ was an integral part of India’s planned development from 1950s. Some of these included large dams like Bhakra Nangal, Hirakud, and Nagarjunasagar. In the beginning, people were too awestruck by the dams, the huge amounts of water it could store, the vast tracts it could irrigate, the amount of electricity it could generate, the floods and droughts it could control or prevent. So much so that no one asked about what would happen to the people,



trees, fields and animals who lived in the areas submerged by these dams. Thousands of trees and animals and acres of fertile fields and people who had been displaced to build these dams were completely ignored. They had no place to go and had been evicted with paltry or no compensation. For most people, this was a small price for the huge benefits that the large dams brought to the people of the country. Soon, people began to question even this, as it turned out if you actually accounted for all the expenditure and all the losses incurred in terms of forests and fields and villages, the investment in the dams did not yield adequate results. This was because the cost of the dams was huge and often it increased due to delays in construction and price rise. Secondly, they seldom irrigated the amount of land initially proposed to be irrigated or produced as much electricity as projected. This was because the actual amount of water that could be stored in the dams was usually less than what the engineers had assumed. All these questions came up when the government proposed to build a series of major and minor dams across the Narmada river in one of the most ambitious river valley projects in India's history.

People who stood to be displaced from the project, demanded a fair compensation not just to those who owned land but all those who lived there. They also demanded proper rehabilitation with land in return for the land lost and also afforestation to compensate for the loss of forests under the dam. Soon, people realised two things: that there was actually no adequate land available to compensate for the loss and that it was really not possible to rehabilitate all the displaced people properly. Secondly, people began to realise that the problem was not the question of compensation or rehabilitation but one of a faulty notion of development. Development which was based on unsustainable use of natural resources only paved the way for setting up of industries and commercial farms at the cost of farming and tribal communities. It only made unskilled manual workers out of the poor farmers and tribals without enhancing the quality of their lives in any way.

The leaders of the movement decided to oppose the very construction of the dams. In chapter 11, you read the letter written by Bava Mahaliya. He was part of the Narmada Bachao Andolan (NBA) that organised peoples movement in the Narmada Valley against the dam.

Initially, the Sardar Sarovar Project was expected to be built with money borrowed from World Bank. After intense protests, mobilisation, marches, hunger fasts and an international campaign, World Bank decided to withdraw its funding.



*Fig. 20.5 Protest in Narmada valley against displacement*

Though it failed in its attempt at stopping the building of Sardar Sarovar dam, the NBA movement succeeded in forcing everyone to think about the nature of development – whether it was in the interest of the poor or the rich and powerful. It succeeded in forcing everyone to rethink about the utility of large construction

- Is it impossible to build factories or mines or power plants without throwing out farmers or tribal people? What can be the alternatives? Discuss in your family and school on these issues.

projects that interfered with nature on such a large scale. It forced governments to consider giving adequate and respectable compensation for such ‘development induced displacement’ of people.

### STATE OF INDIA’S ENVIRONMENT

CSE was founded by Anil Agrawal in 1980 to study environmental and developmental issues in India and build awareness about these problems. It began with the publication of its famous series, Citizen’s Report of State of India’s Environment in 1982 and these reports have become authoritative references on various environmental issues facing the country today. Visit its website (<http://www.cseindia.org>) to know more about its work and issues studied by it.

The NBA movement combines in itself many strands like the movement of indigenous people, movement against neo-liberal policies, struggle of farmers to hold on to their land as attempts are being made to take them over for dams, urbanisation, industries, mines and forests.

### Silent Valley Movement (1973-85)

When it was proposed to build a dam across two rivers flowing in the Silent Valley in Western Ghats in Kerala, many educated people realised that this would be disastrous for the rare species of animals and plants that lived in that valley. These included one of the most endangered primate species, the Lion Tailed Macaque (a kind of Monkey). Gradually, a major movement developed against the dams and in favour of saving the Silent Valley. People across the state were mobilised by the Kerala Shastra Sahitya Parishath (KSSP) an organisation working for popularisation of science and learning among common people. They went to the court and appealed against clear felling of trees in the project area and Kerala High Court ordered stopping of clear felling. In view of the severe protests, the government finally decided to give up the dam project and convert the Silent Valley into a National Park in 1985.

*Fig. 20.6 : The forest here did not have the crickets and therefore the forest was ‘silent’. Lion tailed macaque and many other species of insects and birds are unique to it.*



*Fig. 20.6*

### Interview with Medha Patkar

The following is an interview with Medha Patkar, one of the leaders of NBA talking about the organisation in 2010.

**Is there any point in continuing the struggle now that the Gujarat government has done exactly what it wants to?**

*“The struggle cannot be over unless the goals are attained. ....*

*“Though the government’s declared policy and plan is trumpeted to be progressive and land-based, it is obvious that it has not been able to guarantee land to those who lost their livelihoods. The environmental measures have not been complied with yet. To raise the height of the dam disregarding various conditions made in the clearances and the policy promises is unjust.*

*“The struggle will also have to continue to show to the world that whatever little was achieved by submerging the habitats of nature-based communities and incurring huge social, environmental and financial costs is not going to the really needy people of Kutch but to corporates and the big cities in Gujarat. The NBA demands a change in this pattern. The struggle against displacement, destruction and disparity is also to continue with alternative development paradigm and reconstructive work as is being carried out not only in the Narmada valley but across the country....”*



Fig 20.7

- What were the various strategies used by the social movement?
- How did the people involved in the movement see the process of resettlement promises?

### Movement of Women for social justice and human rights

We have studied in the earlier classes about the unequal treatment of women and the struggle being waged by them for equal rights and opportunities, personal safety and justice. Women have been at the forefront of many important social movements in the recent past. Here, we will take up two specific examples to understand this better – the anti arrack movement of Andhra Pradesh and the movement of Manipuri women against special powers of the armed forces which had been misused against the people of the North Eastern states.

#### *Adavallu Ekamaite*

This is not a story. This is the achievement of women who have studied in an evening school. “Our village is Dubagunta. We are wage earners. We produce gold from earth. But all our hard-earned money is spent on toddy and arrack.

When our men folk do not have money, they sell away our rice, ghee or anything that fetches them arrack. They take away whatever they can lay their hands on.... Apart from drinking they abuse us, pick up fights with us, slap our children. They make our day-to-day existence miserable.” Then we read the story of Sitamma’s in the primer. It made us think. Who is responsible for her death? We then told the sarpanch to close the arrack shop. But we could not succeed.

“So next day, hundreds of us marched out of the village and stopped a cart of toddy. We told the owner to throw away the liquor. We said all of us would contribute one rupee to compensate his loss. He was terrified. From that day no toddy has entered our village. Then, when a jeep carrying arrack arrived in the village we surrounded it and warned the owner that we would lodge a complaint with the magistrate. This sent a shiver down his spine. He closed his shop. Now we gained in confidence. We realised that this victory was possible only through education. This year no one dared to participate in the arrack auction.”

This took place in 1992 and was not an isolated incident. As the news spread, women of other villages too put an end to the sale of arrack in their villages. Eventually, they marched in thousands to stop the annual auction of arrack contract by the Collector of Nellore district. The Collector postponed the auction six times and eventually the auction had to be cancelled.

In other areas women led marches against liquor shops and picketed and tried to close down the shops. They tried to stop the sale of alcohol by preventing the stocking of the shops or deterring the customers from purchasing liquor. Liquor shopkeepers who refused to close their shops had to face picketing, throwing out liquor packets stored in the shops or setting the alcohol on fire. In several villages, women shaved the moustaches or the heads of intractable men, or even paraded them through the village on donkeys. In addition, men often had to swear oaths in temples to stop drinking. After innumerable meetings and protests by women across the state, arrack was officially banned in October 1993 and total prohibition was imposed in 1995.

These women belonged to the poorest section of our society, from the dalit castes who were deeply tormented by the increasing addiction to arrack among their husbands and other men folk. Many of these women had begun to go to literacy classes and often they would discuss this problem there. These classes gave them a place to discuss their lives and build networks of contacts. Once the movement started, its experiences were quickly transmitted to women across the state through the literacy primers which were read by women in all districts of the state. Thus women, from the most deprived sections were able to stand up against the most powerful and violent lobby of arrack manufacturers and sellers who not only had a lot of money and muscle power but also political power.

Today, the situation is again different and the arrack shops are back in action. This only shows that only through constant vigil and action can the gains of such movements be sustained.

- Find out about more recent such struggles in West Bengal (Nandigram), Odisha (Niyamagiri) and Andhra Pradesh (Polavaram, Sompeta etc). Prepare a poster explaining the main features of the struggle in each of these cases.

## Social mobilisation on human rights

Now we will see how women of Manipur, in the North Eastern India fought against some laws which allow the armed forces to suppress people without any process of judicial review of their actions. (i.e. people cannot challenge the action of armed forces in law courts).

Few Articles from the human rights are listed below. Read this section twice. first read through the entire section and note the Human Rights that should be available to all the people. Later, fill the blank in the paragraph and line section which you think is related to the violation or are in conflict with the provisions of Human rights. (Every item may not get marked. Leave them as blank.)

**Fill in the blanks with paragraph and line number after reading the next two pages:**

**Article 3:** Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person. Para \_\_\_\_ line \_\_\_\_

**Article 5:** No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment. Para \_\_\_\_ line \_\_\_\_

**Article 7:** All are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law. All are entitled to equal protection against any discrimination in violation of this Declaration and against any incitement to such discrimination. Para \_\_\_\_ line \_\_\_\_

**Article 9:** No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile. Para \_\_\_\_ line \_\_\_\_

**Article 10:** Everyone is entitled in full equality to a fair and public hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal, in the determination of his [or her] rights and obligations and of any criminal charge against him [or her]. Para \_\_\_\_ line \_\_\_\_

**Article 12:** No one shall be subjected to arbitrary interference with his [or her] privacy, family, home or correspondence, nor to attacks upon his [or her] honour and reputation. Everyone has the right to the protection of the law against such interference or attacks. Para \_\_\_\_ line \_\_\_\_

**Article 13:** (1) Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each state [state here means country]. Para \_\_\_\_ line \_\_\_\_

(2) Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his [or her] country. Para \_\_\_\_ line \_\_\_\_

## Historical Context

Manipur today is composed of two distinctive geographical terrains: the valley and the hills. Before independence, the valley was under princely rule and the hill areas were relatively autonomous, mainly inhabited by the tribal population. In 1891, the British established their control over the region though the king continued to rule the kingdom. The kingdom of Manipur signed a merger agreement with India in 1949 and Manipur was made a part of India. This agreement was disputed by many tribes which argued that they had been autonomous and did not agree to be a part of India.

In response to those opposing the accession with India, the government had deployed the Army. One of the laws that has been imposed to maintain law and order is called the AFSPA i.e. Armed Forces Special Powers Act (1958). The Act gives to the security forces the right to arrest or shoot people simply under suspicion of being involved in anti-national activities. It is argued that the provisions of the law have been abused and often there has been torture, killing and harassment of innocent individuals including women who have been exploited and violated by security forces. As women and mothers (*Ima*), they are also worried about their sons or husband being picked up and tortured under the suspicion of being against the nation and daughters or mothers themselves being sexually abused. Sometimes, the women who are abused end up committing suicide. One of the instances that gained widespread attention was the protest against the custodial death of a 32 year old woman Thangjam Manorama.

## Meira Paibi Movement

Meira Paibi (in Meitei language) literally can be translated as the ‘torch bearers’. Meira Paibi originated as a movement to prevent public disorder due to alcohol abuse in the late 1970s. But, it soon became a movement for human rights with the massive deployment of Indian armed forces to counter the armed movement for Manipuri independence in the early 1980s. It was also at a time when the state was declared a ‘disturbed area’ and sweeping powers in the name of AFSPA were given to the Indian armed forces. This resulted in frequent military operations and human rights violations. The Meira Paibi responded instantly with protest demonstrations. The Meira Paibi took to patrolling the streets at night. Women of every *leikai* or ward of every town and village participated in the daily patrolling, bearing no weapons but only the bamboo and rag kerosene torches. Every night, in every *leikai*, at every lane junction, groups of women sat on vigil against threats and disruptions to peace in the community. During periods of relative peace, a few women would keep the vigil taking turns. But during moments of high tension, participation is more widespread. These are not activist or politically inclined women; they are ordinary women who take on themselves the traditional responsibility for the safety and well being of the community. Meira Paibi group



Fig. 20.8 :  
Meira Paibi

Women in a  
rally

has also been demanding that AFSPA be revoked. Gradually, the movement against this Act has grown in strength and women have expressed their struggle in different forms from boycott of elections to sitting on relay hunger strikes. One amongst them, Irom Sharmila was on hunger strike for more than 10 years and was under house arrest.

There have been many attempts to resolve the problem. Sometimes, former army officers themselves have written extensively about the conflict in the region and identified that developing better infrastructure and facilities alone can win over the peoples acceptance. The Government appointed a Supreme Court judge BP Jeevan Reddy to look into the possibilities of revoking the Act in the region. Even though the committee has submitted its report, a final solution has not yet been arrived at.

### Some common features across social movements

Social movements have raised diverse demands cutting across strict boundary of environment or human rights. Their arguments borrow from these different principles. You may notice that Mahaliya and Luther King too were raising issues of human rights ideals while raising the questions of environment and equality. In some context, movements resist changes that are forced upon them. Others like Martin Luther King or Meira Paibi demand for change. Social movements often distance themselves from individual political parties and are more united under a single cause. Its members may belong to different political parties. Often their programmes are envisaged in a participatory and democratic manner. Social movements arise when people of a region or of a cause feel that their expectations have been unmet by the larger political system that is prevalent in a country.

## Keywords

Civil Rights  
Antiwar  
Compensation

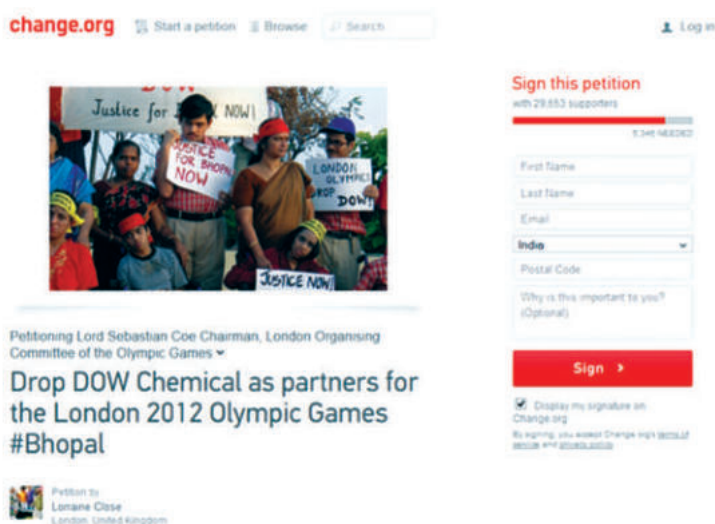
Civil disobedience  
Draft age  
Anti-arrack

Segregation  
Weaponisation  
Democratic

Destabilise  
Rehabilitation  
Participatory

## Improve your learning

- Here is a list of items that you can use to make a table on social movements. Find out the similarities and differences between the different movements: (AS<sub>3</sub>)  
Main area of focus of the movement; location; main demands; modes of protest; important leaders; response from the state; possible impact on society;
- Kannaiah, Ramya and Salma have a debate. Ramya argues it is okay to restrict the freedom of press etc but ensure that people do not live in poverty. Salma argues that food alone is not important. This equally important to have freedom of press because there is no other way people would know if there is violation of dignity of people in different parts of the country. Kannayya says that how will it make a difference if press belongs to the rich and powerful people, why would they cover things that ordinary people expect. They have different expectations. Whom would you agree with and give reasons, from the context of human rights? (AS<sub>2</sub>)
- What are the basic features of a social movement? (AS<sub>1</sub>)
- What is the role of ordinary individuals described in the case studies given in the chapter? (AS<sub>1</sub>)
- How are the rights of black people in USA and Meira Paibi movements similar or different? (AS<sub>1</sub>)
- Democracies have been identified as most prominent political systems across the world. Do you think democracy has been able to take care of all the expectations of people? Based on the examples cited in these chapters, write a short note on 'democracy and social movements'. (AS<sub>4</sub>)
- Discuss and find out how movements mobilise people from across the globe like in the above instance of campaign to protest in the context of Bhopal gas tragedy. (AS<sub>3</sub>)



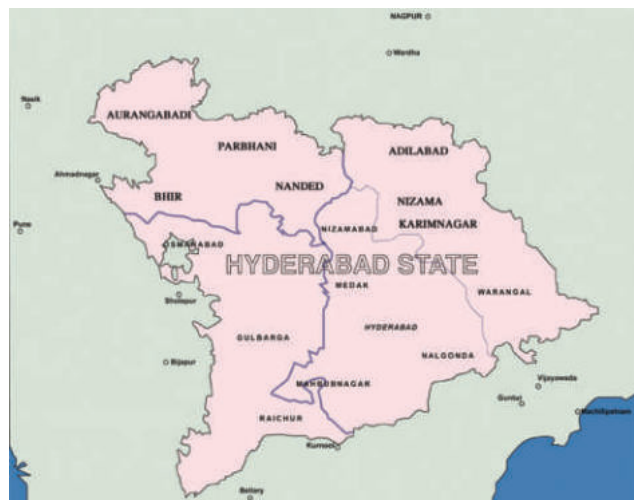
## The Movement for the Formation of Telangana State

Telangana achieved the status of a full fledged state in the Union of India on 2<sup>nd</sup> June, 2014, after a long struggle of Telangana people for the sake of Water, Funds and Employment. In this chapter, we will read about this process.

- You or your family members may have seen or even participated in this movement. Discuss your experiences in the class. What do you think were the main reasons behind the demand for a separate state of Telangana?
- Make a list of important persons that your parents and teachers remember. Make a poster or wall newspaper for your classroom showing their contribution to the formation of Telangana state.

### The merger of Hyderabad state with India

During the last phase of India's freedom movement, Hyderabad state or the Nizam's dominion came into focus of attention. The Nizam was contemplating the formation of an independent state under his rule when the British left India. The nationalists of Hyderabad state were against this. 8 districts out of 16 districts of Hyderabad state consisted of Telugu speaking people. These parts came to be called Telangana. Nationalists from Hyderabad spread into villages and began a campaign for promotion of education in Telugu language, a democratic form of government and social equality. In the nineteen twenties and thirties, Andhra Mahasabha emerged to promote this cause. Nationalists from Coastal Andhra also supported this movement in the nineteen forties. Soon, the movement also took up issues relating to land reforms and opposed the rule of Doras who had the support of the Nizam and the Razakars. In view of this internal strife, the Government of India, under Jawaharlal Nehru's Prime Ministriship,



Map 1: Telangana with United Hyderabad State

undertook police action and ensured the merger of Hyderabad state with the Union of India. You have read about these in class VIII. At that time, Coastal Andhra and Rayalaseema regions were parts of Madras Presidency. Soon, a movement started for creating a state of Andhra Pradesh including all the territories in which Telugu was spoken.

### **The Gentlemen's Agreement and the Formation of the State of Andhra Pradesh**

There were three distinct regions which spoke Telugu language. These included Telengana, Coastal Andhra and Rayalseema. Besides different dialects, the three regions also had different cultures and identities. The Telangana language was drawn from an inclusive folk tradition which included tribal languages, Deccani Urdu, Kannada and Marathi while the language of Coastal Andhra was more influenced by Sanskritised usage. The culture of Telangana was however, a composite one and was drawn from Muslim, Dalit, artisanal, tribal, and migrant communities. The social profile of Telangana was distinct in that it had a larger proportion of tribal people, backward castes and Muslims as compared to the other regions. Historically, the coastal regions had a greater influence of Sanskrit culture than

Describe the distinct features of Telangana under the following themes:

- i. Natural Features
- ii. Society
- iii. Historical background

Telangana. They were also under the direct rule of the British and had access to English education from the starting of nineteenth century. The Coastal region had undergone a rapid modernisation process. In contrast, Telangana, under the Nizams, pushed Urdu

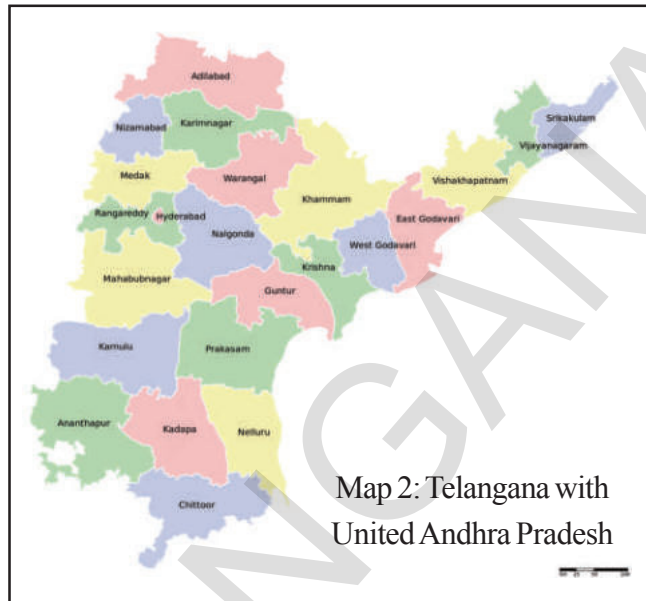
as the medium of instruction. The same process was slow in promoting modern education. In 1948 Telangana literacy rate was only 9% specially women literacy was only 4%.

While Coastal Andhra was mainly a plain region consisting of deltas with well developed canal irrigation system, Telangana was a dry plateau region which depended upon rainfed agriculture, animal herding and hunting and gathering from forests. The undulating terrain was used to build tanks and this water was used to cultivate a variety of crops. During the British period, Coastal Andhra was more developed in terms of its agriculture, trade and industry. At the same time, Telangana had great potential for development in that important rivers flowed through it and it had very rich mineral deposits and forests. For this reason, the rich people of the coastal areas were keen to invest in Telangana to make use of its resources. Therefore, the demand for Vishalandhra came from Andhra region.

After its merger with India, Hyderabad state became a democratic state in 1952 and Burugula Ramakrishana Rao became its first elected Chief Minister. Andhra region was separated from Madras Presidency in 1953 and Tanguturi Prakasham became its Chief Minister. However, there was an active campaign to merge the Telugu speaking regions into one. While the Andhra Assembly passed a unanimous resolution favouring merger, a large number of Hyderabad State Assembly members had serious reservations about the merger. They were worried that the more wealthy and developed Coastal Andhra elite would dominate the future state, and that the people of Telangana would lose control over the resources of their region without gaining anything. They were also worried about educational and employment opportunities for their youth as the coastal region had a larger number of English educated youth. On the initiative of the Union Government, the leaders of both sides met in Delhi and reached what was called “Gentlemen’s Agreement” on 20<sup>th</sup> February 1956. The signatories to the agreement were Bezawada Gopala Reddy, Neelam Sanjeeva Reddy, Gouthu Latchanna, Alluri Satyanarayana Raju from Andhra and Burgula Ramakrishna Rao, Marri Chenna Reddy, J.V. Narsinga Rao and K.V. Ranga Reddy from Telangana. They basically agreed on 14 points. This paved the way for the merger of the two states though conditional and subject to satisfaction of Telangana people. Thus, the new state of Andhra Pradesh with its capital in Hyderabad was formed. The most important points in the agreement were;

1. Expenditure on Administration was to be borne proportionately by the two regions and surplus revenue from Telangana region would be spent only for the development of Telangana.
2. The existing educational facilities in Telangana would be reserved for the students from the Telangana region only.
3. It was agreed to continue the Mulki rules under which only those with a minimum of 12 years of residence in Telangana were eligible for jobs and admission to educational institutions in Telangana.
4. It was agreed to set up a Regional Council, a statutory body consisting of 20 members from the Legislative Assembly to oversee the needs and development of Telangana.
5. Sale of agricultural land in Telangana would be controlled by the Regional Council
6. The Andhra Pradesh ministry will consist of 40 percent members from Telangana and 60 percent from Andhra.
7. If the Chief Minister was from Andhra, the Deputy Chief Minister would be from Telangana and vice versa.

The proposal to set up a Regional Council for Telangana was a major innovation. The development plans for other regions were supposed to be drawn up by state government. However, in the case of Telangana, this was to be done by the regional council. The Regional Council was to secure the all- round development of Telangana. It was to look into all the issues relating to planning and development, irrigation and industrial development within the general plan. It would also look in to recruitment to services in the Telangana region. It was also to control the sale of land in Telangana to people from outside the region.



Map 2: Telangana with United Andhra Pradesh

The Agreement thus sought to ensure equitable expenditure of state resources and also ensuring educational and employment opportunities for the youth of Telangana.

In effect, the agreement recognized the distinct identity of Telangana within the new state of Andhra Pradesh. Therefore, it came to be known as “State within the State”.

- Imagine yourself to be a member of the Telangana Regional Council. What special development activities would you have suggested? List three most important schemes which you would have proposed.
- In what ways do you think employment opportunities for SCs, tribal and nomadic people of Telangana could have been ensured?
- What would have been the best way to use the mineral resources of Telangana?
- Do you think the challenges faced by the farmers and labourers of Telangana were very different from those of the other regions? Discuss in the class.
- Why do you think did the students play a leading role in demanding a separate state for Telangana?

### 1969 Agitation

Over a period of time, discontent over non-implementation of the Gentlemen’s Agreement was building up in Telangana areas: there were three main causes for this: discontent diversion of surplus revenue from Telangana to other regions of the state; discrimination in employment in government sector; and granting of domicile status to Coastal Andhra persons working in Telangana region in violation of the *mulki* rules. It began as a protest over some appointments and soon became a mass movement in which students of Osmania University played a key role. There were

demonstrations, strikes and fasts including fasts unto death. Massive demonstrations of tens of thousands of people took place and many of them were subjected to police repression including firing on demonstrators. According to the official records, three hundred and seventy people, mostly students, lost their lives during the agitation.

Around the same time, several leaders from Telangana came together to form a forum called Telangana Praja Samiti to work for the formation of a separate state, later it took the shape of a new political party. The central government held long talks and came up with an Eight Point Plan which basically consisted of setting up several committees. Even though this did not satisfy most people, the agitation receded for the time being.



Fig 21.1  
Different  
forms of  
protests in  
1969  
Telangana



In response to the Telangana agitation, a counter movement started in 1972 in the Seemandhra regions called “Jai Andhra Movement” demanding not only greater development of the coastal districts but also the removal of Mulki rules relating to domicile status. Here too, the students formed the main part of the agitation as they felt that their employment opportunities were being threatened. A six point formula was formulated by the Central Government in 1973, assuring all the regions that priority in government employment would be given to local people, educational opportunities would be expanded in all areas, a Central University would be set up in Hyderabad etc. At the same time, the Mulki rules and the Regional Committee for Telangana were dropped. In this way, Telangana lost its distinct identity as promised in the ‘Gentlemen’s Agreement’. All areas of the state of Andhra Pradesh were treated as one.

Around this time, a new wave of political activity started against repeated intervention of Central Government and central leadership of the ruling congress party. This led to the formation of Telugu Desam Party and the regional agitations subsided for the moment.

Net Irrigated area in lakh hectares 2007					Similarly, in terms of expansion of irrigation facilities, we see a major dependence of Telangana on wells while Andhra region was dependent upon canal irrigation.
Region	Wells	Canals	Tanks	Others	
Andhra Region	5	13	2.5	2.5	
Telangana Region	14	2.5	2	0.5	

### Growing discontent in Telangana

Despite the Gentlemen's Agreement, many key points like the constitution of a Regional Council were not implemented. Only a Regional Committee was set up and its recommendations were not mandatory and often ignored by the government.

- Why do you think is the increase in Gross Cropping Area an indicator of agricultural progress?
- What are the problems being faced by the farmers of Telangana due to over reliance on wells for irrigation?
- Why do you think have the public irrigation systems like tanks been ignored in the past? What steps should be taken to restore them?
- What could be the reasons for higher number of suicides in Telangana?
- What could be the reasons for the lower literacy rate in Telangana as compared to Coastal Andhra?

During the period of planned development, from 1956 to 1990, many developmental activities took place in the state of AP. Major dams were built, irrigation and power projects initiated, vast mining and industrial complexes were opened. Green revolution in agriculture was initiated to transform agricultural production. A large number of universities and technical institutions were established. After 1990, the state saw a boom in the information technology industry, especially in Hyderabad.

However, the people of Telangana felt that the development was very uneven, its real benefits were going to other regions of the state. They also felt that the resources of the Telangana region were not being used for the benefit of the local people. The youth also felt that most of the new employment opportunities created in the state were being cornered by people of the other regions.

Total Cropped Area - in million hectares				Net Irrigated area in lakh hectares			
Region	1955-56	2006-07	growth %	Region	1955-56	2006-07	growth %
Andhra Region	4.2	5.3	20	Andhra Region	17	23	135
Telangana Region	4.8	5	5	Telangana Region	7	19	257

Source : Sri Krishna Committee Report

If we go by the index of Gross Cropped Area – total area on which crops were grown in a year we see a substantial increase in the Coastal Andhra Region and a relative stagnation in Telangana.

The increase in irrigation in Telangana was mainly at the cost of the farmers who dug expensive wells while the expansion in Andhra region was due to canal irrigation which was provided by the government.

While income from agriculture per rural person was the same (about Rs. 7800) for the two regions in 1993-94, it rose steadily to Rs. 11800 by the year 2007-08 in Andhra Region, while there was no such steady increase for Telangana and it rose to only around Rs. 10,000.

At the same time, agricultural labour increased from 38% to 47% of the population in Telangana but in Andhra, it increased only by 1%. This implies a greater agricultural distress and land selling by farmers in Telangana and the conversion of farmers into labourers. Due to drought, failure of crops and loss of livelihood among people between May 2004 and November 2005, Telangana reported 663 suicides out of 1068 reported in the state of Andhra Pradesh. Thus about sixty three percent of the distress suicides in the state took place in the Telangana region.

Even in the overall educational attainment, Telangana remained behind Coastal Andhra. The literacy rate in 2001 in Telangana was 53% but in Andhra it was 63%. During the same period, literacy rates were further less among the poor and socially deprived sections of Telangana. The total number of colleges in Telangana were 159 and if Hyderabad is excluded only 116 but in Andhra there were 181 colleges for the same number of youth. In a similar fashion, the grant for college education was about Rs. 93 crores in Telangana and it was Rs. 224 crores in Andhra.

In addition to uneven development, the people of Telangana also felt that they were being culturally discriminated against. After the merger, the language and culture of Coastal Andhra was promoted as the ideal language and culture and those of Telangana were treated as being backward. The history, culture and leaders of Telangana were not adequately represented in the school textbooks. The folk dieties and festivals of Telangana were being ignored while the festivals and Sanskritised cultural practices of the Coastal regions were given prominence. The films too depicted the people of Telangana as backward and crude.

Meanwhile, rich people from the Coastal Andhra and outside the state began investing in a big way in purchasing land in Telangana, especially in and around Hyderabad city. While this brought investment into the region, the local people did not benefit much from this development and were in fact losing control over their own land to real estate developers.

At the same time, the labourers and poor farmers of Telangana were facing increasing pressure of different kinds. On the one hand, the poor farmers of dry lands faced the limitations of agricultural production with little and depleting water resources. The artisans faced the problem of decline in demand for their produce and depletion of sources of raw materials like bamboo or wood. Many traditional service castes like washermen and nomadic communities too felt the pressure of declining demand for their services and loss of livelihood. While such problems

were being faced by poor people all over the country, the people of Telangana felt that this was due to the pro-rich policies being followed by the government of the state to help the Andhra business people. The Telangana people hoped that a genuine democratic government will make policies that would be more in tune with their needs. They aspired for a government that would listen to their demands and consider their problems seriously.

### Movements in 1990s

As a result of economic liberalization policies, farmers, artisans and others

- What are the main festivals that are celebrated in Telanagna? Prepare a month wise list.
- Make a list of films which represent the people, language and culture of Telangana accurately.
- During the last twenty years, Hyderabad has become a very large and prosperous city. Why were the people of Telanagana not satisfied with it?
- The problems faced by farmers and artisans of Telangana were similar to the problems faced by such people in other states too. Do you think that formation of a separate state is a sufficient solution to their problems? Why?

faced severe problems while a large number of contractors and private investors made huge profits. The farmers faced a steep hike in the prices of inputs like fertilizers, pesticides, power etc, and competition from cheap imported agricultural products. In Telangana, the depletion of ground water resources further intensified the crises as farmers had made huge investments in boring deeper wells. This led to a spate of farmer suicides in the region as mentioned above. In Telangana, this also took the form of rapid sale of farmlands to outsiders. Similarly, artisans and traditional service providers found themselves without any jobs or capacity to find new employment. This was also the time when the government was trying to reduce its expenditure and cut down

on recruitments. Even though there was a large expansion of the private sector, unemployment or insecure employment remained a large problem. Slowly, each of these segments of the population began to develop their own distinct organizations and movements around their demands.

Tribal/caste organizations like *Tudumdebba*, *Lambadi Nangarabheri* and *Yerukala Kurru* among others, came up for protecting their existential needs - *Jal, Jungle, Zameen* - in view of the onslaught on their conventional forms of life. *Madiga Dandora*, *Kurmagolla Doludebba* and *Mokudebba* were formed. The caste professions toddy-tapping, sheep rearing, weaving, fishing-were increasingly becoming irrelevant to the artisans and the caste professions were threatened. Therefore, even smaller communities associated with the Telangana movement expecting it to solve their problems.

A Telangana Information Trust was set up in 1989 by the intelligentsia to bring out information on injustices done to Telangana. On November 1, 1996, Telangana *Vidroha dinam* was observed in Warangal by a group of intellectuals headed by Prof. Jayashankar. This gave rise to several popular meetings leading to the formation of several organisations for demanding the formation of Telangana state. Telangana Jana Sabha (1997) and Telangana Mahasabha (1997) facilitated the merger of the movements of the weaker sections with movement for state.

Telangana employees including teachers, Non-Gazetted and Gazetted Officers formed their organizations. The Telangana intelligentsia came together to hold a seminar in Osmania University in 1997 and helped to conceptualise the issues from various angles. The employees, students, writers and cultural activists began holding seminars, lectures, meetings, *dhoom-dhams* and so on. The upsurge produced new cultural activists and their shows became a must in any meeting in Telangana. Between Jagityala Jaitrayatra in 1978 and Warangal Rytukuli Sangham public meeting in 1990, new activism gave new direction to the youth and through them to the rural masses. This period was vital in Telangana movement to prepare the new generation of activists. With this new spirit, a number of new organizations were formed.

### The Telangana Rashtra Samithi

Many organizational experiments like Telangana Jana Parishad, Telangana Mahasabha, Telangana Janasabha, and Telangana *Aikya Vedika* were tried out with political enthusiasm and spirit of activism but no political party emerged. It was in this context that Telangana Rashtra Samiti was formed in April 2001.

Meanwhile, Telangana movement was getting expressed in different protest forms like *dhoom-dhams* (public song and dance programmes), in *garjanas* (massive public meetings to proclaim the demands) and *padayatras* (marches). The traditional *bonalu* (offering to deities), drawing *rangoli*, was also invoked to express the popular Telangana demand. The Telangana service castes expressed Telangana movement in protest-shaving, protest-washing clothes of their customers on streets, and in collective cooking *vanta varpu* in public places.

This massive spontaneous people's movement was going on in the villages between December 2009 and April 2010. Students spearheaded this movement. At this juncture, students formed a Joint Action Committee (JAC), and then the flings of JACs spread to all organizations springing up Hundreds of JACs in Telangana. Hundreds of youngsters committed suicides, shattering their families and Telangana is a sad saga.

*Sabbanda varnas* (all castes) like Chakalis (washermen), Nayibrahmins (barbers), toddy-tappers, Katikaparlu (caste buries the dead), Vamsarajulu,



Fig 21.2

Fig 21.2, 21.3 & 21.4:  
Large number of people participated in different ways. Across this chapter, we have given a series of images that represent these events, from the years after 2000. Sakalajanula Samme shows participation of teachers, farmers and women marking their demand.



Fig 21.3



Fig 21.4

- Give examples of how people from different walks of life joined the movement.
- Why do you think it was important for all of them to come out into the open in support of the movement for separate state?

Lambadas, Yerukalas and the Madigas formed their own JACs and joined the protest movement. In many Mandal headquarters, a relay fast was organized in which one particular caste group gathered with all its traditional implements and practice their craft in the public places. Such protests were not confined to traditional professions or castes. People from modern professions like teachers,

industrial workers, mining workers, trade unions and women's organizations held similar protests.

### K. Chandrashekhara Rao's Fast- 2009

To give a decisive expression to this momentum, K. Chandrashekhara Rao, the leader of Telangana Rashtra Samiti, announced an indefinite fast to begin on 29<sup>th</sup> November 2009 at Siddipet. He was arrested and lodged in a jail even before he started his fast. He started the fast in Khammam Jail and subsequently continued it in hospital too. The students of Osmania University formed a Telangana Students Joint Action Committee on 16<sup>th</sup> November to express solidarity with him. The spree of people forming Joint Action Committees (JACs) spread to Kakatiya University, and then to Palamuru, Satavahana, and Mahatma Gandhi Universities of Telangana. Then the Employees JACs, Lawyers JACs, JACs of caste or communities and the District level JACs sprang up.

The Telangana Rashtra Samithi leader, K. Chandrashekhara Rao's fast became a massive people's movement. He was fasting for about ten days between 29 November

and 9 December 2009. This galvanised the people and the movement received a new thrust and meaning.

### In the process of achieving Telangana

The most important event in this context was the announcement by the student JAC of Assembly *muttadi* (attack on Assembly) on 10<sup>th</sup> December 2009 if the announcement of separate state was not made, the students poured into Hyderabad city from different universities and colleges hiding in friends' and relatives' houses around Assembly, in order to participate in the Assembly *muttadi*.

The above conditions – spreading the movement among the communities at grass roots, K. Chandrashekhar Rao's fast and the proposed Assembly *muttadi* – eventually persuaded the central government to announce the formation of Telangana. This took place despite severe opposition from the

- In what way do you think would the mine and factory workers benefit from the formation of Telangana state?
- What policies need to be followed so that the poor artisans and craftspersons will find dignified livelihood?
- What steps need to be



Fig 21.5

Fig 21.5, 21.6 & 21.7 Protest movement also asserted the unique cultural identity and festivals of the Telangana people. Songs and dances of the region were performed during the protest.



Fig 21.6



Fig 21.7

### Forms of Protest in Telangana Movement

Telangana movement innovated wide variety of modes of protests and forms of people's mobilisation such as: *dhoom-dhaams*, *garjanas*, *sadak bandh*, *Assembly muttadi*, *padayatras*, *bonalu*, *million march*, *sakala janula samme* and *sagara haram*.

*Dhoom Dhaam* is a way of protest with songs and dances. Many artists-singers and dancers of different folklore come on to the same dais or common platform and present their skills. *Oggukatha*, *chiruthalu*, *kolatam*, *bathukamma*, *gollasuddulu*, *ekanadam* and other local songs are common in this *dhoom dhaam* programme. They perform many dances on Telangana songs. They projected the Telangana culture and educated the common people to strengthen the Telangana movement.

*Vanta varpu* (People came on to the public roads and cooked food items and ate on the road itself) irrespective of caste, religion etc. It is a programme of *sahapankti bhojanalu* (eating all together). They stopped the buses and other vehicles on the roads. The passengers are provided with the food which the agitators cooked in this *vanta varpu*.

MLAs and MPs from Seemandhra region. The Union Home Minister announced on 9 December 2009 that “the process for formation of a separate of Telangana State would be initiated”. Chandrashekhar Rao ended his fast.

### Withdrawal of the Announcement

The announcement was withdrawn on 23<sup>rd</sup> December 2009 due to the pressure from Andhra political leaders, and a commission headed by Justice Sri Krishna was formed to enquire into the developments in Andhra Pradesh and report to the centre. The Telangana people were shocked. Let us see some possible reasons for the withdrawal of the announcement.

Hyderabad had become the hub of development. The city had become India’s calling card for both the success of economic reforms as well as its claim to global significance. All the resources had been pushed here and this had created imbalanced regional development. Many people from different parts had invested in properties in Hyderabad and a large number of them had migrated to Hyderabad in search of employment and education.

The investors from other regions were worried about their future. The farmers of coastal areas were also apprehensive about getting irrigation water in the canals and regular electric supply if the new state was formed. Many of Seemandhra people felt that it would be unfortunate if a state united by Telugu language was



*Fig 21.8, 21.9: Vanta Varpu cooking together on the street and eating together etc., represented people’s unity in the demand for the formation of the state.*

demerged to form two states. These protests were intended to put pressure on central government to go back on its announcement of a new state for Telangana.

Meanwhile, a large number of autonomous and non-party organizations continued their activity of mobilizing the diverse common people to demand an independent state and to ensure that the new state would represent the interests of all the people of Telangana. All of them brought diverse sections of the society



*Fig 21.10 : Agitators removing the fencing*



*Fig 21.11 : Agitators participating in Million march*

into the movement. These organizations gave a political shape to the amorphous social organizations and strengthened the political movement and the mass movement from below. These organizations trained fulltime cadres to the Telangana cause. These activists coordinated the movement at different levels which took new organizational forms connecting the masses and the leadership.

In order to unify the people, all parties and organizations came together to form Telangana Joint Action Committee. Under its leadership, six major agitations were launched: Non-cooperation Movement, Million March, Sakala Janula Samme a forty two day general strike, Sagara Haram (human chain around Hussain sagar lake in Hyderabad), Sansad Yatra (march to the Parliament) and Chalo Assembly.

### **Telangana is Achieved**

The Central Government, in this background, continued its efforts in consultation with the Congress leaders of both the regions. There was a lot of pressure to take a decision at national level. Telangana thus became a national issue. The Congress Core Committee heard the presentations from Andhra side and Telangana side and

- A very large number of JACs and other organizations had been formed at all levels. Why do you think was it necessary to form an apex Telangana Joint Action Committee? How did its formation impact the movement?
- Imagine yourself as an activist of Telangana movement. Describe your feelings at the time when the central government agreed to form a separate state.



*Fig 21.12 : A rally on the tank bund road in Hyderabad called Sagaraharam*

finally took a decision in favour of bifurcation. Accordingly, the bill was passed on 18th February in Lok sabha, on 20th February in Rajya sabha, and President signed on 1st March of 2014. Parliament bifurcating the State of Andhra Pradesh with June 2, 2014 as the appointed day. In the parliament, the bill was supported by BJP, BSP, CPI and the other opposition parties. The people celebrated this. In the democratic process, decision may be taken late but persistence of people's fight in protests forms convinced the country that de-merged

Telangana from Andhra Pradesh. and the people started Telangana *Vijayotsavam* at different places. The students and other activists felt happy that their dream had been fulfilled.

# తెలంగాణోదయం!

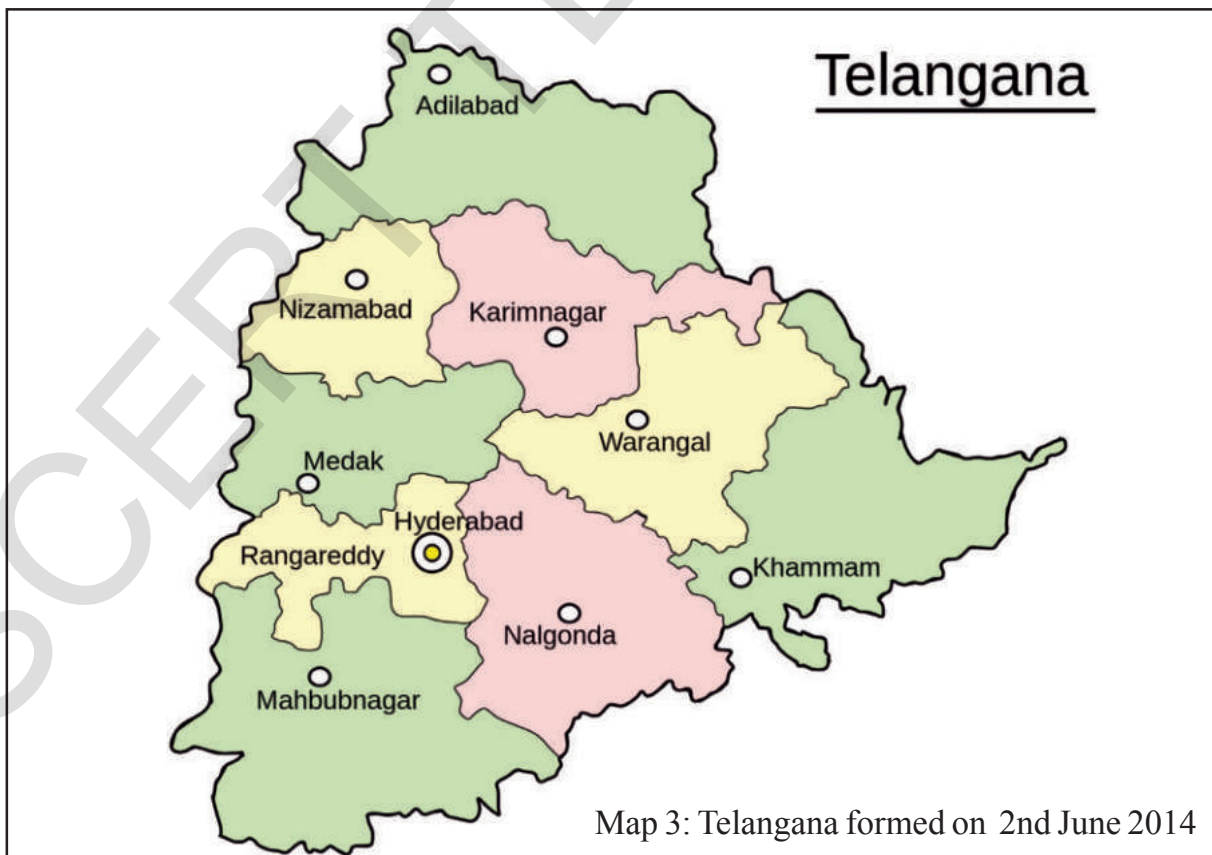
## 29వ రాష్ట్రంగా ఆవిర్భావం

Telangana set for a memorable birthday

Hope and excitement permeate every corner of the new State.

Related: After long, Andhra Pradesh sees new opportunity

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Map 3: Telangana formed on 2nd June 2014

- Imagine yourself as a worker from Rayalaseema working in Hyderabad. Describe your feelings.
- Imagine yourself as a woman labourer. Describe your feelings.
- Imagine yourself as a member of a tribe from Adilabad district in December 2009. Describe your feelings.

### **Professor Jayashankar (The Telangana ideologist)**

Kottapally Jayashankar began the struggle for a separate Telangana since his student life (1952). He was born on 6th August 1934 in Akkampet village, Atmakur mandal Warangal Rural district. His parents were Mahalakshimi and Lakshmikanth Rao.



He completed his schooling from Govt. Markaji High School, Hanmakonda, Intermediate and graduation in Warangal. He was graduated in M.A Economics from Benaras Hindu University and was awarded Ph.D. from Osmania University.

He began his career as a teacher and later worked as the Principal of the Chanda Kantaiah Memorial College (C.K.M. College) in Warangal, Registrar of Kakatiya University and Central Institute of English and Foreign Languages (at present EFLU) and Vice-Chancellor of Kakatiya University.

Being a staunch supporter of separate Telangana, Professor Jayashankar participated in many movements. In 1952, States Reorganization Commission headed by Mr. Fazal Ali, visited Hyderabad to take public opinion regarding states reorganization. Prof. Jayashankar was the prominent amongst the students' organizations who presented the report to the

Commission. After studying the report, the Commission questioned “Can Telangana sustain as a separate state?”. For this question, he daresly replied as the student leader “We would beg to survive rather than being with Andhra people”. His effort to strengthen Telangana movement in 1969 is praiseworthy. He spread the ideology that due the Andhra domination, Telangana people faced disparity not only in educational, employment and cultural fields but also in other fields.

He was the ideologist for the next phase of Telangana movement that started in 1996. He highlighted the disparity faced by the Telangana people with statistics through mass media.

He wished that Telangana agitation should go on three phases. In that the first was the spread of Telangana ideology, the second was movements and agitations in different forms and the last one was political process. His effort was tremendous to spread the ideology till the achievement of Telangana. Inspired by his ideology, students’ unions, guilds, political parties and Joint Action Committees protested vehemently, thus the Telangana movement gained momentum. As desired, Telangana State was formed on 2nd June 2014. He authentically announced “ I witnessed the formation of Telangana”, unfortunately before he could realise his dream of forming separate Telangana due to his illness he passed away on 21 June 2011.

In memory of Prof. Jayashankar, the Telangana state government renamed Agriculture University in Telangana as Professor Jayashankar Agriculture University and named one of the newly formed districts in Telangana as Jayashankar district.

## Keywords

Razakars

Police action

Regional Council

Mulki rules

Seemandhra

Gross cropped area

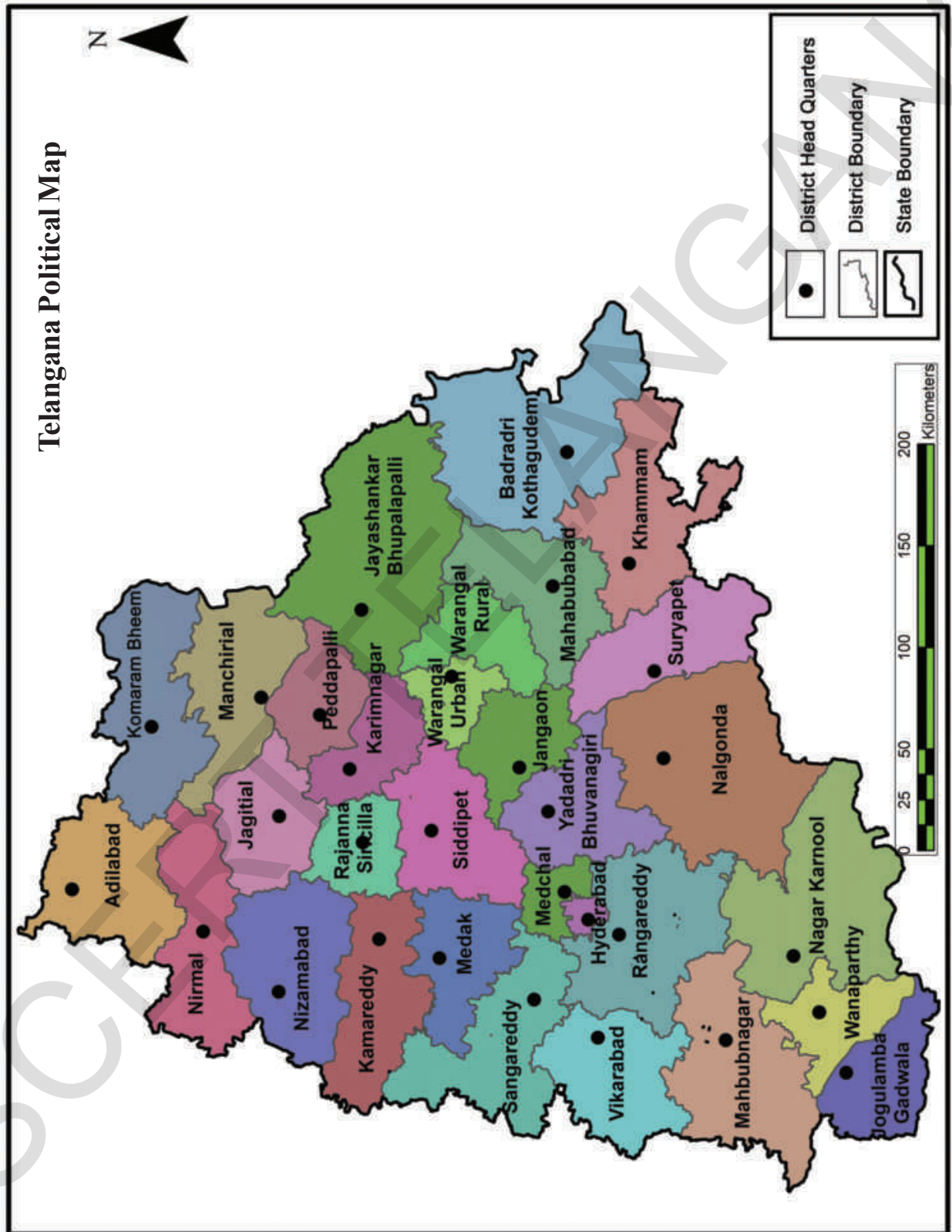
## Improve your learning

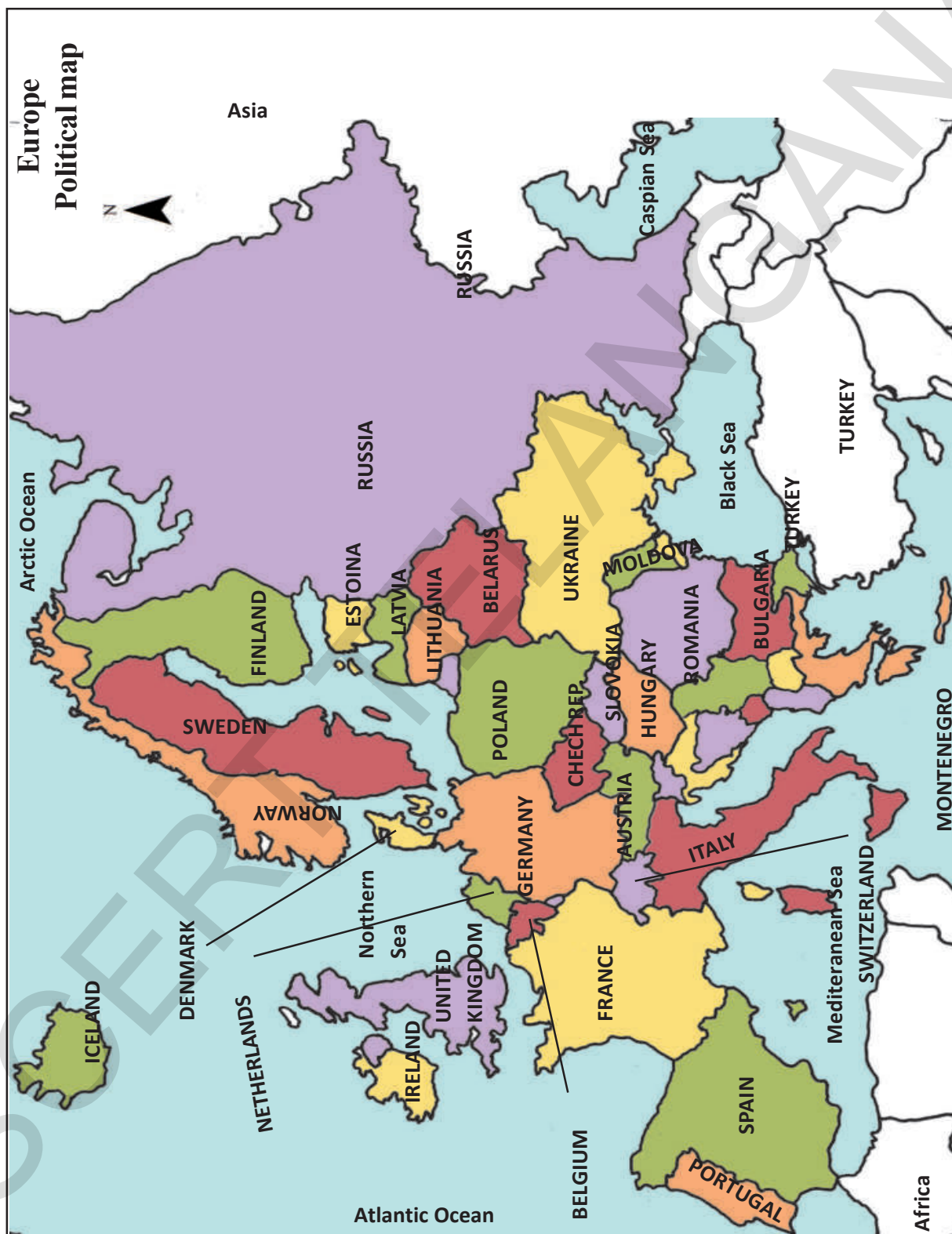
- 1) Correct the incorrect statements (AS<sub>1</sub>)
  - Indian states were formed based on languages
  - Sufficient recognition has been provided to languages of all different groups of people living in the state
- 2) “Diversity of people living in Telangana has historical, social and cultural context”. Justify the statement based on arguments given in the chapter. (AS<sub>2</sub>)
- 3) Describe the main features of Gentleman’s Agreement. How did this become a point of distrust between the regions? (AS<sub>1</sub>)
- 4) Based on the experiences of people’s aspiration in Telangana what measures of safeguards would you take to ensure that all sections of people living in the region feel respected? (AS<sub>4</sub>)
- 5) What have been the differences in access to water, agriculture, education and employment in the two regions? (AS<sub>1</sub>)
- 6) How did the disparity of growth between urban areas and agriculture create conflict of interest in expectations from the government? (AS<sub>1</sub>)
- 7) What arguments were put forward by people who wanted the two regions to be united? (AS<sub>1</sub>)
- 8) How do you evaluate the various modes of mobilisation methods used in Telangana state formation. (AS<sub>1</sub>)
- 9) Describe the different roles taken up by JACs and Political parties in the formation of Telangana state? How do you think JACs created platform across political ideologies? (AS<sub>1</sub>)
- 10) Locate the following in the map of Telangana. (AS<sub>5</sub>)
  - i) Mahabubnagar      ii) Khammam      iii) Nizamabad
  - iv) Adilabad      v) Nalgonda      vi) Mahaboobabad
  - vii) Nirmal      viii) Jogulamba

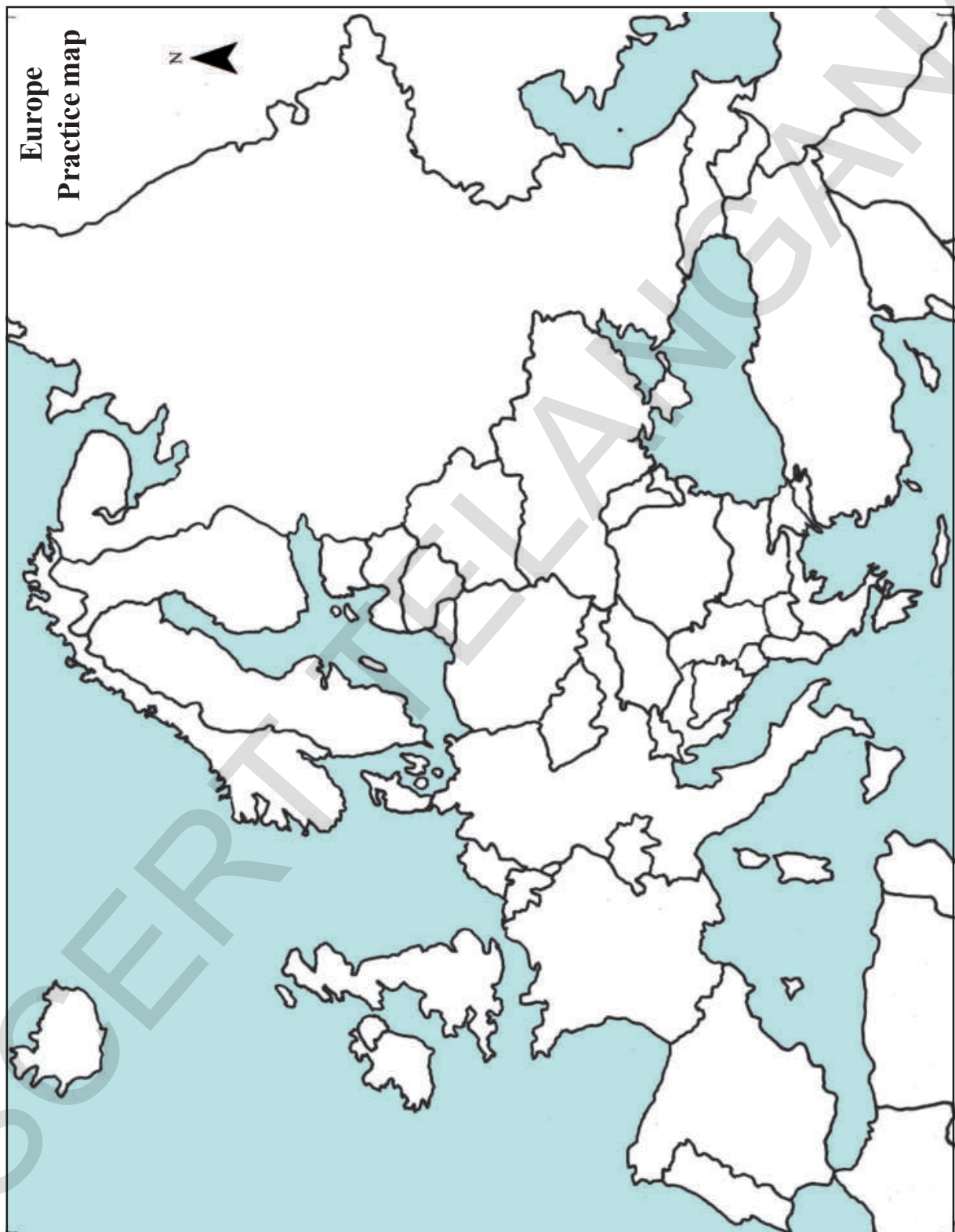
## Project:

Interview some people who had participated in the movements during 2009. Find out about their experiences and prepare a report. Collect photos from old newspapers or magazines about these events and prepare a scrap book.

# Telangana Political Map







**Africa Political Map**



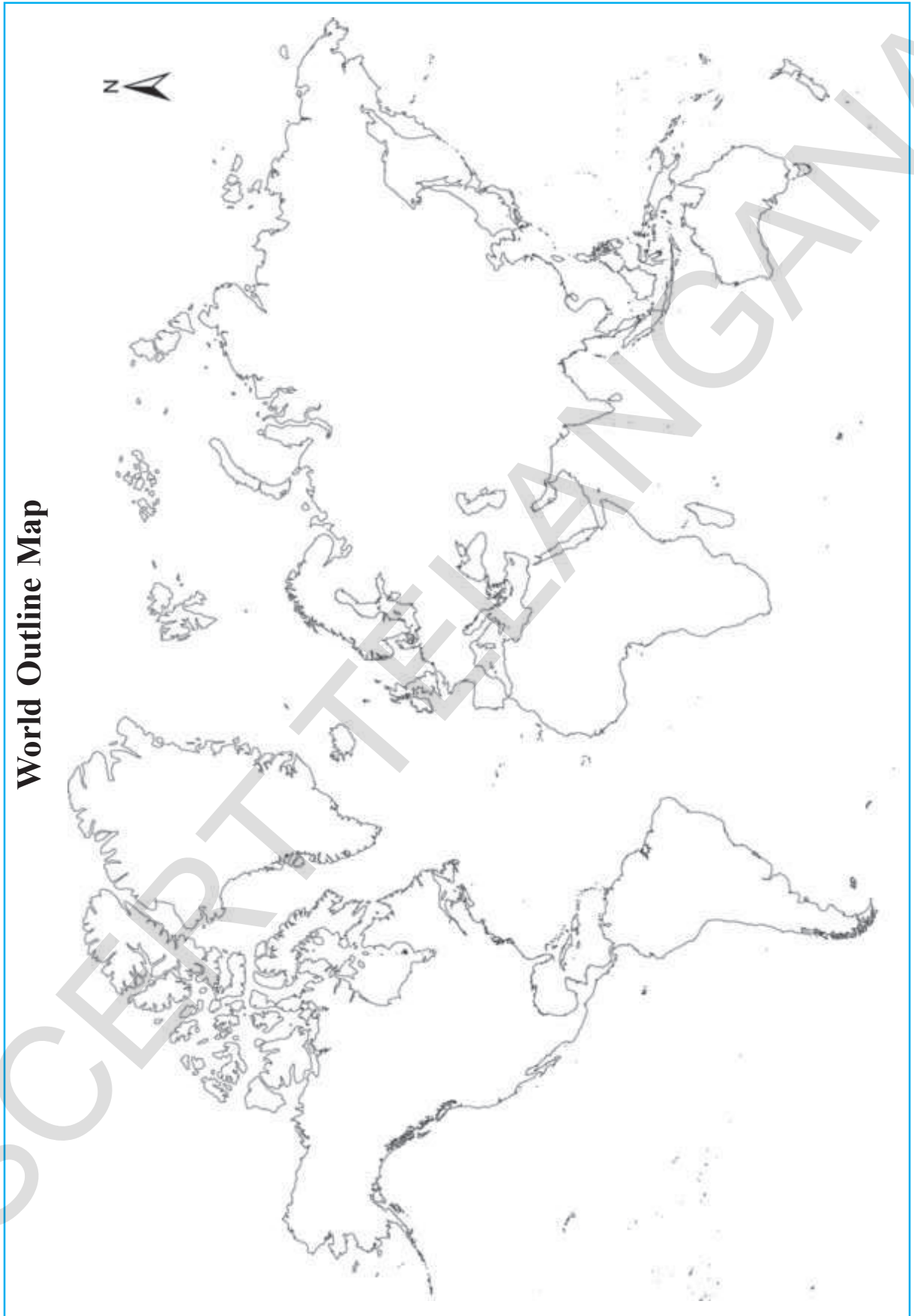
## Africa Practice Map



# World Political Map



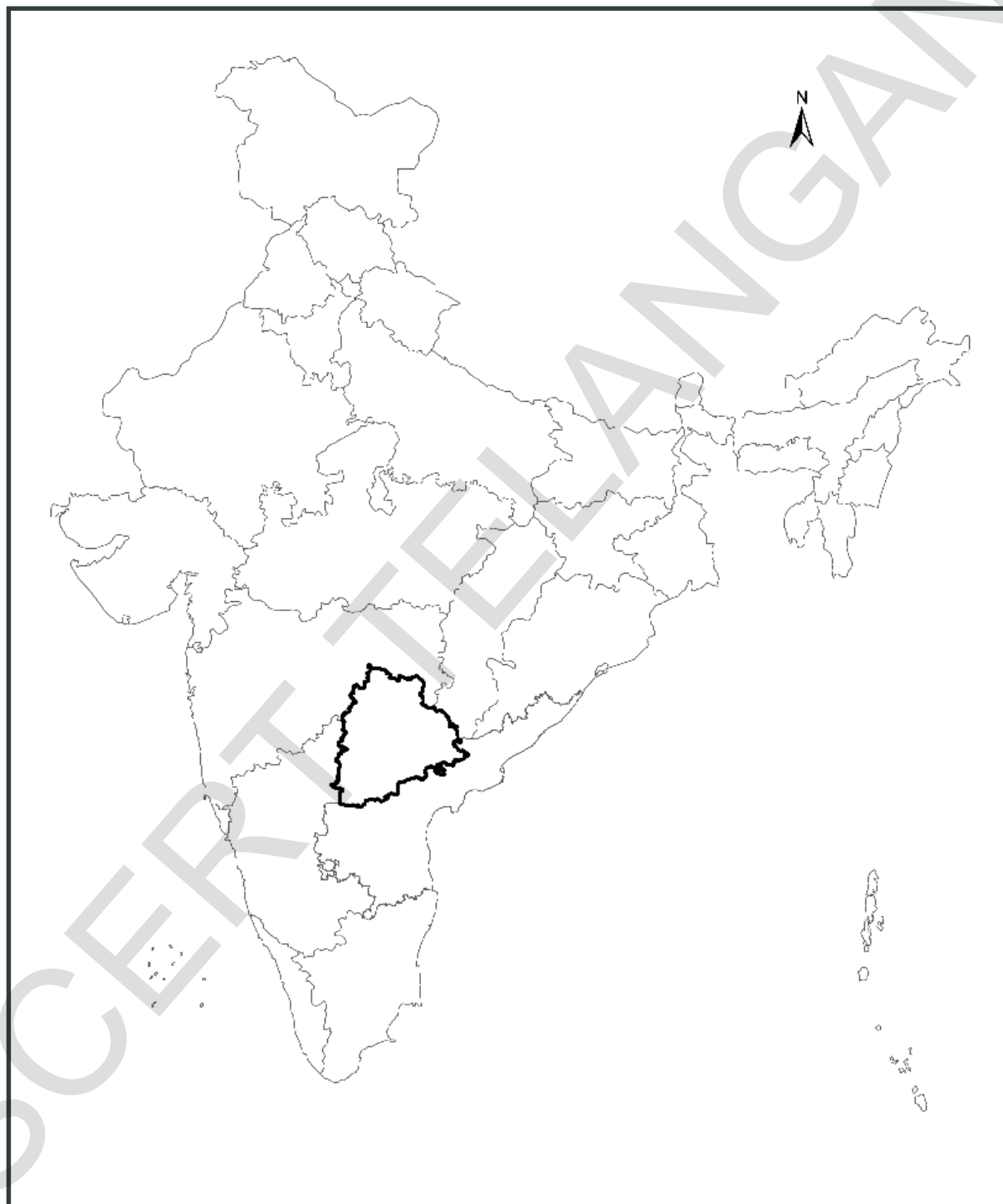
## World Outline Map



## India Political Map



## India Practice Map



## India Physical Map

